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A HISTORY OF EUROPE 1500–1815

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THE BORZOI HISTORICAL SERIES

Under the editorship of Harry Elmer Barnes, Ph.D., Professor of Historical Sociology, Smith College

A HISTORY OF EUROPE

1500–1815

The Development of European Civilization from Columbus to Metternich

By JAMES EDWARD GILLESPIE, Ph.D.
Professor of Modern European History
Pennsylvania State College

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION TO THE BORZOI HISTORICAL SERIES

In few fields of human learning has there been more progress than in the development of historical writing in the last half-century. Fifty years ago, while the subject-matter of history had increased in accuracy to a notable degree, as compared with the works of the early chroniclers and pamphleteers, it was still extremely narrow in its scope and interests. The more scholarly historians were so absorbed in the problem of the methods of documentary research that they neglected the larger consideration of the type of subject-matter most likely to reveal the nature of cultural development in the past. The content of historical works was chiefly political material, treating of wars, dynastic changes, political campaigns, diplomatic entanglements, and governmental corruption. Much space was devoted to anecdotes and episodes, interesting and amusing in themselves, but of no vital importance to an understanding of the past. Events were organized about great personalities instead of being put in the dynamic setting of cultural life and institutional development. This historical literature of a half-century ago was usually nationalistic in its outlook, chauvinistic in tone, and bigoted in its attitude toward other peoples and races. It was for the most part written from that decisively patriotic point of view which held that the culture and institutions of other peoples were markedly inferior to those of the countrymen of the writer, and national culture and institutions were looked upon as a unique local achievement. The time perspective was fatally restricted by the conception of the "dawn of history" some six thousand years ago. There was little or no conception of human history as a process extending back through an almost immeasurable period of time and combining contributions from all parts of our planet. The truly genetic point of view and the world outlook were conspicuous by their absence.

In the last two generations, due to the originality and enthusiasm of such historians as John Richard Green and his disciples in England, Karl Lamprecht and his school in Germany, Rambaud and Berr in France, Altamira in Spain, Ferrero, Croce, and others in Italy, and John B. McMaster, James Harvey Robinson, Edward P. Cheyney, Frederick Jackson Turner, James T. Shotwell, James H. Breasted, Carl Becker, Preserved Smith, and others of their type in the United States, we have witnessed the repudiation of this old narrow and inadequate type of historical writing and the development of what has been called "the new history."

This form of history is concerned with an account of the development of human culture and institutions. While fully conscious of

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the necessity of employing accurate methods of research, it pushes on to the next and more vital task of providing a broader content to history and of arousing an interest in the interpretation of the materials gathered by research. The new history is as wide in its interests as the entire range of human activities and achievements in the past. It deals not only with politics, dynasties, and treaties, but likewise with art, material culture, philosophy, education, medicine, literature, and manners and customs. Cultural achievements have replaced racy anecdotes, and institutional evolution has supplanted striking episodes.

The content of the new history has been widened as much with regard to the geographical range of its outlook as with regard to the scope of the interests embodied. The new history is as universal in its international orientation and appreciation as it is comprehensive in subject-matter. It adopts a world point of view, searching out the contributions to the growth of human culture which have been made on all parts of the planet. It also makes clear the fact that human history has become more and more an international process with the progress of modern discovery and the new methods of transportation and communication. Further, as a result of the new time-perspective forced upon us by contemporary astro-physics, historical geology, biological evolution, and cultural anthropology, the new history rests upon a recognition of the slight fraction of human existence comprised within a period of so-called "written history." The whole age of man since the "dawn of history" is in reality modern history, and the old chronology and periodization of history are proved to be hopelessly inadequate and misleading. The genetic viewpoint and the new time perspective reveal the history of man as a long process of growth and expanding achievement, reaching from *Pithecanthropus Erectus* to the radio and aeroplane. The new history, then, includes the achievements of all the historic peoples of the past and present. It completely abandons the chauvinism and bigotry of the earlier variety of nationalistic historical narrative. While it freely recognizes that some nations have been more important than others in their contributions to human culture, this discrimination in emphasis is based solely upon the relative historical influence and the comparative level of the cultures produced, and not upon their racial basis, geographical location, or political affiliations.

Thus far the new history has been limited, for the most part, to the monographic, methodological, and polemic works of the leaders of the various groups interested in this movement. There has been little organized effort to rewrite the totality of human history from the standpoint of the newer interests and assumptions. Hitherto world histories have tended to be either ephemeral literary projects executed by authors possessed of stylistic capacity but with little historical knowledge, or they have been equally unreliable anthol-

ogies of the works of the contemporary historians of past ages, few of whom have had any comprehension of the standards of historical accuracy which have been worked out in the last hundred years.

A new standard for textbook writing was set a quarter of a century ago by James Harvey Robinson in his *History of Western Europe*, which revolutionized the spirit and subject-matter of historical manuals. Since that time a number of his former students, such as Charles A. Beard, J. S. Schapiro, C. J. H. Hayes, Lynn Thorndike, and Preserved Smith have followed his example in writing excellent manuals which have embodied the same breadth of interests as exemplified by Professor Robinson. Others, such as Professors Cheyney, Breasted, and Webster, have independently arrived at dynamic and synthetic attitudes toward history and the preparation of historical textbooks. It is believed by the editor, however, that the *Borzoi Historical Series* represents the first organized and systematic effort to plan a group of college textbooks which are to deal with the greater part of human history and the leading cultural areas strictly from the standpoint of the tenets of the new history. The Series is designed to provide textbooks which will enable teachers sympathetic with the newer point of view in the writing and teaching of history to present the history of mankind in such a fashion as to emphasize the evolution of civilization and the growth of institutions, instead of solely chronicling battles, describing the alternations of dynasties, analyzing treaties, and relating anecdotes concerning diplomats and political bosses. The comprehensive *History of Civilization* series, which is being published by Mr. Knopf parallel with this *Borzoi Historical Series* will provide a vast body of supplementary reading similar in the scope of its subject-matter and identical in its historical objectives.

In regard to time-perspective, the editor of the Series holds that history must begin with the very origins of the human race, and the background for the succeeding volumes is supplied by the excellent manual by Dr. Goldenweiser on the civilization of primitive man. At the same time it is evident that the history of mankind since the Scientific and Industrial Revolutions has become much more complex and varied, and much more pertinent for the guidance of contemporary social opinion. As a consequence, more volumes have been planned for the recent age than for the earlier periods. No attempt has been made to control and distribute the assignments on a sharp chronological basis. Here the governing conceptions are the principle of the continuity of history, and the recognition of the need for special treatment and analysis of the cultures of particular areas.

As to subject-matter, main emphasis is laid upon the history of culture and institutions. Yet there is no ignoring of the really vital aspects of political evolution. International relations and political and diplomatic history are presented in a broad fashion, with an indication of their relation to the deeper social, economic, and

cultural forces which condition them. Instead of the usual procedure of making political history the backbone of the narrative, and then offering a sop to the more progressive historians by sandwiching in an occasional chapter on manners and customs, this Series assumes that institutional and cultural development constitute the only intelligent basis for the organization of historical material, and political and diplomatic history is viewed as of secondary, though by no means negligible, significance.

In regard to geographical and cultural outlook, this Series endeavors as far as possible to get away from the Occidental psychosis so prevalent in the Western world. The world point of view is adopted as basic, particularly in modern times, and adequate attention will be given to a survey of the rise and development of civilization in all the important cultural areas of both the Western and Eastern Hemispheres. The main emphasis is, of course, put upon the growth of Western civilization, but nothing will be neglected which has in any important way contributed to the building up of Occidental culture. The Series frankly embodies the assumption that in the contemporary age, in particular, it will not be possible to ignore the fact that civilization has progressively become a world process, and that the interaction of East and West must be kept continually in mind.

It is further maintained as a fundamental premise that historical facts are vitally important only when intelligently organized and accurately interpreted. Hence, the interpretation of historical data will be emphasized distinctly more than casual narrative and the mere chronicling of many concrete facts. Only in this way can history be made a real introduction to the social sciences from the genetic point of view, and a valuable impulse to the growth of social intelligence.

While these are the dominating principles guiding the editor of this Series, no attempt will be made to impose his particular theories of history in detail upon any of the collaborators in the enterprise. Each author will be left free, as he should be, for a wholly independent organization and exposition of the material in the field which he covers. General adherence to the program above outlined has been assured in advance by selecting as authors of the volumes which will be included men who are in general sympathy with the historical philosophy underlying the new history. It is believed that such individual differences as exist with respect to their views on the organization and interpretation of historical material will only lead to a greater originality, vividness, and variety in the successive volumes.

If this collection of textbooks is able to achieve rather more than any previous enterprise in the way of bringing about that indispensable *rapprochement* between the abstract formulation of the principles of the new history and the actual writing and teaching of history in

the institutions of higher learning, the aspirations of both the editor and his collaborators will have been amply realized.

Mr. Knopf has spared no expense to make the maps which will appear in the successive volumes of the Borzoi Historical Series as distinctive a feature of these books as the subject-matter itself. An arrangement has been made with the famous German cartographers, F. A. Brockhaus of Leipzig, to furnish a new and unique set of maps for the Borzoi Historical Series which will be distinguished alike for workmanship, accuracy and originality of conception. As adviser in all matters of cartography related to the Series, we have selected Dr. Donald E. Smith of the George Washington High School, New York City. It is hoped that, upon the completion of the Series, the maps utilized will be combined with others in a comprehensive historical atlas which will be issued under the editorship of Dr. Smith as a concluding volume in the Series.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

The history of the Western World from 1500 to 1815 embraces one of the most momentous epochs in the development of human civilization. It was the period of the breakdown of the old order of things and the prelude to the amazing advances of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While not so striking or revolutionary in most phases of cultural transformation as the century which followed the downfall of Napoleon, it produced those diverse beginnings which were indispensable to the more far-reaching changes that were to follow. Without the expansion of Europe and the Commercial Revolution, there could have been no Industrial Revolution; without Newton and Huyghens, we could not have had Helmholtz and Einstein; without the Fuggers, we should not have had the Rothschilds or Morgans; without Frederick the Great, Bismarck could never have functioned. It is well, on the one hand, to emphasize the fact that the material progress of the last century outstrips the total advances in this realm of human development since the Eolithic Age, but it is necessary to remember, on the other hand, that twentieth-century civilization could not exist without the achievements worked out between the discovery of America and the banishment of Napoleon to St. Helena.

In the older framework of the emergence of modern times, as constructed in such long popular manuals as those by Johnson, Wakeman, Hassall, and Morse Stephens, the period from Vasco da Gama to the Duke of Wellington was identified chiefly with the Renaissance as a revolutionary bursting-asunder of medieval gloom and stability; with the Protestant Reformation as a great spiritual revolt; with the resulting religious wars; with the struggles arising out of dynastic rivalries and ambitions; with the French Revolution as a great world epic of blood and liberty; and with Napoleon's herculean strategy.

The outlines of the picture have been radically revised as a result of the progress of historical scholarship and interpretation during the last quarter of a century. As the initial forces in launching the developments during this age the expansion of Europe, the rise of capitalism, and the growth of nationalism have supplanted the Renaissance and the Reformation. In treating of the gradual emergence of modern times out of the matrix of medievalism the informed historian today fully recognizes the reality of the continuity of history and the fallacy of the theory of cataclysmic changes in culture. Hence he recognizes that the medieval order was being gravely modified long before 1500, and that many medieval traits and interests persisted long after Columbus and Luther. He fully realizes that neither the Renaissance nor the Reformation constituted any sharp break with the past, and that both looked backward rather than ahead to the age of modern science and secular civilization.

In lieu of the older rubrics, the up-to-date historian of this age concerns himself with such matters as: the contact of cultures growing out of the expansion of Europe; the gradual substitution of an oceanic for a sea-bound or thalassic basis of civilization; the rise of a spirit of curiosity and the growth of scientific experimentation; the progress of the critical spirit and the rise of rationalism; the technological progress associated with the art of navigation, the invention of printing, and the provision of scientific instruments; the steady development of capitalism and the spirit of economic enterprise for private profit; the growth of the middle class in numbers and power; the greater mobility of peoples; the appearance of the national state and the triumph of secular absolutism; the slow emergence of representative government from the background of dynastic absolutism; the development of the theory of natural rights in economics, politics, and law; the capitulation of religion, especially Protestantism, to the new economic spirit of private profit; the steady advances in the spirit of toleration and in the repudiation of crude forms of supernaturalism and superstitution; the slow but sure secularization of art and literature; and the growth of a trust in, and opportunity for, education.

This is, indeed, a story far different from that which concentrated on the strategy of Tilly, Marlborough, Cromwell, Frederick the Great, Dumouriez, and Napoleon, and on the diplomacy of Wolsey, Kaunitz, and Talleyrand, but it explains, as the older epics never could, how we have been able to become what we are today in all aspects of our diversified life.

It would appear to the editor that Professor Gillespie has succeeded well in performing the difficult task of tracing the evolution of European civilization during this crucial and complex age. He has provided a more extensive and thorough treatment of the period than is to be found in any other comparable textbook in the English language. Likewise, he has brought the book more thoroughly in accord with the tenets and achievements of the "new history" than any other work which treats of this period in textbook form. As a student of Professor William Robert Shepherd, he has given adequate attention to the expansion of Europe as perhaps the most vital factor in bringing about those changes which separate contemporary world society from medieval Europe. He has also avoided one of the chief defects of many works which estimate the importance of their materials in the light of present-day conditions rather than in relation to those of the age of which the writer is treating. This is well illustrated by his extended treatment of Spain and the Netherlands as first-class powers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, respectively, instead of slighting them as third-rate powers of the twentieth century. Finally, he has been particularly successful in adding to his comprehensive marshaling of historical facts a thoughtful interpretation of their significance in the story of mankind. Those who desire these qualities

in a textbook on this period will be likely to find Professor Gillespie's volume instructive and serviceable.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Northampton, Mass., November 30, 1927

PREFACE

In writing this text the author has had a number of objects in view. In the first chapters he has attempted to give the student a solid grounding in the political, economic, and social conditions which were prevalent at, or about, the opening of the modern era. He has endeavored to deal with both the political history and the progress of European civilization in its various phases during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Throughout the book the attempt has been made to interpret carefully and thoroughly underlying causes, motives, and results. With this in mind at certain complicated periods, such as the Reformation and the French Revolution, brevity may have been somewhat sacrificed to completeness of understanding.

Special attention has been paid to European expansion as a great movement which has profoundly affected the history of the world. An effort has been made to coördinate its results with those of other factors which have been instrumental in producing alterations in European thought and life. Social and economic conditions, as will doubtless be apparent to the reader, have been given particular attention. In treating European culture the author has sought to express the spirit which lay behind it and the cultural interests which inspired men of the time and characterized their intellectual life. He has also emphasized the importance to general progress of what was accomplished, and has offered a tentative estimate of the forces which retarded the advancement of civilization.

Finally, it may be pointed out that in the treatment of the history and institutions of the European nations Spain has been presented as the great world power of the sixteenth century, and the Dutch Netherlands as the leading economic and commercial force in the history of the early seventeenth century. Both of these factors, it appears to the author, have been given too little attention in many short accounts of European history.

James Edward Gillespie

State College, Pa., March, 1928

NOTE OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I AM indebted to my colleagues, A. E. Martin, F. J. Tschan, and W. F. Dunaway for reading and criticizing some of the chapters. I have derived some useful information from Professor A. H. Lybyer of the University of Illinois, particularly in regard to the history of eastern Europe during this period. Dr. Eduard Fueter, one of the outstanding world authorities on this period of history, has read the entire manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions as to revisions and corrections. To Mr. Granville Hicks of Smith College I am indebted for a careful reading of the manuscript and many emendations of style and expression. The Librarian of Pennsylvania State College, Miss Sabra W. Vought, was of great assistance in procuring the books which were necessary for the completion of the work. To Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, the General Editor of the Borzoi Historical Series, I owe many suggestions as to the general plan of the work and advice as to matters worthy of special emphasis.

J. E. G.

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PART I
THE FOUNDATIONS

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The Rise of National States

Europe in our day comprises many national states, the citizens of which are inspired with a keen sense of their own individual nationality and imbued with patriotic devotion to their respective fatherlands. This situation is one of comparatively recent development. Although nationalities have existed from the earliest times, national states are essentially modern phenomena. Nationalism, which Prof. Hayes well defines as "the fusion of patriotism with nationality, and the predominance of national patriotism over all other human loyalties," may be said for the most part to have originated during the throes of the French Revolution, and to have been propagated with the added assistance of the Industrial Revolution and democratic measures of reform during the nineteenth century.

Late development of nationalism and national states

In ancient times empires and city-states predominated, and the political, social, economic, and cultural conditions of the Middle Ages were not conducive to the foundation of national states. Politically, the importance of feudal lords tended toward decentralization. Society, both in country and in town, was divided into more or less isolated groups. Economically, the manor and the gild, while they promoted coöperation within themselves, were too "self-sufficient" and "narrowly selfish" to serve as an economic basis for national unity; and the towns, as a rule, were not sufficiently numerous, or in close enough communication with one another, to promote the "general cultural homogeneity" requisite to national unity. Moreover, the medieval ideal of a larger unit was not nationalism but universality. The Holy Roman Empire still preserved in men's minds a dream of political unity and cosmopolitanism. The Roman Catholic Church extended a universal sway over the morals, religion, and learning of the day, while Latin was universally the written and spoken language of the educated.

Ancient and medieval conditions unsuited to national states

Gradually forming, however, amidst the medley of feudal relations, and beneath the crust of medieval universalism, were certain tendencies and forces which in many parts of Europe were establishing the basis of national consciousness and laying the foundations for national states. Vernacular languages and literatures made their appearance as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The stronger princes, by the extension of their territories, paved the way for later national states, and were aided in the assertion of their claims to the exercise of power by the revival of Roman Law. Wars aroused the pride and competitive spirit of peoples, and furnished

Some factors favorable to national consciousness in the Middle Ages

common historical traditions. The commerce with the East made the Italian cities wealthy and powerful, and often enabled them to defy the emperor.

Rise of the bourgeoisie important in the formation of national states

At the opening of the modern era certain new forces arose to facilitate the formation of strong national states. In the first place, the development of trade and industry which followed the sixteenth-century explorations led to the rise of a stronger and wealthier bourgeoisie, or middle class, than had previously existed. This class was vitally interested in the growth of powerful monarchical states. As businessmen, the members of this group naturally desired peace and order, and realized that by the promotion of strong kings they might put a stop to feudal disorder and warfare. Moreover, they recognized the aid which the sovereign and his government might give them in support of their business interests. Furthermore, it was clear that the improvement of their social position depended upon the good-will of the monarch. Not a few of them, moreover, had loaned money to the sovereign, and therefore wished him to succeed. The kings, on their part, as long as they had to rely upon the feudal lords for the administration of their governments, the supply of funds, and military protection, could have little hope of destroying the feudalism which had so long hampered the formation of strongly centralized states. Besides, they needed the business ability of the bourgeoisie to deal successfully with the greater financial and administrative problems which confronted them. In the bourgeoisie, therefore, they found invaluable support and service.

Expanding capital, commerce, and industry in relation to establishment of royal power

The wealth that came from overseas mines and trade, resulting in a greater fluidity of capital, and the royal share of the profits of expanding commerce and industry provided sovereigns with the means to hire officials subservient to them, and to maintain their armies independent of the feudal lords. Not only were they able to secure a more complete control of their own countries, but at the same time they might pursue more ambitious foreign policies, which often resulted in securing more defensible frontiers and in including peoples of the same racial and cultural affinities within the national boundaries.

Economic affairs on national basis

With the rise of capitalism and world commerce that followed the overseas discoveries, economic life came more and more to be transposed from a local to a national basis. The government of the state as a whole sought to control and regulate all economic activities within its borders, so that its power and influence among other European states would be increased. Closely associated with this was a growing national pride.

Influence of overseas exploits in arousing national pride

The adventures overseas; the development of new types of national heroes, such as dauntless mariners, discoverers, "conquistadores," "padres," daring smugglers, and buccaneers, who frequently came from the common walks of life; the wealth which poured in from exotic lands—all tended in many countries to arouse a sense of national consciousness and a pride in national accomplishment.

Influence of Reformation on growth of national states

The Reformation which took place in Church affairs during the sixteenth century likewise contributed in a marked degree to the formation of national states. It lessened the power of the Pope, who had previously laid claim to superiority over temporal sovereigns. It created national churches which relied upon and supported the government. The spoils of the monasteries and other Church property helped to fill royal coffers and to reward supporters. At least in Protestant countries, many of the functions which the Church had formerly performed, such as education, care of the sick and the poor, etc., were taken over by the government, thus adding to its importance and strengthening its contact with the nation as a whole. The Reformation likewise broke up the intellectual and moral unity which had pervaded medieval Europe. The way was thus prepared for greater growth of national cultures. The struggles for the maintenance of religious faiths were frequently associated with the arousing of national patriotism and the development of national states. This proved to be the case, for example, in the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, Scotland, England, and Spain. In France[1] and Germany it had the opposite effect of disrupting the country and retarding the growth of a national state.

Sixteenth century monarchically minded

It is now apparent that those countries which succeeded in realizing the national ideal had attained it, with few exceptions, through the efforts of strong kings. History seems to indicate that nations for the most part have had to undergo a period of severe discipline under strong centralized governments; their forces have had to be gathered together, international rivalries and disturbances quelled, and foreign enemies subdued or at least driven off, before the way was clear for the gradual development of representative government. The sixteenth century was as monarchical in mind as the twentieth century is democratic. Popular patriotism in most cases was centered in loyalty to the person of the king as the symbol of national greatness. The broader and more inclusive type of patriotism, such as we know today, did not appear until after the introduction of popular education and the beginnings of general participation in governmental affairs.

Limitations upon monarch's power

It must not be thought, however, that sovereigns at the opening of the modern era were free from all restraints upon their authority. Invariably they had royal councils, and usually some form of assembly, or Estates-General, which in many countries exerted a very real influence from time to time upon public policy. This was particularly true, for example, in England, where there had been a long tradition of class participation in government, or in Spain, where Charles V did not venture to defy the Cortes of Aragon or of

[1] It may be said, however, that Henry IV, after France was exhausted by the religious wars, was able to lay the basis of a stronger state, and that the people, largely because of their weariness of internal strife, loyally supported him.

Castile. As we shall see, however, for several centuries the prevailing tendency throughout much of Europe was toward absolute monarchy, and in many of the principal countries, such as France, Spain, Portugal, Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Turkey, absolutism was firmly established.

England

Formation of English nationalism

Probably the first of the European peoples to achieve fully organized nationhood were the English. Although racially they were the most mixed of all European peoples, and their language was the most open to foreign infusion, a number of factors early favored the formation of definite nationality. The fact that in England the peasant serfs became free agricultural wage-earners long before this was generally the case on the Continent, and the fact that the younger sons of the nobility did not inherit the family titles and estates, which were reserved for their elder brothers, but increased the ranks of the middle-class, brought it about that England was the first country to develop a compact nationality. Geographic isolation, coupled with the fact that feudalism was energetically checked, and that the country as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries was held under the stern discipline of the Norman Conquerors and the Angevin Kings, also worked to that end. Like the Romans, the English regarded their laws, as embodied in Magna Charta (1215), as superior to the royal authority. These served as a unifying force.

The national spirit for the first time became fully aroused in the reign of Henry III (1213–1272), in protest against the many foreign favorites in English positions and the attempts of the Pope to fill benefices with Italians. The general dissatisfaction with these conditions and with the king's foreign policy resulted in the first Parliament. Under the following king, Edward I, the unity of the nation was still further evidenced by the establishment of a complete representative system comprising lords, knights, and burghers. With its domestic affairs in order, England began to express its aggressive nationalism by a series of attempts to impose English dominion on neighboring peoples, resulting in the conquest of Wales, a long and unsuccessful war with Scotland, and the Hundred Years' War with France. These wars, especially the one last mentioned, welded Saxon and Norman still closer in heroic strife, and through the loss of all of the French territory (except Calais) to which English sovereigns for centuries had laid claim, turned the attention of England's rulers upon home affairs. Following the Hundred Years' War, the bellicose spirit of the English was further exhibited in a series of bloody and confused civil struggles (Wars of the Roses) between rival claimants to the throne. These resulted in the elimination of many turbulent noble families, in the discrediting of Parliament, which became the tool of partisan nobility, and in such a state of disorder that a strong sovereign was urgently desired.

Henry VII, the first of the Tudor dynasty, who ascended the throne in 1485, proved to be an excellent man for the place, and his reign marks a new era in English history. Shrewd, painstaking, frugal, and of tireless energy, he devoted himself to the task of restoring order and increasing England's prosperity and prestige among nations. At that time it was an undeveloped country, and its population was only about a third as large as that of France. Wales had been conquered, but Scotland was still independent, and there was only a rather vaguely-defined overlordship over Ireland, actual possession having been confined to a small strip of land called the "Pale of Dublin." *Henry VII*

Owing to the disruptions caused by years of civil war, there was little or no respect for law and order. "There is no country in the world," wrote a Venetian visitor, "where there are so many thieves and robbers as in England." The courts of justice, overawed by the nobles, failed to convict, and the law came to be regarded mainly as a source and means of oppression. To check these abuses, Henry organized an extraordinary court which came to be called the "Court of Star Chamber." This tribunal, which might both accuse and convict without jury trial, proved very efficacious in trying powerful nobles and in enforcing the laws with which the ordinary courts seemed powerless to deal—especially those against "livery and maintenance," that is, the practice followed by the nobility of supporting large bands of armed retainers clothed in their own distinctive livery. *Restoration of order*

The king, in order further to restrain the power of the nobles, who were no longer in a position seriously to menace him because of the great reduction in their numbers and wealth caused by the Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses, was careful to employ them as little as possible in matters of state, but used instead the clergy and middle class. He insured royal military supremacy by turning to the people for support, and by engaging mercenaries in place of the feudal levies which the nobility had furnished. His position was likewise strengthened by the possession of the only artillery in the country. It must not be thought, however, that Henry met with no opposition, for the fact is that his throne was endangered by a number of conspiracies headed by pretenders who had the support not only of domestic factions of nobles but also of foreign powers. *Checks on power of nobility*

Realizing the desirability of establishing himself in a strong financial position which might make him independent of parliamentary control, the king succeeded in passing an act which recovered for the crown all lands which had been granted by Yorkist kings to the nobles. Feudal dues were carefully collected; heavy fines were imposed for breaches of the law of livery and maintenance; many lands were confiscated from the nobles who supported pretenders; and benevolences were extensively levied. Parliament was induced to grant the king a number of subsidies from time to time, and the *Restoration of finances*

customs duties for life. Best of all, Henry husbanded his resources by refraining from participation in expensive wars; and for the one war in which he unwillingly took part, to obtain Spain's friendship, he secured for himself large parliamentary grants on the pretext of attacking England's old enemy, France. This war actually came to nothing, for after a threat of hostilities and many negotiations, he succeeded in concluding peace and also in securing a French indemnity of $60,000 a year for the remainder of his reign.

Parliament still continues to exist

By constantly extending its activities Henry sought to make his Privy Council the supreme governing body, and to deprive Parliament of power, precisely as the King of France had crushed his Estates-General, or the King of Spain his Cortes; but its usefulness and the constitutional prestige behind it were too great.

Foreign policy

No less shrewdness was displayed by the king in the pursuit of his foreign policy. This consisted of defeating the aims of his foreign enemies by beating off pretenders to the throne, in arranging a series of marriage alliances, and in promoting attempts to increase the nation's trade. The friendship of Spain, as well as a large dowry, was secured by the marriage of Prince Arthur and, after his death, Prince Henry, to Catherine of Aragon. Peace with Scotland, the basis of a future union, and another large dowry resulted from the marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV. Many commercial treaties were made, notably with Denmark, Riga, and the Netherlands. The foundations of a policy of protecting English shipping were laid down, and aid was given to John Cabot's expedition to America, thus establishing England's claim to a share in the New World.

France

French unification

France had achieved its unification through its powerful kings. From the days of Hugh Capet, toward the end of the tenth century, the French monarch had exercised direct control over a small duchy called France, and had also enjoyed a vague superiority over the great French lords and their vast domains, which often overshadowed the royal possessions. By confiscation as in Normandy, by marriage as in Brittany, by conquest as in Burgundy, and by inheritance as in Lorraine, the royal line had patiently, through five centuries of ceaseless struggle, added bit by bit to the Kingdom of France. In much of the territory thus acquired, however, the kings, in order to secure submission, had been obliged to compromise with local laws and customs, even when these clashed with the interests of the central government. As a result much divergence might be found between different sections of France.

Divisions in French society

In still another respect France was not a compact national state, like England. Its nobility was separated from the middle and lower classes by the fact that all younger sons of noble families retained the status and privileges of nobles. As a result the French nobles

formed a large caste. Many of them were poor, but they were generally too proud to enter any of the professions except the army and the clergy, or to engage in commerce or industry. As may be imagined, therefore, the middle class in France was not nearly so large or influential, in proportion to the other classes, as it was in England. It was confined largely to the towns. Those of this class who might have been in the country moved, if they could, to the town, in order to escape the heavy taxes which burdened the peasantry of the countryside.

Failure of Estates-General as real governing body

While the French had the so-called Estates-General, comprising representatives from the clergy, nobles, and commons, this body had never succeeded, as had the English Parliament, in establishing precedents for wide participation in government. Instead, its members were often regarded by the people as representatives of privilege, and they possessed no real power for the reason that they had never had final control in levying taxes or in authorizing expenditures. Frenchmen, particularly of the middle and the lower classes, depended upon the sovereign and his ministers for the maintenance of order, for security against foreign invasion, and for the inauguration of reforms.

Foreign policy

When the energies of a nation were no longer exhausted by efforts to unify within its boundaries, or to organize its government and suppress disorder, it often happened that the sovereign, who was usually ambitious, became interested in securing foreign possessions at the expense of other powers. The years immediately preceding the opening of the sixteenth century mark such a period in the history of France. In 1494 Charles VIII, by an attempt to enforce an inherited claim to the crown of Naples, initiated that long series of foreign wars and attempts at territorial aggrandizement which characterized the history of France throughout the following centuries. Charles himself was unsuccessful, and though his ambitious successor, Louis XII, fearful of losing prestige, pressed on in the attempt, he was finally forced to resign Naples to King Ferdinand of Aragon, whose family managed to retain it for two centuries. But Louis' claim to another Italian state, Milan, kept the conflict alive until the reign of his successor Francis I (1515–1547), when it merged into a general struggle between Francis I and Charles V.

Spain and Portugal

Forces behind national spirit of Portuguese and Spanish peoples

It was at the very opening of the modern age that Spain and Portugal emerged as consolidated states. These countries illustrate, perhaps better than any others, the binding force of a common struggle. Both drew the inspiration of their nationhood from the long crusade against the dominion of the Moors, which filled them with both religious and patriotic fervor, and they became unified under the leadership of strong rulers who made them proud of their military successes. In the case of Portugal the final impetus to national

zeal was given by the achievements of her navigators; in that of Spain, by pride in the deeds of the "conquistadores" of the New World and in the prestige secured by the Spanish armies in European wars. Both countries rose to the position of major powers, Portugal because of the wealth of the Indies, Spain because of precious minerals drawn from the mines of Mexico and Peru.

Territorial composition of Iberian Peninsula

During the eighth century the Iberian Peninsula had been overrun by the Moors, a mixed Arabic people, of Mohammedan faith, who came from northern Africa. After a time the Christians managed to found a number of small states in the mountainous northern and western parts of the peninsula, and these states were gradually enlarged through centuries of constant warfare, until, by the close of the thirteenth century, the land came to be divided into five principalities: in the center, Castile, which, together with Leon, formed 62 per cent of its area; on the east, Aragon, including Valencia and Catalonia, 15 per cent; in the west, Portugal, 20 per cent; in the extreme north, Navarre, 1 per cent; in the extreme south, Granada, the Moorish part of Spain, 2 per cent.

European participation in release of Spain and Portugal from Moorish control

The great work of freeing Spain and Portugal from the infidel Moors had not been accomplished by the native Christians alone. Since the conflict was thought of as a crusade, numerous nobles and militant religious orders recruited from other parts of Europe had joined them in the struggle, and in return were granted lands. Mingling with the already mixed population of Iberian, Gothic, and some Moorish blood, they formed the racial basis of the modern Spanish and Portuguese peoples.

Origin of Portugal

It was due to a reward given by the King of Castile to one of these foreign noblemen, who had been aiding him against the Moors, that Portugal owed its origin as a separate principality. In 1095 Alfonso VI of Castile gave his natural daughter, together with the counties of Oporto and Coimbra, to Henry of Burgundy. For some time the lord of Portugal was known as a count, but in 1179 the Pope agreed, in return for a thousand *byzants* and an annual payment of a hundred goldpieces, to make Henry, who had already become his vassal, a king. By 1263 Portugal had acquired its full territorial extent in the peninsula. That this was accomplished seems strange, since a land and a people had been successfully consolidated without being either geographically or ethnologically distinct from their neighbors; and yet the Portuguese formed a political and social entity more conscious of nationality than almost any other European people.

Portuguese monarchy

A strong monarchy gradually absorbed the functions of the representative Cortes, until after 1521 that body ceased to meet regularly. It likewise brought under control an exceedingly numerous nobility, and after a long struggle finally succeeded in checking the overgrown power of the Church. As early as 1387 the marriage of John I with Philippa of Lancaster, granddaughter of Edward III of England, laid the foundation of a long relationship between the two countries,

valuable both for commercial and for political reasons. Long before the beginning of the sixteenth century Portuguese kings had prepared the way for the great commercial rôle which Portugal was to play, by attracting ship-builders, sailors, and merchants to Lisbon.

Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain

Spain had been less fortunate than the other new national states in her attempts to secure complete national unity, for her two main states remained distinct, but on the accession of Isabella to the throne of Castile in 1474, and the accession of her husband, Ferdinand the Catholic, to that of Aragon in 1479, all of Spain except Navarre and Granada, the latter still held by the Moors, came into close and peaceful relations. Each country continued to maintain its own autonomous government, its own customs, and its distinctive language, in the one case Castilian, in the other Catalan; but the rivalry between these two was at an end, and thereafter they pursued common policies, especially in foreign affairs. In 1492 Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors, was conquered, and in 1512 Ferdinand acquired that part of Navarre which lay upon the southern slope of the Pyrenees.

Disorderly conditions

The first problem confronting the Catholic sovereigns was the pacification of their realms. There was no difficulty in Aragon and Catalonia, but the violent deeds of the Castilian nobles called for vigorous measures of repression, especially in Galicia and Andalusia. The constant wars against the Moors had resulted: (1) in the creation of a turbulent and warlike nobility entrusted with large possessions and great powers; (2) in the establishment of wealthy military orders whose grand-masters were independent commanders with power overshadowing that of the sovereign; and (3) in the upgrowth of powerful ecclesiastics who, like laylords, claimed civil and military authority and were even more turbulent and hard to control. All this had led, during the two preceding reigns, to a state of almost universal anarchy, and the country was so infested with brigands that life was not safe outside the town walls. In Seville and Cordova the inhabitants of one street attacked those of another, and in Toledo four thousand houses were burned to the ground. Churches became fortresses, and fortresses, in turn, became robbers' dens.

Restoration of order

Isabella vigorously undertook to restore order. The guilty, regardless of rank, were mercilessly executed, and four thousand people who thought they might be suspected of guilt fled, some to Portugal, and some even to the Moors. To ensure the permanency of her reforms, the Queen employed an organization which was already in existence, but which until then had not been under royal control and on several occasions had even been used against the royal power. During the Middle Ages brotherhoods, or *hermandades*, had been formed for the protection of the towns. Now these places were persuaded to combine their resources in a general *hermandad* which was placed at the sovereign's disposal, thus relieving the crown of the costly maintenance of rural police. A permanent corps of two thousand men, fully

equipped and mounted, was thus supplied by the towns to insure the safety of the roads and countryside and to suppress domestic insurrection.

Utilization of bourgeoisie in government

A further check was placed upon the great nobles and ecclesiastics who had previously served as the king's chief advisers, and had held all of the important military and administrative posts. Several new councils were established, and these, as well as the important civil and ecclesiastical positions, came to be filled with lawyers, versed in the Roman Law and drawn from the bourgeoisie. Lacking the prestige of birth, and aware that royal favor alone could maintain them in power, these officials proved most devoted servants. It may also be noted that the newly-created councils relegated to a lower position the Cortes, or assembly of estates, which had previously played an important rôle as a representative body, and which now came to be summoned less frequently. The earlier influence of the towns was likewise reduced through the curtailment of many of their privileges.

Monarchs' use of Church

The Spanish monarchs also employed the Church to their advantage. Successful in gaining control over most of its appointments, they took good care to choose men from the lower nobility or middle classes who would prove virtuous, reliable, and useful servants to the government. As early as 1475, in order to inquire into the faith of Moors and Jews who had been forced to become Christians or else leave the kingdom, the sovereigns secured the right to appoint ecclesiastical judges or inquisitors. These measures rapidly led to the Spanish Inquisition, which served as a powerful if obnoxious instrument in promoting not merely religious but also political uniformity. The royal revenues were greatly increased by the incorporation of the masterships of many of the great military orders, thus reducing the dangers of disorder and at the same time securing large military and monetary resources. In the case of the three great orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, besides a revenue of $2,325,000, control was gained over powerful organizations which had been obstacles to the exercise of royal authority. Much property which had been alienated by the crown to the Church was recovered, and the sale of indulgences and taxes formerly collected by the Church for the crusade against the Moors continued to replenish the royal treasury.

Other reforms

A generally businesslike spirit pervaded the royal administration. Great attention was paid to the collection of the taxes, especially the trade, stamp, and customs dues. Abuses in the coinage were corrected, and barriers to trade between Castile and Aragon removed. Due to this attention the royal revenues are said to have multiplied thirty times over in the period of Isabella's reign (1474–1504), and this without addition to the popular burdens. The laws of Castile were revised and codified. A regular royal army was instituted at state expense.

Foreign policy

In foreign policy Castile took the lead in promoting American explorations and in controlling Spain's great overseas possessions.

Under Ferdinand's able leadership Aragon sought to secure control of the Mediterranean Sea. Through marriage alliances with England, and with the Hapsburgs, who ruled as Holy Roman Emperors, Ferdinand sought to isolate France, which opposed his designs upon Naples and Sicily. These alliances he finally succeeded in securing, and soon afterwards France was obliged to recognize all of his claims in Italy. He failed, however, to obtain possession of Portugal through a marriage between his daughter Isabella and a Portuguese prince. It may be said that while Ferdinand lived, Spain, because of its resources and Ferdinand's statecraft, which may be characterized as "deceiving others without himself ever having been duped," acquired a commanding position in international affairs.

Less developed nationalities

Besides the larger and more developed national states which played leading rôles in the world's history during the sixteenth century, there were others, such as Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland, and Savoy; but these need not concern us now, since their histories will be dealt with later when they become of more vital importance in European affairs.

The City-States

Nature of city-state

For many centuries, beginning as early as the time when Babylon controlled the destinies of the Euphrates valley, or when Athens and Sparta first displayed real political liberty to the world, cities had commanded men's allegiance, and had extended their influence by the formation of leagues or, as in the case of Rome, by conquests. Cities were the centers of business, wealth, and culture, and their inhabitants frequently enjoyed extensive participation in government. Toward the close of the Middle Ages there were three regions in particular—Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands—where cities flourished as political factors. In Italy the larger city-states enjoyed complete control of their own affairs and were centers of extensive territories. In the latter countries, on the other hand, while they managed most of their concerns, they owed allegiance to a territorial overlord and had little or no control outside the bounds of the city walls.

Reasons for lack of national unity in Italy

There were several reasons why Italy, in spite of geographical unity and a considerable degree of similarity in language and customs, had failed to consolidate its city-states into a single national unit. In the fourteenth century there had seemingly been some chance that a union might be brought about, but by the fifteenth century the states had become so evenly balanced that no one of them was able to become master of the others. Their rival commercial interests and jealousies held them apart. The vague acknowledgment of the Holy Roman Emperor's overlordship and especially the interest of the Papacy, prevented any foreign power, until Napoleon's time, from conquering and uniting the Italian peninsula. The Papacy engaged in Italian petty politics, and through intrigues or conquests

constantly strove to enlarge its share of Italian territory. It was not strong enough to secure and to rule all Italy, but it succeeded in preventing any Italian dynasty or any foreign power from taking its place. The Pope's usual policy, whenever he observed an Italian state growing too strong, was to seek the aid of some foreign power in reducing it. If, on the other hand, any European sovereign had been rash enough to attempt to destroy the temporal power of the Papacy in Italy, he would have had to reckon with European public opinion. Italy, therefore, due to the great wealth and mutual jealousies of its cities, and to the policy which they as well as the Pope pursued of seeking foreign aid in their quarrels, became the center of many national ambitions and one of the favorite battle-grounds for Germans, French, and Spaniards.

Venice

At the opening of the sixteenth century Italy comprised seven states of importance—Venice, Milan, Florence, Genoa, and Savoy in the north; the Papal States, grouped around Rome, in the center; and Naples, or the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in the south. Of these, Venice was the most powerful. Because of her many trading-posts and her extensive commerce, during the later Middle Ages she was the greatest sea-power and one of the wealthiest states in the world. Founded about the middle of the fifth century by refugees from Attila's Huns, who had settled on some barren islands off the Adriatic coast of Italy, the state had gained its first prosperity from trade in salt and fish. It had gradually acquired territory on the neighboring mainland, and its commercial colonies extended down along the coasts of the Adriatic Sea and throughout the Near East. Venice came to be the center of a great cosmopolitan empire; many of its citizens permanently lived abroad in its colonies, and many natives from its dependencies remained always in the metropolis. Somewhat like the later British Empire, the city without its commerce and its overseas territories would have played a modest rôle. The immense returns from the commercial monopoly, which Venice managed to maintain for many years, secured an efficient government at very low cost to the citizens. Likewise, material well-being resulting from this vast trade, which at that time excelled all others in the world, and from the city's many and prosperous manufactures, made Venice a most desirable place in which to live. Throngs of foreigners came to serve as sailors, soldiers, and expert workmen, or to engage in trade. The "rialto" or exchange, the great national bank, and Venice's hotels, the first in Europe, became famous throughout the world.

To add to the general contentment, the state was well governed. The constitution was noted for its stability, the patriotism and civic pride of the citizens were intense, and there was much more individual liberty than generally prevailed elsewhere. Although in the earlier days all Venetian citizens had shared in the city government, when the state rose to prosperity the nobles secured a monopoly of political affairs; but since the number of these nobles was large, and the

higher positions circulated among them according to ability, the evils of an oligarchy were avoided.

The government consisted of a Grand Council of all the nobles, the chief function of which was to elect nearly all of the state officers: the Senate, or chief legislative body; the College, a kind of cabinet, which prepared the business for the larger councils and saw to the execution of their decisions; and, at the head of the system, the Doge, who was little more than a figurehead, and six ducal councillors. What was perhaps most characteristic of the Venetian government was the Council of Ten, created to carry out swiftly and secretly all such business as was neglected in the ordinary councils. It dealt with urgent questions of foreign policy, and with serious criminal cases. Although its methods were not illegal or oppressive, its silent but speedy action cast terror into the hearts of all lawbreakers, brought about good order within the city, and gave vigor and promptness to foreign policy.

Decline of Venice's power

Toward the end of the fifteenth century Venice's great prosperity began to decline. From 1466 to 1475 the Republic fought the Turkish Empire single-handed. Because of the jealousy of other Italian states, Venice was unable to enlist their aid against the common foe of Christendom, and consequently lost many of her colonies in the East; meanwhile her naval supremacy began to be seriously threatened by the Turkish fleet. At the same time she was losing much of her trade, due to the competition of other cities. Finally, to cap the climax, the Portuguese found a direct sea-route around Africa to the riches of the Far East and diverted much of the Asiatic trade from Italy, while shrewd Dutch skippers stole away a large portion of the carrying-trade in Europe. In 1509 the League of Cambrai was formed by the Pope, France, Spain, and the Emperor against Venice, and this struck a further severe blow at the city's greatness. Her reserve strength may well be seen in the fact that after this war, in which the larger part of Christian Europe was arrayed against her, she had left enough vigor to wage a series of wars against the Turks. Venice gradually lost her overseas possessions, but she retained her independence until Napoleon destroyed her government and handed her territory over to Austria.

Milan

In wealth the Duchy of Milan was next to Venice among the Italian states, but it was of entirely different character. Its government was a tyranny, although one under which the people lived in peace and contentment. The Italian tyrants were not all that the name may imply. Although after a violent seizure of power they maintained autocratic rule, they often proved excellent, broad-minded rulers, anxious to promote general prosperity, and they were usually characterized by their generous patronage of culture and art. In 1450 Milan was taken by Francesco Sforza, the son of a plowman, a soldier of fortune who had married into the great Visconti family, former leaders in Milan. He founded the dynasty of Sforza dukes who

ruled in Milan until the city was captured by the French in 1500. It was taken from them by the Emperor Charles V in 1522, and restored to the Sforzas as a fief of the Empire.

Florence

Florence was the great Italian center of art and culture. Its bankers at one time were the leading financiers of the medieval world, and its manufactures of fine woolens, silks, and gold brocades were noted throughout Europe. A republic in name, in reality for seventy years (since 1443) it had been completely dominated by the Medici, a wealthy family of bankers. Like modern political "bosses," they held no official position, but they managed to dispose of all the offices and to direct the state's policy. As leaders of international finance, they were an early example of the influence of the "financial interests" in politics, and could depend upon the loyalty of all the commercial forces of the town. The lower classes were bought by their generosity, their large expenditures for fêtes, and their employment of labor, while their liberal patronage of art and literature further increased their popularity. Moreover, they enjoyed great influence in Italy by reason of their skill in the direction of foreign policy.

Florence's chief weakness was its love of luxury and its declining moral standards. The maxim of Florence was said to be, "Do what you will, but do it beautifully." A Dominican monk, Savonarola, caused much sensation, not only in Florence but elsewhere, by preaching a great moral reform. Finally, when Charles VIII of France, on his way to Naples, captured Florence in 1495, Savonarola persuaded him to withdraw his army. Since the last Medici had fled, the citizens turned to Savonarola for leadership. He then established a sort of theocracy, with himself as benevolent despot. Believing that the aim of government should be the promotion of public welfare, he reduced taxation and found work for the unemployed. Under his direction many puritanical laws were passed, and finally a great "burning of the vanities" was arranged, in which gay dresses, wigs, pictures, jewels, and licentious books were collected in a great heap and destroyed by fire. This severity caused a reaction which finally brought about his overthrow and death.

Genoa and Savoy

Two other states in northern Italy, Genoa and Savoy—the former a city-state and the latter a ducal territory—are worth noting because of their history and their later importance. Genoa, next to Venice, had led the Italian cities in trade with the Orient. The rivalry between the two cities for commercial and maritime supremacy had at times been extremely bitter. In 1494 Genoa had been seized by Louis XII of France, and it did not regain its independence and republican institutions until 1528.

The Duchy of Savoy, located in the northwestern Alps, had long enjoyed a disproportionate importance because of its strategic position as the northwestern gateway to Italy, and in the nineteenth century the House of Savoy was to become the royal house of Italy.

Papal States

In all Italy the most disorganized territories were those directly under the control of the Popes. So independent were the vassal nobles that the papacy often had little power even in Rome itself; while this city seemed constantly discontented with papal rule, yet it needed the papal court for its prosperity. The nobles living in the country around Rome proved almost as warlike and turbulent as they had been in the Middle Ages. These circumstances, coupled with the fact that the papacy was elective and the priesthood presumably celibate, which prevented the foundation of a papal dynasty, together with the Pope's failure to control or unite all of the Italian states, led many Popes to spend their energy in advancing family interests and creating a strong dominion. This they sometimes did in utter disregard of all moral obligations and without hesitating to shed blood in the attainment of their ends. The Pope came to be regarded by other Italian princes, except for a certain conventional respect, as one of themselves. Nevertheless, his spiritual position gave him a European influence which the others could not command.

Naples

The feudal system of the Middle Ages had lingered longest in the south of Italy. Here the old Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, centering around the city of Naples and the island of Sicily, first founded by Scandinavian adventurers in the eleventh century, had been held at different times under the suzerainty of the Pope, the Holy Roman Emperors, and the French, and finally in 1442 had been secured by the King of Aragon. In culture and civilization the people of Naples were far behind those of the rest of Italy, and were prevented from progressing by feudal oppression, which the centralizing policy of the House of Aragon was unable to correct.

Netherland cities

While in Italy and Germany the weakness of the central administration allowed many free cities to develop, in the country now comprising Holland, Belgium, and much of northern France there were many wealthy and important towns which, while they enjoyed a position of independence superior to those in other European countries, never managed completely to free themselves from the authority of the princes. However, so affluent did these great towns become, so great a rôle did they play as the most important commercial and industrial centers outside of Italy, that they occupied a preponderant position in the territory within which they were located, greatly surpassing the clergy and nobility. They were able to secure charters which protected their privileges and enabled them to manage their own affairs. Among them were such important places as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, Ghent, Ypres, Bruges, Liege, Antwerp, Brussels, Arras, Lille, and Tournai. A Spanish author remarked that these cities were so many and so populous that Flanders seemed like a single city.

Formation of the Netherlands

The country in which they were located, known as the Netherlands, was divided into seventeen provinces, occupying a middle ground between the Teutonic and Latin civilizations. It was inhabited

in the north by the Dutch, in the south and west by the Flemings, both of Germanic speech, and in the south and east by the Walloons, of French speech. By the middle of the fifteenth century the Dukes of Burgundy had succeeded in uniting most of this territory into a state. After a long struggle the towns, while preserving much of their liberty, had to submit to the central authority so far as to divide with the prince the nomination of their officials, to acknowledge the right of appeal to his court, and to allow the auditing of their accounts by his officials. Each of the seventeen provinces continued to hold its own Estates for local government, and had as an administrator a Stadtholder appointed by the Duke. In 1463 a central government for all of the provinces was formed. This was composed of two councils, one for administrative affairs and one for judicial. A general assembly, called the States-General, and composed of delegates from the provincial Estates, was likewise convened. Each province, however, retained the right to accept or reject the actions of its delegates in the States-General, and to vote its portion of the taxes.

The Empires

Imperialism

Imperialism dates back many centuries to Persia, Assyria, and Egypt. Although national monarchies rose in Europe to block its progress, imperialism has never been eliminated among European peoples. The imperial ambitions of national states came to replace those of the older empires. Not only was there within Europe itself an almost constant struggle between the forces of imperialism and of nationalism, but there arose a far greater extension of imperial sway over vast colonial domains in all parts of the world. Thus within the institutions of one and the same nation there has grown up through the centuries a peculiar partnership between democratic nationalism and imperialism. Today we see pictured upon the world's screen, democratic France and imperial France; England the mother of parliaments and the mistress of countless alien races; minute Holland and her great island empire.

Two Roman Empires

Within sixteenth-century Europe there existed two empires based on the ruins of the old Roman Empire, which at its height had comprised the races of all Europe south of the Danube and the Rhine. In its later days it had become divided into a western and an eastern part. The former, owing to internal decay and to the many Germanic invasions, by the end of the fourteenth century had fallen into disorder. Although later attempts were made by the Eastern Roman Emperors, such as Justinian, to reunite the Empire and restore order, these efforts proved to be only temporarily successful. Civilized man, however, still clung to the idea of universal sovereignty—that there should be a power above all other powers to secure justice and peace. It was the Church which revived the idea of Empire in the West. The Pope turned to the strongest ruler, Charlemagne, King of the Franks, and crowned him Emperor on Christmas Day, 800 A.D. The

Pope thus assumed the superiority of the spiritual head over the temporal, and placed Charlemagne above all other temporal rulers in the West. In this way he created, at least in theory, a vast Christian imperial domain, which later, under Otto the Great, came to be known as the Holy Roman Empire.

The fate of the empire in eastern Europe, known as the Byzantine Empire, was far different. Instead of a Christian empire, the vague claims of which had largely to be surrendered to strong Christian monarchies, there arose in eastern Europe, toward the close of the fourteenth century, a vast Mohammedan Turkish empire, the strength of which seemed to exceed that of any other European power, and the expansion of which threatened to thrust into Germany and Italy and overwhelm both the spiritual and the temporal heads of the Empire in the West. No danger was ever more constantly present, no problem more difficult for western Europe to face, during the first century of the modern era, than this vigorous new Empire spurred on by religious zeal and lust for conquest.

Rise of Ottoman Turks

The Ottoman Turks originated in Central Asia as a small nomadic tribe of warriors and shepherds. Moving westward, they first secured lands in Asia Minor in return for aid against the Mongols given to some of their kinsmen, the Seljuk Turks, who had occupied this region in the eleventh century. By the first part of the fourteenth century they had conquered all of the Byzantine possessions in Asia except Trebizond. After these successes their armies came to be much in demand. Strangely enough, it was the Christians themselves who gave the opportunity for Turkish intervention and settlement in Europe. The old Roman Empire in the East, which had passed through many vicissitudes and was now in the hands of the Greeks, was torn with factional strife. In 1343 the Turks were first invited by John Cantacuzène, a pretender to the throne, to come to his aid, and they did so. A similar policy was followed on several occasions until in 1353, grown bolder and more familiar with European conditions, they seized the fortress of Gallipoli, from which foothold they were never dislodged. In the following century their power was gradually extended over the peninsula, and during this time the Balkan peoples —the Bulgars, Serbs, and Greeks—were conquered. In 1453 the final blow to Christian control in the East came with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

Extent of Turkish Empire

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the population of the Ottoman Empire, under the able rule of Sultan Suleiman, comprised many distinct races, such as Turks, Slavs, Greeks, Magyars, Romans, Armenians, Arabs, Copts, and Jews. This Empire extended from Budapest on the Danube to the Persian Gulf; from the Caspian Sea to the western shores of the Mediterranean.

Turkish institutions

Throughout these wide realms the Sultan's rule was autocratic. His despotic will was enforced by a powerful standing army. The territory was organized into twenty-one governments, which were

subdivided into two hundred and fifty *sanjaks*, each under its own *Bey*. The Turks never lost their military character. They did not assimilate their subjects, and become indistinguishable from them; they remained, instead, a caste of military landowners.

Holy Roman Empire

In the West the Holy Roman Empire lasted from 962 to 1806, but by the sixteenth century it was limited to German-speaking peoples, and to a nominal sway over the Netherlands and Switzerland. It exercised no control over the rapidly developing monarchies of England, France, Portugal, and Spain, for their strong national spirit would have prevented the least recognition of such a claim. On the contrary, France, at least, followed a definitely imperialistic policy in conflict with the Emperor's attempts to secure Italy.

Method of choosing Emperor

The emperor had first to be chosen as King of the Romans, and was then invested by the Pope with the imperial crown, thus becoming a *Kaiser* or successor of the Cæsars. As early as 1356 it was determined by the Golden Bull of Charles IV that the King of the Romans should thereafter be chosen by seven German electors, namely, the King of Bohemia, the Elector of Saxony, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and the Archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne. These symbolized the Roman senate and people. The practice developed of selecting a son or other relative of the reigning emperor during the latter's lifetime, and finally, after the time of Ferdinand I (1558–1564), it was usual for the King of the Romans to succeed at once on the emperor's death, without papal sanction, to the title of "Emperor Elect."

German States

By this arrangement the destiny of the empire was entrusted to the hands of the great German lords. They were to hold the chief court offices, and were to outrank all other German princes. Their domains were not to be divided or otherwise interfered with. Their sovereign position was assured by the power to coin money in their own right, by the possession of armies, by control of the domestic affairs of their states, and to a large extent by independent administration of foreign relations. These were the very powers which in western Europe had been surrendered to the central national governments. Germany was far from unified, even into a number of these larger German states. Instead, it presented an astonishing maze of some three hundred separate principalities, both ecclesiastical and secular, and of many knight's estates and free cities. The unity of even the larger principalities was disturbed by the mass of smaller, semi-independent territories within their bounds, and by the fact that their domains were often made up of bits of land lying separate from each other.

Emperor and Imperial Diet

Over this strange hodge-podge of territories the emperor exercised a weak and unstable control. Unlike the kings of France and England, he had no royal domain to give him wealth and dignity, no revenue which custom or direct grant of the Estates assured, no imperial army strong enough to enable him to cope with other powers. To serve

him in his difficult task of governing, the Diet, or general assembly, was more a hindrance than a help. Composed of the seven electors, some of the lesser princes, the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, and representatives from the free cities—or of delegates appointed by these various estates—it very seldom passed a useful measure. Its sessions usually resulted in endless delay and expense, many delegates leaving before late-comers arrived, and others having to carry on long conversations with home governments before making any important decision; and yet the emperor was not supposed to perform any important imperial act without the Diet's authorization.

Disintegrating forces

Under these circumstances the only hope which the emperor might have of playing an important rôle in domestic and world politics was to build up his family possessions. Since, however, his throne was not hereditary, as was the case in the great national states of western Europe, the incentive which they possessed for strengthening the state was lacking. Rather the emperor's policy came to be to use his office to increase his family's resources. Consequently the very force which proved most important in realizing the national unification of other countries was absent in Germany. Moreover, the fact that the German electors were also ambitious to follow the emperor's example, and that their territories were protected from disintegration by the Golden Bull of Charles IV, was a further obstacle in the path of union. Instead of developing as one large nationality, many German nations grew up around the larger states.

Hapsburg family

During the Middle Ages it had often been the electors' policy to choose as emperor some prince who would not prove too strong, and from whom many concessions might be exacted. The succession was thus changed from one family to another. It was probably due to the real ability of the Hapsburgs and to the need that was felt of defending the Empire against the Slavs and Turks, that some member of that family, with a few interruptions from 1273 to the Empire's final extinction in 1806, was enthroned as emperor. The Hapsburgs had begun their career as petty lords in Alsace, extending their control over various fiefs and offices in Switzerland. In 1268 Rudolf of Hapsburg had become Archduke of Austria, or the Eastmark, a province in the southeastern part of the Empire, and in 1273 he was made Emperor. The way was paved for still greater fortunes by the marriage, in 1477, of Emperor Maximilian I to Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold and heiress to the Netherlands; and again, in 1496, by the marriage of his son Philip to Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and heiress of the crowns of Castile and Aragon. These, as well as later marriages with the Bohemian and Hungarian reigning families, prepared the ground for the creation of a great dynastic empire which in interest far surpassed the fading glories of the old Holy Roman Empire, and led its rulers to neglect it at times when there was pressing need of reform from many quarters.

Sad condition of Germany

In many places throughout the empire extreme disorder prevailed. There were robbery and plundering and ceaseless strife among the numerous small lords and knights; jealousies between the towns; quarrels between the country districts and the cities; and much suffering caused by the changes in economic conditions. There was great need of a superior court or judge with a police force to keep order. Although an imperial court did exist, it was hard to reach, as it accompanied the emperor on his wanderings. Since the preservation of public peace was a matter of little concern to the imperial government, local voluntary unions were established among the knights. The Estates of the larger provinces sought to secure justice through arbitration, and six of the electors held annual meetings to attempt to accomplish among themselves what the emperor and the Diet failed to achieve. Domestic affairs, as well as danger from the encroachment of foreign powers, seemed to demand real national unity. The empire's unwieldy fabric had outgrown its old organization, and no new system had arisen capable of supplying its needs.

Possibilities of realization of German national unity

At this juncture, if a sufficiently strong power had existed to bring it about, the way seemed open for a German national state which might have comprised Germany and Austria, and perhaps Holland and Belgium. The Germans possessed in common language, race, and traditions. Many of them had begun to see the futility of maintaining the old imperial pretensions, and were disgusted with the lack of power and the inefficiency of the established institutions. Many states, particularly the larger ones, might have proved obstacles, but even the strongest of the German feudal houses were less well organized, and could base their power on weaker local tradition than some of the duchies, such as Brittany, which had been subdued by the French monarch. Moreover, the ecclesiastical princes and the free cities might have provided a counterpoise, which was absent in other countries, to the strength of the hereditary nobles, and yet the nobles probably possessed sufficient power to compel the formation of a parliamentary monarchy such as that of England. Unfortunately the imperial and dynastic interests of the emperor caused him to turn his attention to other matters, and the inability of the classes to agree upon any program unfavorable to their interests brought about the failure of all attempts to form a real union. The towns were too filled with local patriotism, the knights were too poor and too fond of brawling and robbery, the great nobles were too interested in their own states, to evolve a truly national policy. The final blow to any hopes of German national unity in the sixteenth century was dealt by the Reformation, which split the country into two opposing camps of Protestants and Catholics.

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CHAPTER II

DYNASTIC RIVALRY

Charles V and Francis I

Weakness of elective monarchy

Soon after the opening of the sixteenth century it became evident that the empty but impressive imperial title, and the ambition of the Hapsburg family to use its office to increase the family dominions, were obstacles in the way of a German national monarchy, and that there was actual danger that Germany might have to submit to the domination of a foreign power. Upon the death of Emperor Maximilian, in 1519, there ensued a most hotly contested election, which clearly revealed the weakness and danger, at that period of history, of the elective system as compared with the principle of hereditary sovereignty, which was the rule in the strong national monarchies. Bohemia and Poland, where the elective principle likewise existed, passed through many severe crises as a result of alien intervention, and finally were brought under foreign domination.

Election of Charles V

No less than three candidates appeared in 1519 to sue for the vacant imperial throne: Francis I of France, Henry VIII of England, and Maximilian's grandson Charles, who had lately become King of Spain. Although Henry VIII never had much chance to secure the election, the same cannot be said of Francis I, who for a time seemed to have the best prospects of the three. Francis' recent military successes, and his ambitions for military renown, seemed to designate him as the logical leader of a crusade against the victorious Turks, a task which the new emperor would have to face. The Pope, because of this fact, and because of the Italian political situation, was inclined toward him. Some of the German electors, due to Maximilian's opposition to the reforms which they had proposed, had tired of the Hapsburgs, and those along the Rhine feared that Francis might attack their territories if they refused to vote for him. Besides, Francis had much more money than the others to lavish upon the electors. Fortunately for Germany, the German writers, scholars, and knights made it so clear that the national sentiment was in Charles' favor and that their desires would be backed by force of arms, that the electors decided to cast their votes for him.

Charles V's Empire

Although Charles was partly Flemish and Spanish, had spent his youth in the Netherlands, and understood neither the German language nor German ideals, it was felt that the Hapsburgs were at least a German family. In choosing him, however, Germans ran the danger of being absorbed in a vast empire of alien races. Charles' father was Philip of Hapsburg, son of Emperor Maximilian and Mary, Duchess of Burgundy. His mother was Joanna, daughter and

heiress of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. Through the death of his father and of his two grandfathers, and his mother's insanity, Charles came into possession of Spain, the Spanish domains recently secured in South and North America; Naples and Sicily, which were controlled by Aragon; the Netherlands and Franche Comte, which had been held by the House of Burgundy; and the Hapsburg possessions in Austria and southwestern Germany. These vast domains, although Charles held them under different titles, virtually made him an emperor over a new type of empire, a dynastic one, created not by conquest, but through marriage. Thus the Hapsburg realms, now the greatest under the control of any Christian ruler, threatened, if Charles succeeded in organizing them into one system, to absorb Germany, and perhaps to accomplish what the Holy Roman Empire had failed to accomplish, that is, to control the destinies not only of Spain, but also of France and England—the only obstacles in the way of universal domain—and thus retard the progress of nationalism.[1]

Charles V's promise to preserve German nationalism

The German electors sought to meet this danger, in the case of Germany, by demanding of Charles as an election pledge that German or Latin should be the official language of the Holy Roman Empire; that the imperial offices should be open only to Germans; that the various princes should not be subject to any foreign political jurisdiction; that in imperial wars no foreign troops should serve unless permitted to do so by the Diet. Finally, they asked for a Council of Regency which should share the government with the emperor when he was present, and rule the country in his absence.

French policy

Francis, on his part, had sought the imperial title not only through ambition, but also in order to avoid the complete encirclement and strangulation of his country by the vast Hapsburg possessions. Although he failed to secure the emperorship, throughout his lifetime he continued to struggle not only to expand his own power, but also to check that of his rival and prevent it from becoming the universal monarchy which it threatened to be. As has already been noted, this dynastic rivalry, which proved such a blight of war, suspicion, and unscrupulous diplomacy, had already been commenced in 1494 by the previous French king, Charles VIII. He had no sooner completed the unification of his own country by acquiring Brittany than he sought, through a sudden raid into Italy, to secure control of foreign lands. This old quarrel was very promptly resumed by Francis I, who had the added incentive of a struggle to preserve his own realms. Francis' ambitions also led him to assert claims to the small Kingdom

[1] It is uncertain whether Charles had, upon first becoming Emperor, any thought of securing other domains. Some authorities contend that throughout his reign he pursued merely a defensive policy. Nevertheless, as the war progressed between Francis and Charles, plans were certainly laid for the disruption of France, which, if they had succeeded, would have led to the disintegration of the French monarchy and perhaps later to the dominance of all Europe. At least this was feared by other nations, and Charles was called "the Lord of the World."

of Navarre, of most of which his kinsman had been recently deprived by Ferdinand of Aragon; and he would also have liked to secure those provinces of the Netherlands in which French was the spoken language.

Comparative strength of Charles and Francis

On first thought one would incline to believe that Francis' chances of successfully meeting his great rival were slight. His real strength lay in the fact that the territories ruled over by Charles, although large, were scattered and were separated from one another by French possessions, as well as by seas over which England, because of its geographical position, had much control. France, on the other hand, was compact, and the nobility, clergy, and commons were thoroughly subjected to the sovereign's power. Charles V, moreover, had constantly to struggle against internal resistance and difficulties of every sort. In Spain, he had to quell open revolt by the *communeros;* in Flanders, the rich cities were unruly; in Germany, the conflict between Catholics and Protestants prevented him from establishing a strong rule; in Austria, the danger of Turkish attack was ever present; in the Mediterranean, the Barbary corsairs confronted him. In Charles' favor, especially as his reign progressed, might be counted the vast treasures from Mexico and Peru, the commercial wealth of the Netherlands, and the known skill of the Spanish soldier.

Charles and Francis as leaders

As a leader and statesman Charles was undoubtedly superior to Francis. He was reserved, patient, persistent, and showed much shrewdness as well as considerable energy, although he has been accused of being at times irresolute and slow. His generals, admirals, and administrators were usually well chosen. The very fact that, confronted with so many difficulties, he was able to hold together his empire for forty years, reveals his greatness. Francis is described as a lover of luxury, a patron of art, frivolous, superficial, and with little foresight, prudence, or statesmanship, but with a certain chivalrous spirit which made him popular.

French misfortunes

At the beginning of the struggle everything seemed to be in Charles V's favor. He succeeded in arranging an English alliance in opposition to Francis' efforts toward the same end. Due to alarm over the German reformation, Pope Leo X took Charles' part. He died soon afterwards and was replaced by Charles' old teacher, Adrian VI. The French in Italy were defeated and driven from Milan, and the most powerful noble in France, the Constable de Bourbon, turned traitor and joined Charles. A secret treaty was negotiated for the partitioning of France between Charles, Henry VIII of England, and Bourbon. French territory was attacked from different directions by English, Spanish, and Imperial armies. Francis, though successful in opposing all of these forces and in invading Italy and taking Milan, was captured and taken a prisoner to Madrid. He was forced to agree to the Treaty of Madrid (1526) by which he renounced all claims to Italy, as well as suzerainty over Flanders and Artois, restored Bourbon's possessions to him, and ceded the Duchy of Burgundy to Charles.

However, no sooner was he released than he repudiated the treaty on the ground that he had agreed to it under coercion.

Sack of Rome

Upon the renewal of hostilities an Italian league composed of the Pope, Venice, Florence, Milan, and the Swiss was formed against Charles. In retaliation Bourbon, whom Charles had left without financial support or orders, led an army of 10,000 to 15,000 men against Rome. Bourbon was killed in the attack, whereupon his soldiers lost all discipline and for nine months pillaged Rome, entering monasteries, despoiling altars, burning many books in the Vatican library, and tearing down the masterpieces of the great artists.

Charles V's successes

After defeating two French armies, Charles forced the Dukes of Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua to recognize him as suzerain and was crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope. Disaster seemed to face France when in 1529 Charles hastily made peace at Cambrai. The French king, however, was obliged to renounce all of his interests in Italy, Flanders, and Artois.

Balance of power theory

Charles had been forced to this quick decision by the threatened religious war in Germany, the Turkish attack upon Vienna, and Henry VIII's transference of friendship to France. Charles V's successes had at length led to the fear of a universal empire. In order to prevent this from becoming an actuality, and to preserve the independence of France and the balance of power in Europe, Wolsey, Henry's famous minister, threw sufficient support to the weaker side to right the balance; but a neutral attitude was maintained as soon as it was seen that France had recovered herself. Thus was born the doctrine of the balance of power: the policy of not allowing a single state or ruler to become powerful enough to dominate European politics, but by the creation of alliances to build up groups of powers of nearly equal strength.

Charles V and the Turks

Turkish conquests

While Christian Europe was shaken and weakened by such contests of power, its very existence was threatened by the overwhelming advance of the great Turkish Empire. Hungary, including the capital Budapest, had succumbed by 1529, and the victorious Turks pushed on to the very gates of Vienna. Charles' brother, Ferdinand, who now was chosen King of Hungary, managed, in spite of twenty assaults, to retain Vienna, whereupon the Sultan retreated to gather even greater forces. Three years later he reappeared with a large army, resolved not only to have Austria, but to penetrate to the very heart of Germany and fulfil his boast that, "as there is but one God in Heaven, so must there be but one lord on earth, and Suleiman is that lord." With the aid of an alliance which was soon formed between the Turks and the French, it seemed as if this might well be possible, and even likely. Charles V, however, in the face of this great danger, was able to gather considerable forces to oppose

the Turks. Francis did not venture to draw European censure upon himself by a diversion elsewhere in Europe in favor of his ally. Suleiman in 1532 decided to retreat. Although he never succeeded in advancing further into Europe, he made a large part of Hungary a Turkish province and exacted an annual tribute of $69,600 from Ferdinand. He never, so long as he lived, allowed the Hapsburg family to rest at ease concerning the safety of their eastern frontiers.

Mohammedan sea power

In another direction Suleiman threatened the safety of Europe. Pushing eastward, he acquired the Euphrates valley, and also established himself on the Persian Gulf. Having already acquired the territories along the Black Sea and sovereignty over Egypt, he now controlled all the old trade routes to the Far East. Toward the latter part of his reign, in 1544, he even equipped a fleet on the Red Sea to aid the Mohammedans of India against the Portuguese. In the Mediterranean basin the Venetians were driven from the Morea and the Ægean islands, leaving only Cyprus, Crete, and Malta in Christian hands. Even in the western Mediterranean it seemed as though the Christians might lose all control. In the days of King Ferdinand of Aragon the Spaniards had acquired possession of the African coast from Melilla in Morocco a considerable distance eastward, reducing the rulers of Algiers and Tunis to the position of vassals. This, together with his acquisition of Naples, had given Ferdinand control of the western Mediterranean. Soon after the opening of the sixteenth century, however, two Greek or Albanian adventurers, the Barbarossas, made themselves masters of Algiers, and in 1534 Hayraddin Barbarossa, after the loss of his elder brother in battle, succeeded also in adding Tunis to his possessions. Later, in order to secure Suleiman's support, he agreed to hold his conquests for the Turks. Accordingly he was given command of the Turkish fleet, which with his own corsair squadrons made him very powerful on the sea. Not only was Spanish control of the western Mediterranean shattered, but the coasts of Spain and Italy were harried by constant raids. Many Christians were seized and carried off to the slave-markets of Africa and the East, and trade was interrupted.

Christian attempts at control of Mediterranean

Once more upon Charles V rested the task of saving Europe. Leaving Spain with a fleet of four hundred vessels under the command of Andrea Doria, he sailed for Africa in June, 1535. Landing at Goletta, he defeated Barbarossa's army, and, assisted by the revolt of the Christian prisoners in Tunis, recovered that Kingdom for Spain and delivered twenty thousand Christian captives. Six years later an expedition which Charles V led against Algiers was scattered by a tempest. The fate of the Mediterranean, therefore, remained unsettled during his lifetime. A constant warfare with the Infidels was waged by the Knights of Rhodes, recruited from all of the nobility of Europe, to whom Charles in 1530 had given Malta as an outpost. In spite of all Christian efforts, the corsair Dragut succeeded in 1551 in

seizing Tripoli, and thus Turkey as master of Egypt and suzerain of the corsair states remained solidly entrenched on nearly all of the northern coast of Africa.

Renewal of Struggle Between Charles V and Francis I

Renewed struggle between Francis and Charles

Meanwhile the struggle between Francis and Charles for mastery in Europe, interrupted by the latter's first expedition to Africa, was resumed. At one time Charles V had overrun Provence, and so confident was he that he would soon have all France within his power that he began to plan its division among his supporters; but like a will-of-the-wisp it vanished from his grasp. The French, on their part, made renewed attempts to conquer Italy, which brought them no permanent gains, and, encouraged by the restlessness of some of Charles' Flemish subjects, they entertained ambitious but fruitless projects for the acquisition of Flanders and Artois. Finally Francis' successor, Henry II, in league with Maurice of Saxony and other German Protestant princes who were carrying on a religious war against the Emperor, managed to secure possession of the three frontier cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. These were formally granted to France by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, which at the same time assured the Hapsburgs of their hold upon Italy.

Charles V's difficulties

In these wars the alliances made by France with Turkey, with the German Lutherans, and with such lesser powers as Scotland, Denmark, and Sweden, prevented Charles V from organizing his empire, and kept him from destroying the balance of power. England, meanwhile, continued its policy of allying itself first with one, then with the other side of the Franco-Hapsburg conflict, according as English interests and safety appeared to be endangered by a too great monopoly of power on either side. Its action was never decisive, although English armies occasionally went to the Continent, but it was a factor in reserve which both sides had to consider. Moreover, Charles, both because of varying conditions in his vast holdings and because of the opposition of his adversaries, was obliged to pursue a halting and tortuous course. Although as head of the Holy Roman Empire he was under obligation to suppress heresy and support papal authority, he was unable to do this in Germany, as he needed the aid of the Lutheran princes against the Turks, and was too busy outside that land to take any very permanent and decisive action. Moreover, often he could not even secure the hearty coöperation of the Pope, as Hapsburg claims in Italy brought him into conflict with that dignitary. As master of Spain and Italy he was called upon to protect southern Europe against the Barbary corsairs; yet here he was crippled in his efforts through the actual alliance of his chief adversary, Francis, with the enemy. After thirty-five years of effort France was still a powerful antagonist, Italy was still full of strife, Germany was slipping from his control, and Protestantism remained uncrushed.

Charles V's abdication

Worn out by the struggle which he had so courageously carried on for many years, Charles entrusted to his brother the task of coming to terms with the Lutherans—which he did at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, by granting them toleration. In the next year Charles abdicated, surrendering to his son, Philip II, his crowns of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, and handing the empire to his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, who had already been chosen King of the Romans. The task of meeting the problems raised by such a diversified empire, to say nothing of acquiring further control in Europe, had proved too great for one man. Thereafter the Hapsburg possessions were always divided between the Austrian and Spanish branches of the family. Once more, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, upon the extinction of the Spanish line, the possibility of reviving Charles V's great Empire under the Austrian Hapsburgs was presented; but the project was effectually checked by France under Louis XIV, as well as by the unwillingness of England to see again such large possessions in the hands of one man.

Results of first period of sixteenth century dynastic rivalry

In addition to the Hapsburg predominance in Italy and French expansion toward the Rhine, which have already been mentioned, certain results of this long period of dynastic rivalry may be pointed out: (1) The balance of power was maintained, and the progress of nationalism was not checked either by the incorporation of France into a European empire, or by such a disruption of French national unity as would have resulted from the acquisition of large foreign possessions difficult to assimilate. Smaller nations, such as England, Scotland, and Denmark, were able to maintain their national existence during the trying period of the Reformation, when there might have been danger of invasion by stronger Catholic powers. (2) Charles V, owing to his difficulties with the Turks and with Francis, was prevented from crushing Protestantism in Germany. The religious issue divided this country into two armed camps and helped to keep it from national unification. (3) Through the divisions of the Christians, the Turks were able to build up a large empire in eastern Europe and northern Africa from lands which had formerly been in Christian hands. The French alliance with them made easier their recognition as a great European power. (4) The Turkish alliance gave the French exceptional trading privileges in the Levant. (5) For thirty-six years Italy was a battlefield for German, French, Spanish, and Swiss soldiers. After having been the wealthiest country in the world, the originator and teacher of most of the arts and crafts, and the land where individualism had its freest expression, Italy became a land of past glory, and for three centuries it ceased to have any history that it could call its own. Many Italians left their native land, and became leaders in various fields of endeavor in other countries. A number of causes contributed to the Italian decline: first, the diversion of trade from Italy to the nations on the Atlantic seaboard, through the discovery of America and new routes to the East; second,

the intense and enduring rivalries between the Italian states themselves; third, the effects of Spanish dominion in southern Italy; fourth and perhaps most important of all, the effects of long years of war waged by foreigners upon Italian soil. The situation, although the destruction of life and property was not so great, may be compared with the effects of the Thirty Years' War upon Germany. Both countries lost the chance, if it ever existed, of attaining nationhood at an early date and of playing a major rôle in world affairs—an opportunity not to be regained until the middle of the nineteenth century—and certainly the havoc wrought by foreign armies had much to do with this outcome. The reduction of the power of individual Italian states, however, did make easier the future unification of Italy.

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CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Life in the Country

General character of economic life in Middle Ages

The main characteristics of medieval economic life, both in the country and in the town, were a certain uniformity in methods and organization, and a serious attempt to maintain equal and just relations for labor, as well as to secure a uniform product of dependable value. The Church, which in the Middle Ages was a predominant force, attempted to modify and secure more just relations in political affairs, and through its influence and the general religious sentiment of the time economic activities were regulated and governed in the interest of communal rather than individual welfare. With the approach of the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern period, the old forms of economic life, upheld by so many rules and regulations, were broken; greater complexity and variety in economic relations appeared; and man as an individual was enabled to pursue ends which frequently have proved more self-centered, if more progressive.

Perhaps the two factors which did the most toward changing the life of the people in the countryside from medieval to modern conditions were greater safety and greater wealth. Throughout the Middle Ages it would have been impossible for the farmer to live as he lives today. The country, filled with roving bands of robbers and greedy soldiers, was unsafe. The farmer had to join with others in maintaining some lord and his retainers, or had to rely upon some monastery or bishop for protection while he worked in peace. Farmers were so poor, and agriculture carried on by primitive methods was so arduous, that only by uniting their efforts could a group of farmers wring a bare living from the soil; and for the construction of buildings and the performance of such services as grinding the grain and pressing the grapes for wine, it was necessary to look to someone, such as the lord, with some capital. Under these circumstances there developed throughout the larger part of Europe the so-called "manorial system."

Manor

The manor usually consisted of a small country village, surrounded by some hundreds of acres of land, besides a manor house or castle in which a lord, or his steward, resided. There was likewise usually a church, a mill, and a smithy. The arable land was arranged in two, or generally three, large, unfenced fields, one of which would be sown in the autumn with rye or wheat (the bread crop), another in the spring with barley (the drink crop), or with oats, beans, or peas for the cattle, while the third, since the farmer had few ways of fertiliza-

tion and knew little or nothing of crop rotation, was left fallow. All of the land was divided into long, narrow acre or half-acre strips, lying parallel in groups which might be located at right angles to each other, thus giving the fields the appearance of a checker-board. The land was plowed lengthwise, and the strips, each held by a separate individual, were divided from one another by ditches, unplowed strips of grass, lines of stones, or merely by the device of turning the furrows in different directions.

Behind each peasant's house in the village there was usually an enclosed yard of considerable size, where he might raise vegetables, grow a few fruit-trees, and keep his chickens, geese, and bees, the latter to provide him with practically his only sweetening. There was usually a meadow or two where hay for the livestock might be produced, and this likewise was often, but not always, divided into strips. On the outskirts of the manor lay rough, uncultivated land used for pasturage, and woodland or bush which supplied, besides fuel, some wood for making tools or repairs on buildings, and enabled the numerous pigs to secure their living from acorns and beechnuts. Around the manor house there was sometimes a park or some cultivated land.

Labor force on manor

The people who lived on the manor were the lord, his officials, and usually a priest, a blacksmith, a miller, and other artisans. Farm labor was supplied by serfs, or in some cases by free labor. While at the beginning of the sixteenth century many of the peasants of western and northern Europe were free from serfdom, in the central, southern, and eastern portions of the Continent they were for the most part either serfs or, as in eastern Germany and Russia, were later reduced to that condition.[1]

Serfs

The serf was neither a slave nor a freeman. He was not a slave because he could not be sold and was free to work for himself some of the time; and so long as he faithfully satisfied his obligations he could not be deprived of his land. He was not, however, free to leave the manor to seek better living conditions elsewhere, unless the lord was willing to grant him permission in return for a regular fee, or unless he had succeeded in buying his freedom. If he ran away, he might be arrested and brought back. In order that neither the labor force nor the stock on the manor should be diminished, he could not marry off his daughter, or send his son to school to make him a priest, or apprentice him to some tradesman, nor could he sell the farm cattle or horses without the lord's consent and the payment of a fine. If he died without an heir, the lord took over his land. In case a son or other relative acquired anything by inheritance, he had to pay a sum

[1] At the opening of the sixteenth century practically all of the peasants in England, Switzerland, Holland, Norway, and Sweden were free, as was the case in western and southern France, and in most of Germany except the Southwest. The majority of the Russian and Prussian peasants were free until the end of the fifteenth century, but were later made serfs.

of money called "relief" to show the lord's control of the land, and he had also to give, as a due called "heriot," the best animal of those he inherited, or else its equivalent in value.

The greater part of his obligation to the lord, however, was paid by his personal services and those of his ox team. Every week he was required to spend from two to five days (usually three) working on the strips of land scattered throughout the three fields, or about the manor house, the produce of which went exclusively to the lord. During the fall and spring plowing, and at harvest time, he had to leave his own crops to furnish the lord a number of extra days' labor called "boon-work." Besides these obligations, the peasant might be required to carry in the hay from the meadow, haul and scatter manure, transport grain to market, make roads, gather wood, or drive the sheep and swine. He was expected to give the lord two or three fowls at Christmas, some eggs at Easter, and, at sowing time, a bushel or so of grain for seed. The lord also profited greatly from grinding the peasant's grain at his mill, pressing his grapes at his press, and, since the open fires in the peasant's hut were often not suitable, baking his bread in the huge manor oven. Much revenue came to the lord also from the fines of his manorial court, before which all disputes had to be settled and all offenses committed by the serf tried.

In return for these services the lord gave the serf his protection. He provided him with a small house and garden, and assigned him land in the three fields which his family usually held for generations. This varied in amount according to the labor he contributed, and according to the number of oxen he was able to bring when he came to help with the lord's plowing. The usual amount was thirty acres in acre strips scattered throughout the three fields, never together in one place. An attempt was made to treat alike all persons who performed similar services, by giving each some of the good and some of the poor land, as it would have been impossible for any man, with the crude methods of agriculture then employed, to have made a living if all his land were poor. Some serfs who provided less labor were given less land, and others—especially the younger sons in a serf's family for whom there was not land enough, since their father's holding went to the oldest son—were given a cottage and farm of five acres, and were expected, besides other dues, to work only one day a week for the lord, leaving the rest of the time free to labor for hire. Besides arable land, the serf had a portion of the meadow land for his hay and the right to pasture a limited number of cattle on the manor commons, to send his swine to the forest, and to gather there brush for his fire.

Free peasants

As has already been indicated, not a few of the peasants were free, or by the sixteenth century had become free. Their position did not materially differ from that of serfs, except that they were no longer required to work two or three days a week for the lord, as they

had formerly been accustomed to do, and they might leave the manor if they desired, or marry off their daughters, or sell their oxen without obtaining his permission. They continued, however, to pay most of the customary dues, and in return were given land to cultivate for their own use. Still others, as has been seen, even freed themselves from most of the customary dues by giving up their strips in the fields, and devoting all of their time to working for the lord for wages; while others received land, oxen, and tools in return for a share of the crops.

Isolation and scanty production

Agriculture was exceedingly crude and unproductive. Those who lived on the manor grew their produce mostly for their own consumption. Each manor was isolated and self-sufficient. Little was sold and little was bought except salt, tar, iron, mill-stones, steel for implements, a few metal and earthenware vessels, clothes, and a few luxuries for the inhabitants of the manor house.

Advantages of manorial system

Although it produced little wealth, the manorial system, as a means of maintaining the rural population of Europe during a period when resources were scanty and conditions often disorderly, had its advantages: (1) by its system of scattered ownership it enabled laborers who otherwise could not have secured land, to occupy a few acres and reach some degree of economic independence, whereas later, when large farms worked by modern methods were accumulated in the hands of a few men, many laborers were divorced from the soil and obliged to leave the country for the town; (2) it maintained certain standards of tillage; (3) in an age of violence it gave some protection, and the peasant, often called away to fight, left others behind who would care for his land; (4) it sought to give everyone an equal chance, and mutual aid was rendered in plowing, which often required eight oxen, and in reaping each individual's strip.

Defects of manorial system

Defects in this system of agriculture, however, are clearly to be seen: (1) it was difficult for small proprietors to secure land; (2) the lord or his steward might prove hard and oppressive; (3) the land was so scattered that proper supervision was difficult, and much of the peasant's time was wasted in going from one strip of his land to another, and furthermore the strips were so intermingled and so little separated one from another that constant quarrels arose over encroachments, so that, no matter how industrious a peasant might be, his efforts might go for naught if his neighbor neglected his land and let the weeds go to seed; (4) no opportunity was given the enterprising farmer to vary the usual practice, or to try experiments to improve his land. All initiative was thus killed at the start, and this fact mainly accounts for the lack, during many centuries, of any progress in agriculture.

Crude agricultural methods

The same crude tools were used year after year—the wooden plow, so large and clumsy that it generally took eight oxen to pull it; the harrow, often a thorn bush weighted with logs, or a hand implement little better than a large rake; the maul, which the plowman

carried in his left hand to break up the clods; the scythe and the sickle for mowing, and the flail for threshing. The only attempt to fertilize the soil was made by spreading lime, marl, sea-sand, and soot, or by allowing the cattle to roam over the land. As a result, seldom were more than ten bushels of grain produced to an acre. Although cattle afforded the chief source of wealth, no attempt at fattening or breeding was made, since root-crops had not yet been introduced. In the summer the cattle were herded together on the common, and when the crops were harvested the temporary fences were removed and they were allowed to graze at will on the stubble. Many of them were killed, and their meat was salted, before the winter months, which at best they could survive only in a semi-starved condition. Winters often brought horrors of scarcity, famine, and cold for man as well as for beast.

Life of lord of manor

Life on the manor at best, even for the lord, must have been one of rude simplicity and often actually of hardship. The castle with its cold, stone chambers, and its lack of windows, or the manor house with its vast, drafty hall, afforded few of the comforts of modern houses. The monotony of life in those days, with few books and no newspapers, with little intercourse between one part of a country and another, must have been great. The lord, since the establishment of peace by strong centralized governments, was no longer busied with protecting his dependents, and was less frequently called upon by the king than in the days when the feudal levies supplied the royal army, now recruited with mercenaries and professional soldiers. The lesser lords and knights enlivened their dull existence by hunting, drinking, and quarreling with their neighbors, while the great nobles traveled from manor to manor, consuming the products raised on their estates, or, if their resources warranted, hurried off to the royal court, where they might enjoy a gayer and more luxurious life in the polite society surrounding the king.

Life of peasant

As for the peasant, his heavy labors from sunrise to sunset gave him little time for reflection, even if he had the mind to dwell upon his hard lot. His interests seldom if ever took him beyond the narrow circle of the manor, where his forefathers had spent their lives. Other manors seemed like foreign countries. Little was known, and nothing cared, about the progress of the outside world. Thus the country became the center of tradition, conservatism, and unprogressiveness. The peasant's home was hardly more than a hovel—its walls loosely built of wood, or wattles, overlaid with mud and plaster, and its high-pitched roof thatched with reeds or straw—which served as well to shelter his horses, cattle, pigs, and poultry; these were separated from the family merely by a threshing floor or a line of hurdles. The single living-room had to serve for all family purposes—living, dining, and sleeping. Its earth floor was tramped hard and covered with dirty rushes or straw; crude benches without backs, a rough table, and chests for the household necessities were all the

furniture; on a hearthstone in the middle burned the fire, and such smoke as succeeded in escaping passed out through a hole in the roof. It was in this one room also that, during the long winter hours, the members of the family made practically all that was needed for their simple life, from wooden bowls and spoons, shovels and rakes, to the clothes that they wore.

The Towns

Origin of towns

The mass of the people who inhabited Europe during the Middle Ages preferred country-life to city-life and were mainly kept as serfs by the feudal system on the lord's estates; and since freemen long composed only a small part of the population, there was little chance for large towns to develop. Moreover, since the manor was almost self-sufficient, there was at first but little demand for town manufactures. It was only with the Crusades and the growth of a more extensive trade that the towns began to occupy a larger place in the life of European countries. They were at first commercial centers, and then gradually began to engage in industry. In Italy many towns remained from Roman times. In other parts of Europe some towns continued in existence, due to the wisdom with which their sites had been selected. While lying on the traveled routes they also offered good opportunity for defense. Some were on islands, as was Paris, or were partly protected from invaders by rivers or marshy ground, as were Winchester, Tours, and Leyden. Others developed in the places most advantageous for trade, at crossroads, at the fords of rivers, along navigable streams, but far enough inland to escape danger from pirates. Other towns, such as London or Bristol, were located near the castle of some king or lord, whose court provided both protection and trade. A special attraction to traders was a frontier castle or fortress, such as Bern in Switzerland and Halle in Saxony, as here both domestic and foreign traders might meet in safety. The seat of a bishop, monastery, or cathedral might likewise afford protection and trade, especially if it was famous, as in the case of Canterbury or St. Albans in England, or Santiago de Compostella in Spain, and other shrines to which pilgrims flocked and thus gave a special opportunity for business. Advantages such as the protection of a market or fair by a strong lord, or some valuable natural resource, such as a mine or salt spring, might likewise lead to the formation of a town.

Their position in state

Towns might own allegiance to one of various powers. They might be on the royal demesne, on the feudal estate of some lord, or under the suzerainty of the bishop or abbot of a monastery. Many—the imperial cities of Germany, for example, and several of the English cities which were directly under the sovereign—were able to obtain charters by which they were allowed, for a sum of money, to manage their own political and commercial affairs free from outside interference. Their charters usually permitted them to pay the toll and dues owed to the king or other lord in a lump sum collected from the

townsmen in the form of taxes agreed to by their councils. The towns which were subject to a lord or bishop had much more difficulty in securing freedom from interference, particularly in their political affairs, since the lord was nearer by, and his time was not absorbed by affairs of state. He might even unwisely ruin the prosperity and growth of a town by his meddlesome regulations and dues, but usually he realized that the town's prosperity redounded to his own advantage.

Qualifications of citizenship

Citizenship in a town was valued at that time more highly than it is even now, since it was seldom possible to enjoy similar liberties elsewhere. Indeed, the conditions of individual freedom which we all possess today were first developed in the towns. Towns varied greatly as to their willingness to receive newcomers to their citizenship. Some were anxious to avoid the complications which might arise from too great a mixture of foreign elements, and selfishly wished to assure their prosperity by keeping out competitors; others threw their gates open to those who would comply with some one of the qualifications for citizenship, such as buying land, marrying a free woman of the town, paying a fixed price, or serving an apprenticeship to a trade. Free citizenship in those days was not the national affair it is today, but was a privilege dearly bought. Citizens of one town looked upon those from other towns as foreigners.

Upon becoming a citizen of the town a man had to swear not only obedience to the king, but also fidelity to the customs of the town. He had to secure the support of two or more substantial men as a sort of pledge that he would observe the laws and pay the taxes. He had also to prove to his fellow-townsmen that he was capable of fulfilling all his duties as a citizen, by showing that he had a good yearly income, or by building himself a house upon which the city might levy in case of his failure. He was bound to live within the city walls and fulfil his duties, else forfeit his citizenship. This would happen if he left the town for a year and a day. Every year the burgher had to appear at the town court to prove his presence, and to take his part in its activities. The privileges which he enjoyed as citizen were by no means a free gift, but were rather a carefully-adjusted bargain. In return for what he received, he undertook to do work for the community which, since the body of citizens was relatively small, was sure to be called for. Besides taxes, police duty, service on juries, defense of the town, the burdens of a mayor's, bailiff's, town clerk's, or tax-collector's duties were frequently imposed. City offices were not so eagerly sought in those days, when the mayor might be held personally responsible for the taxes of a town, when the treasurer had to find funds as best he could for official bribes and public receptions, and when the constable's life was often in danger from armed desperadoes. Later the gilds, which came to comprise most of the citizens, assumed these obligations, thus through collective action removing many of the risks to the individual.

Benefits of citizenship

Citizens, if they fulfilled their duties, might be assured of many privileges, such as protection from outside competition, reduced tolls and market rates, a sufficient supply, if possible, of food and the necessary raw materials for industry at reasonable rates, and the maintenance of fair weights and measures. Besides, in those days of close relations between town and country, the use of common pasturage on the town lands, the privilege of fishing in town waters, and the use of the town ferry were valued. The townsman in case of misdemeanor was tried by his fellows in the town court, and was helped in case of difficulty with the tradesmen of other towns. His position was much superior to that of the countryman, for he was personally free and exempt from the annoying petty payments demanded on the manors.

Other inhabitants

Not all of the town-dwellers shared the privileges and duties of citizenship. Often newcomers were kept from becoming full citizens by the jealousy and fear of competition exhibited by those already favored; others did not care to burden themselves with the duties of citizenship; still others might come to the town to trade but keep their allegiance to a lord or high church dignitary, or remain in the position of unprivileged traders, apprentices, or journeymen. Outside the town walls, moreover, settlements were formed of those who did not wish to observe the established regulations. Since these people needed the town's protection, and the town, in turn, often found them useful, special agreements were sometimes made. Often, however, those who lived outside the walls became a source of annoyance and strife for the town authorities.

Appearance of towns

Medieval towns for the most part bore little resemblance to modern towns. They were frequently surrounded with high stone walls with towers every two hundred and fifty feet, sometimes numbering as many as three hundred, as in the case of Nuremburg. Unless there was a river, or some other water skirting them, a deep ditch was dug around them outside the walls. Inside the walls a street extended around the whole circuit in such manner as to enable defenders to move quickly from one section of the wall to another. One or two main streets, wider than the others, ran through the town from gate to gate, so that the huge country carts might bring in the produce. Most of the streets, however, were winding lanes from five to ten feet in width, often made to seem much narrower by the projecting upper stories on both sides. Because of the expense of building long walls, the city was frequently crowded together into as little space as possible. Streets were unlighted and often unsafe at night. No sidewalks existed except the narrow footpaths which each householder had to maintain on a level with those of his neighbors, and was also expected to keep clean, which he seldom did. Usually the streets were extremely dirty because of the widespread practice of throwing rubbish of every description into them, and they were cleaned only by the rain, or by the numerous pigs and dogs which

roamed through them at will. Under these circumstances life in the towns was unhealthy, and even in the years when the pestilence did not visit them, as it frequently did, the ordinary mortality was nearly as high as that of a town of our days afflicted with cholera.

The Gilds

Merchant gilds

As the manorial system exemplified in the country the medieval tendency toward the subordination of all individual enterprise to the careful supervision and control of the community, so in the town business activities were coördinated, regulated, and directed by communal organizations called gilds. To these, when they were at their height, every manufacturer, tradesman, or merchant had to belong. As early as the eleventh century a type of gild called the "merchant gild" was developed in the chief trading cities for the protection and mutual assistance of its members. Often trade, even between places within the same country, was dangerous and difficult; therefore, merchants who wished to purchase or sell in some distant city formed associations to secure protection from robbery along the road and to obtain favorable treatment in the market to which they were going. In time these associations became permanent and began also to regulate the trading conditions in the town in which the merchants lived, each gildsman agreeing to observe regulations designed to assure equal business opportunities to his associates and fair treatment of the consumer. The gild monopolized the business of the town, and kept those coming from other places from securing any trade unless they observed its rules and paid a fee. In time the merchant gilds, since the towns had originated as centers of business, came to comprise most, if not all, of the leading inhabitants of the medieval towns, and even some from the surrounding country.

Hanses

As commerce still further developed, it became customary for the merchants or gilds of large trading centers to form leagues, called "hanses," with those of other places. The Flemish and German hanses, and the associations known as the English Gild Merchants, may be taken as types. In Italy, and in some other regions where these organizations were not developed, private partnerships, usually among relatives, arose to carry on foreign trade.

Fairs

A large part of the trade in foreign goods was carried on through the agency of fairs, which were necessary because of the small number of shopkeepers and the limited variety and quantity of goods which were kept in stock. Likewise they were needed to give a wider market to small-town traders, who otherwise, owing to the sparseness of the population and the simplicity of their demands, would not have been able to find sufficient sales to keep their businesses going. Held in every country of Europe, these fairs brought together people from many regions to buy and sell. They were often held near some shrine or holy place, and generally under the protection of some lord who maintained fair dealings and good order. They might be held once or

twice a year and last for six weeks, disposing of many goods drawn from all parts of the known world.

Craft gilds

In medieval times there were few if any middle-men; the gildsman both manufactured and sold the products made in his little shop, or occasionally in larger manufacturing rooms. At first the articles made were very simple, and the demand for them outside the immediate community was not great; but as the volume of trade became more considerable, and peoples' tastes and desires more varied, the merchant gild was felt to have too much to do to supervise industry properly. Sometimes it also kept out those who would have liked to join, or favored certain important members. To meet this situation, craft gilds arose. By the thirteenth century these had begun to supersede the merchant gilds, and by the sixteenth century the latter had either died out or were living on with greatly limited powers, having become mere honorary associations, or having merged with the town corporation, from which they had formerly been distinct. For a while, however, it was common practice for a man to be a member both of the merchant gild of his town and of his own craft gild.

The craft gilds seem to have arisen in answer to the needs of industry, just as the merchant gilds had been formed to regulate trade. So many crafts were represented by gilds that by 1350 there were no fewer than forty separate gilds in London, while in Paris they numbered at least a hundred. To such great lengths was the subdivision of industry carried that in a single town more than a dozen separate gilds might be making leather or leathergoods.

Gilds might own lands, houses, and other property. They had power to make contracts and to appear in court. They always had gild halls for their meetings, coats of arms, banners, seals, and archives. Together with their executive officers, they had a general assembly which usually met several times a year to make regulations and hear cases of infraction of rules. Candidates for membership had to give proof of their capability, morality, orthodoxy, and political loyalty.

Master, journeyman and apprentice

Connected with the craft gilds were three grades of artisan—the master gildsmen, journeymen, and apprentices. Before being admitted to the gild as a master, one had to serve an apprenticeship. Children might be apprenticed as soon as they reached the age of ten or twelve. The time of apprenticeship required before the aspirant could become a master varied from one to twelve years, according to the industry. The master was paid an annual fee, and in return the apprentice received his lodging, food, clothes, washing, and light in the master's own home, where also his work was supervised. The next higher rank was that of journeyman, or one who, having served his apprenticeship, was unable through lack of funds to become a master. Journeymen often continued to work for the master to whom they had been earlier apprenticed, or they might go to the market where those out of employment secured work.

Care was taken that contracts should be strictly observed. A workman who left before the end of his stipulated time might be seized, fined, and forced to return to his master's workshop; while a master, if he wished to dismiss a workman before the time for which he was hired, had first to state his reason and secure permission from a mixed assembly composed of masters and journeymen. The length of a day's work varied with the daylight. No work was done at night, as it was thought that the dim candlelight would lead to faulty workmanship. Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and many religious days were scrupulously observed as holidays. Work was less continuous than it is nowadays, and the workman was on far more intimate terms with his master, since they worked in the same shop and ate at the same table.

Gild regulations

That the gilds were not merely narrow business corporations with purely selfish aims, like so many modern concerns, is shown by the broad character of their functions. These were social, moral, and political, as well as economic, although the economic function was the most important. The gilds sought to provide honest workmanship at a fair price. In the making of cloth, for instance, careful regulations had to be observed as to the quantity and quality of the dyes, and the length and texture of the material. The gild sought to produce perfect standard articles. Every article was examined and stamped, and had to bear a special trademark indicating where it was made and its just price. So honest did the gild strive to make its workmanship that substitutes for real articles, such as glass jewels in imitation of real ones, or plated silver or gold, were not allowed, even though they were declared to be such. The sale of goods was regulated as carefully as their production. The methods of weighing and measuring, the conditions which made a bargain valid, were all defined. A bankrupt was punished by posting his name and exposing his effigy, by expulsion, imprisonment, or banishment from the city.

The gild always sought to monopolize the craft which it carried on and to keep secret its processes of manufacture. It used all its efforts to prevent anyone outside the gild from making the article, or another gild from infringing upon its craft. Many crafts were so closely related that this was difficult, and frequent quarrels arose between bakers and confectioners, dyers and fullers, tailors who sold new clothes and dealers in old clothes; in the latter case the courts spent years in trying to fix the exact time when a new suit became an old one.

The moral and social aims of the gild were shown by its desire to establish honest competition or fair play between the masters who composed it. In order to prevent the great and well-to-do from getting the better of, and perhaps ruining, the small dealer, the gild tried to equalize advantages and charges. Certain practices, such as forestalling the others and buying cheaply in order later to sell dearly, or buying up the whole supply and thus cornering the market (then called "en-

grossing"), were forbidden. These practices were frowned upon especially in the case of foodstuffs. If a merchant was making a desirable purchase of a seller who had just come to town, any of his friends who happened along might claim a share; and if he knew of any real bargain, he was expected to inform his fellow-gildsmen of it. Often whatever came to the city was divided and distributed in the presence of an official who saw that the allotment to each individual was according to the needs of his workshop. Sometimes, as in Florence, the community became the middleman, buying wholesale and distributing its purchases at a uniform rate in proportion to the requirements of each member.

The cornering of the labor supply was considered wrong. A rival's workman might not be tempted away by an offer of higher wages, and usually one employer might not keep more apprentices than others. Prospective customers might not be enticed away from a neighbor's window display, or passers-by called in, or goods sent to a customer's house on approval, as all individual advertisement was thought to be detrimental to others. The merchant might be punished who succeeded in getting another man's shop by offering the landlord a higher rent. It was likewise considered dishonest to offer a bonus to a buyer to secure his trade. The same prices, conditions of payment, rates of discount, and hours of labor had to be observed by all members. Even the religious and moral conduct of gildsmen was carefully looked after. In order to become a gildsman one had generally to profess the Catholic faith, and blasphemers, gamblers, and usurers were frowned upon and punished.

Gilds as social factors

The gild likewise sought to promote sociability and good-fellowship among its members. At its regular meetings and on special festal days there was much feasting and drinking. On occasion of certain religious festivals, pageants and sacred plays were performed by the various crafts. These performances, which came to be known as "mystery plays," since they were given by mysteries or crafts, served as forerunners of later forms of the drama.

Charitable functions

The gild, and still more another institution called the "fraternity," which was associated with it, sought to look after its poor and sick. In case of the death of a member his widow was cared for, his funeral was attended in state, and masses were said for his soul's salvation. Money was likewise raised for charitable purposes not connected with the gild.

Political functions

Politically the gilds often performed important functions. The nature of these, however, depended upon whether the city in which the gild was situated owed many obligations to a local lord or to the king, or whether, as in the case of many free cities, it had attained its independence from all outside control. In the former case, besides dues which had to be paid to the overlord, certain duties were required, such as protecting the city against fire, policing it, guarding it against attack, assessing the taxes, and caring for the sick.

Where the city was free, the gilds often managed to secure complete control of its government, filling most of its offices and directing its policy. The gilds thus served as valuable political training schools, but where too complete control was secured the more important gilds and gildsmen often sought to monopolize affairs, running them in their own interest and oppressing those in their power, thus failing to promote democracy.

Medieval Commerce

Medieval difficulties in conducting trade

One of the main reasons for the lack of national wealth before the modern period was the difficulty of carrying on foreign or even domestic trade. As we have already seen, the gilds restricted, and in some cases prohibited, the trade of outsiders, and as long as feudalism lasted, Europe was divided into small territories, each having its own taxes and imposts. The rise of national states brought it about that sovereigns came to regard the regulation of commerce as their business and frequently restricted all foreign trade to one or two places called "staples," where it could more easily be supervised and duties collected; and often, because of meager output and the slowness and high cost of replenishing supplies, they forbade the exportation of necessaries such as foodstuffs, and were reluctant to allow gold or silver to leave their country in payment for foreign goods. Consequently commerce was carried on through an exchange in commodities rather than by money payments. However, by the thirteenth century the modern method of bills of exchange in place of money payments had been discovered. Even if money could have freely circulated, its use would have been made difficult by confiscation and "clipping," and by lack of uniformity, since it was often issued in large quantities and in varying denominations by feudal lords as well as by their sovereigns. The latter often resorted to debasing the coinage to pay their debts. The failure to maintain roads and bridges, the great danger from highway robbery, and the tolls exacted every few miles of the journey, increased the cost of goods enormously and sometimes even prevented their use. By sea the imperfection of ship-building, the lack of many of the instruments now used in navigation, ignorance and fear of the sea, piracy and privateering then very prevalent, retarded progress. Medieval ships always sailed near the coast and avoided going out at all in the stormy winter months. The harbors were often a considerable distance inland up some navigable stream. Thus it was possible to avoid pirates and coastal storms, and the rivers were usually deep enough for the small vessels of that time.

Hanseatic League

European trade during the Middle Ages was divided into two great regions varying in character, that of the Hanse towns in the North, and that of the Mediterranean cities and ports, in the South. The history of medieval commerce in northern Europe begins with the growth of the Hanseatic League, the most remarkable commercial association of that period. This great league of nearly a hundred

trading cities grew up during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It included nearly all the towns of northern Germany from the Baltic to the Low Countries, from Riga in the east to Bruges in the west. It had a factory or trading station in each port of Sweden, Norway, and Russia, and even extended its activities as far afield as Iceland. Some of its largest factories were located at London and at Bruges in the Netherlands. It monopolized the trade of the Baltic Sea in the same fashion that Venice monopolized that of the Adriatic Sea. Northern Europe, in large part undeveloped economically, supplied raw materials, and in return proved a very profitable market for the manufactures and luxuries of other parts of Europe and of the Levant.

Because of the lower cost of transportation which resulted from carrying the merchandise by sea over a short route where pirates had been eliminated, and because the tolls were lower than those in southern Europe, it was possible to handle profitably more bulky and less valuable merchandise. From Russia came wax and tallow for candles, hides, leather, grain, and all kinds of furs, so much appreciated in those days of poorly heated houses; from Sweden, iron, copper, timber, salted fish, and meat; from Denmark, horses, cattle and grain, and also the herring which then formed their shoals in the Baltic Sea instead of in the North Sea, as they later did; from Norway, furs, fish, and blubber, as well as the naval stores, timber, resin, and pitch. In return the Baltic nations were supplied with such articles as cloth, metals and metal work, grain, wine, beer, spices, fruit, and salt.

Its methods of business

Every year or so the Hanseatic League held a great meeting where representatives of all its member towns decided upon business policies. Each of its important trading factories secured from the sovereign of the country in which it was located exemption from taxation and from the ordinary laws of the land. The factory generally consisted of a fortified building or group of houses surrounded by a stockade and guarded by armed employees and by great watchdogs. Here not only might the merchants protect themselves, but trade might be supervised in such a fashion that no one merchant could ruin the trade of the others by his misconduct. Over the factory presided an alderman and his assistants, and also a council which met once a week to talk over business, much in the manner of modern chambers of commerce.

Hanseatic League as civilizing agency

In spite of the rigid monopoly which it maintained, the Hanseatic League proved a great factor in advancing the civilization of northern Europe. It almost entirely eliminated piracy and robbery. It acquainted the people of the Hanse towns with orderly constitutional government and with many new comforts of life. It encouraged industry and through its trade created many towns in Scandinavia.

Trade with Orient

The most extensive and richest foreign trade was that with Asia for Oriental luxuries. The West was in close touch with the East during the period of the Roman Empire, but communications were

largely interrupted by the barbarian invasions of the fifth century and the later conflicts between Mohammedans and Christians. In the tenth century, however, they were resumed by a group of cities in southern Italy, and a little later by Genoa, Pisa, and Venice in northern Italy. The Crusades served both to open up chances for trade and to create in western Europe a market for Oriental wares. The many people from all parts of Europe who thus went to the Near East became acquainted with the spices, silks, jewels, and other luxuries which only the East could supply; and by the spoils which they brought back and the tales which they told of Oriental luxuries and opulence they created a craving for such articles in the homeland. Moreover, the rising wealth of the time allowed many to indulge their desires.

Oriental commodities

Hundreds of thousands of pounds of pepper from India, and many other spices, such as cinnamon from Ceylon and India, nutmegs, mace, cloves, and allspice from the Molucca Islands, and ginger from Arabia, India, and China, found their way to European markets. These spices gave zest to a diet lacking most of the modern vegetables and desserts, and made palatable many foods which through coarseness, poor cooking, and inability to preserve were scarcely edible. They likewise gave tone to wines and other beverages.

Rare perfumes; much-needed drugs; sugar (then used mainly as a medicine); precious stones, worn both for their splendor and for their supposed magical virtues; pearls from the Indian Ocean; ivory from Africa; dyestuffs such as indigo, brazil-wood, lac, and saffron; cotton and silk—these made up the unmanufactured goods in this valuable trade. Besides, many manufactured articles such as rugs, tapestries, silks and satins, cloths of gold and silver and those made from camels' hair, chintzes and muslins, glassware from Damascus or Samarkand, porcelain from far-off China, were imported and formed the basis of later European emulation.

In return, Europeans had woolen cloth, then much valued in the East, hides, metals and metal ware, corals and foodstuffs to offer, but they usually had to pay for a part of their goods in gold or silver bullion or coin.

Oriental trading routes

From the coasts of China and Japan and the East India Islands, Chinese and Japanese junks and Malaysian proas gathered their precious cargoes, and brought them to the Straits of Malacca, where they were met by many Arabian traders from India. From there, after much exchanging, the goods destined for Europe found their way across the treacherous Arabian Sea and up the Red Sea as far as the opposing north winds allowed, and then were landed and carried by toiling caravans to Kus in Egypt. Thence they were taken by camel along the banks of the Nile, or to Cairo on some of the thirty-six thousand boats which that city boasted, and from Cairo they proceeded by a two-hundred-mile canal to the cosmopolitan trading center of Alexandria on the Mediterranean seaboard. This was known

as the southern route, and was one of three which regularly connected the West with the Far East.

By a second customary route, usually designated the central route, goods might travel in native ships along the Indian and Persian coasts to Ormuz, and from there to Bazra at the head of the Persian Gulf. From here one branch led by water up the Tigris valley to Bagdad. From this point caravan routes radiated northward through Kurdistan to Tabriz, the northern capital of Persia, and from there reached the Black Sea at Trebizond or the Mediterranean at Layas; or the journey might be pursued up the Tigris as far as a point opposite Antioch and thence across country to that city.

Far to the north in central Asia, through the mountains and deserts, lay a third route which led almost directly westward from China to the ancient Asiatic cities of Samarkand and Bokhara, lying on the western slope of the Tian-Shan Mountains. Here it was met by a branch leading from India through the Himalaya and Hindu-Kush passes. West of Bokhara, some caravans turned north of the Caspian Sea and continued through Russia to Novgorod and the Baltic. Other trails passed through Astrakhan, at the mouth of the Volga River, and terminated in ports on the Sea of Azov. Still others skirted the shore of the Caspian Sea, or left it to the north and arrived at Trebizond on the Black Sea by passing through Tabriz and Armenia.

Of these three main routes, the northern, due to the fact that it was entirely by land and passed through many deserts and other difficult country, was the least desirable, and generally only valuable articles of small bulk could be profitably brought over it. The central route was by far the easiest, while the southern, mainly a sea-route, possessed advantages in saving much shifting of goods, but held many dangers from pirates, monsoons, and other hazards. At best, whatever route was chosen, the expenses of the journey had increased the price of the merchandise many times before it reached Europe.

Venice and Genoa

For the European end of this vast Oriental trade two Italian cities, Venice and Genoa, succeeded in out-distancing all competitors, but instead of uniting their forces upon it, as the Hanse towns had done, they founded great commercial empires which were frequently at war with each other. Both, by helping to transport the Crusaders to the East and by assisting them in various other ways, had secured commercial concessions in the ports which were captured, and later, when the Christians were driven out, they often managed to obtain the same concessions from the Infidels. As a result of the Fourth Crusade (1198), which Venice managed to turn into an attack upon Constantinople, it secured a large section of that city, the territory now known as Rumania, many Black Sea ports, Adrianople in Thrace, stations in the Isle of Euboea, the Peloponnesus, all the Ionian Islands and Crete, thus obtaining practical monopoly of the trade of the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean. Although this

hold was hotly and sometimes successfully contested by her great trade rival, in the end Venice, while never succeeding in utterly crushing Genoa, prevailed over her.

Extent of Venetian commerce

At the height of her power during the fifteenth century Venice had three or four thousand ships, manned by fifty-two thousand sailors, with sixteen thousand men employed in the yards and docks. Her citizens became immensely wealthy from the foreign merchandise brought to the city, amounting in annual value to ten million ducats and representing a gross profit of 40 per cent. Not only the usual private persons and companies took part in this trade, but the State itself used its war-galleys as merchantmen. After manning and equipping these, the government rented them to the highest bidder, who then might sub-let any part of his concession. Moreover, it saw to the safety of the enterprise by providing sufficient escorts of men-of-war, establishing the method later adopted, and probably copied by the Spaniards, of sending great fleets of galleons to the Indies. The Venetians used four squadrons annually to carry their commerce. The first was divided into three sections following different routes and thus reaching all the sea-coast cities of Greece, the Dardanelles, and the Black Sea. The second called at the towns of Syria and at Crete. The third traded Black Sea products in Egypt for Ethiopian and Oriental wares coming up the Red Sea. The fourth passed through the western Mediterranean and the Straits of Gibraltar, and trading along the Atlantic coast of Portugal and France until it reached the English Channel, it made stops and exchanged its wares at Bruges, Antwerp, and London. Over this trade Venice maintained a policy of the most scrupulous protection, crushing all competition. Until the sixteenth century, since the Atlantic nations—Spain, France, England, and Holland—had not yet developed, and since the Hanseatic League coöperated by exchanging northern wares for those which Venetians brought to their stations at London or Bruges, no source of conflict arose. Venice had things pretty much her own way.

Flemish cities

It was the Flemish cities more than any others which furnished the neutral ground for the meeting of these two great trades, and accordingly they became, next to those of Italy, the richest cities of the world. They were likewise noted as the seats of great industries, absorbing many of the raw materials brought to them from the north and south, and the wool which came to them from England. In the fourteenth century Bruges afforded the great market for the Hanseatic, Venetian, and English goods, but a century later it lost its proud position to another Netherland city, Antwerp, which became the greatest commercial city in the world and the northern center for the wares of India brought by the Portuguese around Africa.

Southern German cities

Much of the trade in Oriental and Venetian wares did not reach central and southern Germany by the route just described, but was carried over the mountain passes, especially the Brenner Pass from Venice to Augsburg, Nuremburg, and other rich south German cities

which served as markets. In this carrying trade the Venetian merchants played merely a passive rôle, allowing the German merchants to come to Venice and, under the strictest regulations, dispose of their metals, furs, twine, rosaries, and leather, horn and textile goods, in return for Oriental spices and other luxuries, and for the many wares for which Venice was famous, such as glass, goldsmith's work, armor, lace, fine tissues, liquors, soaps, and salt. This trade amounted annually to more than a million dollars.

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PART II

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN LIFE AND CULTURE

CHAPTER IV

OVERSEAS EXPANSION

Early Knowledge of Lands Outside of Europe

Contact with lands outside Europe in pre-modern times

The seat of ancient European civilization was the rim of the Mediterranean Sea, including, at the time of its greatest expansion under the Roman Empire, southern and western Europe and the coasts of northern Africa and western Asia. Beyond the Rhine and north of the Danube and the Black Sea lay the huge mass of uncivilized and little-known Germanic and Slavic tribes. On the other hand, up the Nile, down the Tigris-Euphrates valley, and around the Red Sea, were the seats of still older civilizations, with their much-desired exotic luxuries and their appeal to European interest. During the Middle Ages the northern barriers of barbarism were removed by the mingling of European races, resulting from the incursion of the Germanic peoples into the old Empire and their acceptance of a Roman-Christian civilization; but European institutions and civilization were pushed by Islamic conquests from northern Africa and gradually, in spite of many a struggle waged by Eastern emperors and gallant crusaders, exiled from western Asia. Soon after the dawn of the sixteenth century the Turks were crowding the boundaries of European Christianity up the Danube valley to the very gates of Vienna and threatening, but never attaining, the heart of Europe. In the West the other horn of the Islamic crescent was forced from the Iberian Peninsula, and, as shall soon be plain, the mighty current of Spanish and Portuguese victory did not stop with the European shore, but rolled over to north Africa and on down its western coast by unknown trails, at length to seek in India the very heart of Islamic wealth.

Knowledge of Far East

The contact of medieval man with interior Asia was renewed by the Crusades and the establishment of innumerable Italian trading colonies, but information of the Far East came to western Europe rather through the agency of the missionaries, traders, and diplomatic emissaries who from time to time braved the dangers of central Asia. During the thirteenth century the Mongol invasions, which were pushing from the Far East into Russia and threatening to sweep Islam out of western Asia, attracted the attention of Christendom, particularly since the Mongols were neither Mohammedans nor enemies of Christianity, but, on the contrary, through their neutral attitude encouraged the hope of conversion.[1] It was hoped that Christian Europe might make an alliance which would lead to the

[1] During the thirteenth century the Khan asked the Pope to send a hundred missionaries to his country, but the request was never complied with.

downfall of Moslem power and thus relieve Europe from the threat of invasion and from the necessity of rescuing the Holy Land from Infidel control. With these ends in view the Council of Lyons (1254) sent two Papal emissaries to the Mongol Khan, one taking the northern route through Poland and Russia, the other the more southerly route through Asia and Armenia. One of these emissaries, Joannes de Plano Carpini, a Franciscan friar, succeeded in 1245 in delivering his letters to the Khan, and after a journey of sixteen months in the heart of Asia was once again in Lyons with wonderful tales of Cathay. With his journey began formal intercourse between the Mongol power and Western Christendom. After the establishment of these good relations, communication with the Far East was easier and safer, since the vast Mongol Empire, including much of China, stretched from the Dnieper River to the Pacific Ocean and maintained at least some order in this great territory.

To the Khan's court came yearly the emissaries of Russian princes, bearing tribute, and agents from the powers of western Europe, in search of alliance. From this time on, missionaries settled in Tatary and China, founding monasteries there, or journeyed to India, where Nestorian Christians had already established a shrine in honor of St. Thomas. A further lure to those interested in founding missions and in accomplishing the overthrow of the Moslems was strange rumors of a Christian kingdom over which ruled the great priest-king, Prester John. This legend, given encouragement by the existence of such Christian communities as those of Abyssinia and the Indian Nestorians, retained its magic power for three hundred years, and was a factor which seriously influenced the Portuguese in their first exploratory enterprises.

Marco Polo

Inspired by the tales brought back by missionaries, a few venturesome merchants wandered to farthest Asia. The most noted of these was the Venetian, Marco Polo, who journeyed with his two uncles to the court of the Great Khan, and for twenty years served that monarch as counselor and diplomat, his missions of state taking him throughout the greater part of farther Asia; when he returned to Europe he passed from port to port over the very route by which the spices were brought from the East Indies. His journal, which he dictated in 1298 while a captive in a Genoese prison, was eagerly read throughout western Europe, and it became the classic account of the wonders of the Far East. It was carefully perused and annotated by Columbus at some time in his career, but we are uncertain when. It vividly describes the vast cities, the splendor and fabulous wealth of the Great Khan's court, the use of such modern conveniences as coal and paper money, the great island of Cipango with its white inhabitants partly civilized and its palaces roofed with gold and paved with slabs of that metal two fingers thick. These descriptions led Europeans, who were of course familiar with the value of the

precious commerce with the East, to dream of the Orient as a land of illimitable resources, full of romance and rich in opportunities for the fortune-seeker. Another fact to be noted about Marco Polo's book is that, instead of picturing the coast of Asia as fringed by vast marshes, as former works had done, it clearly stated that it was washed by the waters of the ocean, thus proving that the Far East was accessible by sea if a route could be found.

Early idea of Atlantic Ocean

Hemming in the civilized world on the west, lay the limitless expanse of the Atlantic Ocean, which filled with awe the mariner little accustomed to venturing far from shore. A prominent medieval author thus summarizes the feeling of his time: "The ocean encircles the ultimate bounds of the inhabited earth, and all beyond it is unknown. No one has been able to verify anything concerning it, on account of its difficult and perilous navigation, its great obscurity, its profound depth, and frequent tempests; through fear of its mighty fishes, and its haughty winds; yet there are many islands in it, some peopled, others uninhabited. There is no mariner who dares to enter into its deep waters; or if any have done so, they have merely kept along its coasts, fearful of departing from them."

Legendary voyages

Although little was known, much was conjectured. Many a legend was connected with the Atlantic's vast waste of waters, since the days when Plato had described his Utopian republic, the island-continent of Atlantis, lying somewhere west of Africa, which, it was said, after transmitting its civilization to the Western World, had sunk beneath the waters to which it gave its name. These legends, though not historical events, seem to indicate the possibility of unrecorded and more than half-forgotten discoveries which nevertheless left some vague recollections around which fanciful stories were woven.

Voyages of Norsemen

Far different were the daring exploits of the Norsemen from Norway and Denmark, who before the end of the ninth century had sailed in their open boats around the North Cape and along the shores of Lapland to the White Sea, and had colonized Iceland and sighted Greenland. During the tenth century they had made settlements on the latter island, and it is reported that in the year 1000 Leif, son of Eric the Red, had reached a strange new land which, due to the large number of wild grapes he found growing there, he called "Vinland." While it is quite certain that Leif reached the coast of the North American mainland, authorities have since differed whether it was Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, or some part of New England. Thus the enterprise of the Norsemen, so daring in the days before the mariner's compass was known, had resulted in the discovery of America five centuries before the time of Columbus. However, they founded no lasting settlements in Vinland, and in other parts of Europe so little was known of their accomplishments that they contributed practically nothing to general knowledge of geography.

The Opening of the Orient

Portugal as pioneer in exploration

The South Atlantic was the first region of modern discoveries. Here Portugal and Spain, assisted by Italian navigators, made the first ventures. When Portugal's small population, then little more than a million, and her meager, undeveloped resources are considered, the accomplishments of that little country appear all the more wonderful. Hemmed in on the east by hostile Spanish states, possessing a long coast-line, lying the farthest southwest of European states, and embracing a considerable population of fishermen and seamen, Portugal, after its national unification, turned to the Atlantic even more naturally than did Spain. The latter's foreign interests were always to a considerable extent absorbed by concern with the Mediterranean Sea and by opportunities for European aggrandizement. Portugal was perhaps freer than any modern nation to concentrate its entire energies upon the winning of an overseas empire.

Prince Henry

It is of unique interest that the expedition which started European expansion should have been truly medieval in character and motive—a crusade sent in 1415 by John I of Portugal to take Ceuta in Morocco and, if possible, to expel the Moors from northwestern Africa. The commanders of this expedition were King John's sons, one of whom, Prince Henry, appears to have had a wide understanding of the opportunities which Portugal, as champion of Christianity in North Africa, possessed for making itself both politically and economically great. To this versatile genius was suggested the possibility, long debated by the enemies of Islam, of reaching Prester John, the powerful Christian king whose vast realms were, so rumors persisted in asserting, somewhere in northeastern Africa or southern Asia. With that potentate's aid it was hoped that the Moors might be driven from North Africa. Prester John's land was likewise supposed to be in or near the Indies, from which came the rich spices. Once there, Portugal would perhaps be able to break the Venetian monopoly and itself become a great commercial power. Since the form and dimensions of Africa were unknown, the distance which separated Portugal from the Indies was not realized, and it was thought that by sailing southward along the west coast of Africa, a river, the Senegal, would be discovered, up which it might be possible to ascend to a point near the sources of the Nile and thus reach both Prester John's country and the Indies.

Whether or not Prince Henry believed the circumnavigation of Africa possible is a debated question. He knew that African voyages, even if the East could not be reached, would prove highly profitable, as he had gathered from his studies and from his stay in North Africa definite information that south of the Sahara Desert lay a land called Gana, or Guinea, very rich in gold and other valuable products. So sure was he of this that in spite of much discouragement, criticism, and expense, and in defiance of the tradition that in the torrid zone

all life ceased to exist, he persisted for the remainder of his life in equipping and sending many expeditions along the African coast.

Preparations for discovery

Henry went about the preparation of his enterprise in a most systematic manner. He entered into correspondence with noted European scholars and had many books sent to him from other lands. Map-makers and mathematicians were engaged to assist him. Larger and stronger ships were constructed, propelled entirely by great square sails instead of partly by oars, as was the case with the Venetian galleys, and many skilled seamen from other nations were induced to enter Portuguese service. Retiring to his palace and observatory at Sagres on Cape Saint Vincent, the Prince for the remaining forty years of his life eagerly pursued his geographical and nautical studies, and from the nearby port of Lagos he dispatched expedition after expedition to discover new lands. To that purpose he devoted his own private fortune as well as the large funds of the crusading order of which he was master.

African explorations

No greater example of perseverance against obstacles has ever been shown. Not until 1434, after fourteen years of constant effort, did any of Henry's captains dare to venture around Cape Bojador out of the seas known to medieval navigators. The reefs and shoals of this formidable cape, which compelled ships to turn far out to sea, the imaginary terrors which lay beyond, especially the tropical heat which it was commonly believed caused the seas to boil and rendered the existence of life impossible, aroused the fears of even the boldest seamen. During all these years of seemingly fruitless endeavor Henry met with constant criticism for endangering valuable lives and wasting his country's resources in enterprises which brought no material return. Not until 1445, when Diaz finally passed the desert shore, and fifteen hundred miles down the African coast reached a fertile and populous land beyond Cape Verde, did the Portuguese forget their fears and find rich profits in the slave trade. Some years later, in 1455, when at last the Guinea Coast was attained, the gold and ivory, which Henry had always contended would be found, gave a still further incentive to Portuguese activity. Meanwhile Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands were occupied by Portuguese colonies.

Plans for Portuguese empire in Africa

Firmly resolved that Portugal should build a Christian empire in Africa which should in time overcome the Mohammedans and perhaps even extend to the Indies, Henry eagerly welcomed the slaves brought from West Africa, thinking that they might be civilized, converted, and returned to christianize their brethren in Africa. His plan further called for the organization of the new land into parishes, over each of which a chaplain was to preside. Churches were to be established everywhere throughout the Portuguese settlements both on the mainland and in the islands. The Pope's blessing had from the start been secured for Henry's expeditions. Moreover, Pope Eugenius IV had speedily been informed of the discovery of barbarous people

living beyond the Mussulman world, and as "Lord of the Seas" he had been asked for a perpetual grant to Portugal of all heathen lands which further voyages might reveal to Portuguese discoverers beyond Cape Bojador, even including the Indies. This the Pope had readily granted, and his concession was confirmed by succeeding Popes.

Discovery of Cape of Good Hope

Prince Henry did not live to witness the complete fruition of his plans, but he laid the foundations upon which future successes were based. John II took up the task of finding a sea-route to the land of Prester John and the Indies.[1] Encouraged by the reports of some Abyssinian priests and some Portuguese monks who had gone to the Holy Land, that a Christian kingdom actually existed to the south of Egypt and extended to the Indian Ocean, as well as by the assertions of some Negroes who had been brought from Benin in West Africa, that a powerful prince lived a thousand miles to the east of Benin at whose court a brazen cross was used as emblem, King John persevered in his design of finding Prester John and the Indies. An expedition was sent up the Senegal River in quest of that monarch's realms, while Pero de Covilhão and Alfonso de Payva journeyed to Cairo to secure information concerning the country from which the Venetians secured their spices and to determine the exact place where Prester John resided. Besides, in 1486 two ships under Bartholomew Diaz made an attempt to find a sea-route around Africa. This time Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope and saw the African coast turn northward, but as his crews refused to proceed farther he was unable to determine whether the coast continued northward or turned again southward. Hoping for the best, John II on Diaz's return named the cape, "Good Hope." Covilhão visited the Malabar Coast of India, the eastern coast of Africa, and later Abyssinia, sending to King John an account of his journey and information about the route from Guinea to the Indies. Thus the information furnished by Diaz and Covilhão made a route to the Indies around Africa seem feasible, and tended to discredit the theory of the ancient geographer, Ptolemy, that southern Africa was attached to Asia, thus making circumnavigation impossible. Likewise, since Diaz had penetrated far into the south temperate zone, the theory that the world was on fire at the tropics could no longer be entertained.

Vasco da Gama, first European voyager to India

Before another expedition could sail, John II died, and a delay of nearly twelve years ensued before advantage was taken of the new discoveries. This was probably due to interest in the more immediate profits in West Africa, and to hesitation on the part of Portugal, given the small resources at her disposal, to undertake an enterprise which might draw upon her the hostility of Venice, the Turks, and the Sultan of Egypt, the powers which profited most from the Oriental trade. Finally in 1497, due at least in part to Columbus' discoveries for Spain in the New World, and to the belief that the Spaniards had

[1] Probably the design of circumnavigating Africa did not take definite shape until a short time after Prince Henry's death. Authorities, however, differ on this point.

found a western route to the Indies, Vasco da Gama, a young royal official, was sent with a small fleet of three or four vessels to take advantage of the information which Portugal already possessed, and if possible to reach the Indies before any other nation attained that coveted goal by some of the other routes which were being attempted. Sailing from Lisbon on July 8, 1497, by Christmas he had arrived at a good anchorage off southeastern Africa, which he appropriately called Natal. On March 2 Mozambique was reached, where Mohammedan traders speaking Arabic were found. There, too, a pilot was secured, who by May 20 had safely conducted the fleet to Calicut, thus ending the first European voyage to India, which had taken ten months and twelve days. Two years after his departure from Lisbon, Vasco da Gama was back again, with only a third of his men, but with a cargo worth sixty times the cost of the voyage. Great was the enthusiasm in the homeland at the prospect of making Portugal a second Venice and at the same time striking a blow at the Moslem enemy. Nothing shows Portuguese exultation more than the resounding title of "Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India" which King Emmanuel, with the Pope's consent, soon assumed.

Cabral's discovery of Brazil

The basis of still greater glories was laid for the little nation the next year, when Cabral, journeying to India with a fleet of thirteen vessels and twelve hundred men, in an effort to make use of the trade winds bent his course farther to the westward than was customary with the Portuguese fleets which skirted the African coasts. He arrived off the Brazilian coast, to which he laid claim for the King of Portugal, and then proceeded on his way. So attracted were the Portuguese by the rich spoils of the Orient, that for many years little attention was paid to what later became an empire of vast resources.

The Establishment of Portuguese Power in India

Opposition to Portuguese trade in the East

When the Venetians heard of the Portuguese arrival in India they soon realized that their monopoly of the spice trade was broken, and that their supply might be interrupted at its very source. Well might they be anxious, for while in 1498 the Venetian merchants did not have money enough to buy all of the pepper available at Alexandria, in 1502, when Cabral had purchased this commodity at its source of supply, they could not secure a full cargo of it at that port. King Emmanuel took keen delight in announcing to them that they would no longer have to buy their spices in a Mohammedan country, but might come to Lisbon, where they would always be well treated. Naturally the Mistress of the Adriatic did not submit to her fate without a struggle; neither did the Sultan of Egypt, nor the Arab traders whose profitable trade was now interrupted. The Portuguese created still further opponents by cruel and tactless treatment, interrupting and killing pilgrims on their way to Mecca, stopping Arab traders, and forcing trade from Indian dignitaries at the can-

non's mouth. Urged on by the Venetians, the Arab Sultan of Egypt exerted all his influence with the Indian rulers to give the Portuguese an unfavorable reception. He formed a league of Indian powers for resistance, and at the same time threatened the Pope with the destruction of the Holy Places and the expulsion of the pilgrims from Palestine, if the Portuguese did not withdraw from India and Africa. Meanwhile he was busy preparing a great fleet to drive them from the East.

Victory of the Portuguese over the Arabs

In 1505 the Portuguese learned that this fleet would sail early the next year. Since Vasco da Gama's discovery several large fleets had succeeded in making the voyage and in securing profitable cargoes, and while in the East had beaten down all opposition from warlike Arab ships. In the face of the danger which now presented itself from the Mohammedan world, it was realized that a policy would have to be adopted other than that of organizing individual trading voyages. It would be necessary to keep a fleet permanently in Indian waters to control them, and reserve the trade for Portuguese vessels. Well-garrisoned posts would have to be established, and a high official of recognized ability would have to be stationed in the East to direct operations. This led to the appointment of the first viceroys, to whom large powers were entrusted. The opposition with which Portugal was meeting from a recognized Mohammedan people added a fiery crusading zeal to the desire for economic advantage. To the Portuguese, all Moslems were Moors, their age-long racial enemies. Now, at last, the flank of Islam had been turned, and it seemed possible that the enemy of Christendom might be vanquished. Filled with moral ardor and strengthened by the conviction that they were fighting the battle of all Christian Europe, they hurried to the East in a great fleet commanded by the first viceroy, Francisco d' Almeida, a veteran of the Moorish Wars. In February, 1509, a great naval battle was won at Diu, in which twenty-three Portuguese ships destroyed a large Egyptian and Arabic fleet, thus securing the Indian Ocean for the Portuguese for a hundred years to come, until they were finally dislodged by rival European powers.

Almeida's policies

Now that the immediate danger was over, it was felt that the fleet must be kept in the East. Native princes who had received the advances of the Portuguese favorably would have to be protected, else their fidelity could not be depended upon. Others had submitted to force, the application of which would have to continue. Traders who had trusted to treaties with native functionaries had paid for their indiscretion with their lives, and others could not be left to a similar fate. Still more, the Portuguese crusading spirit, once aroused, was not satisfied with one naval victory, but demanded a crusade to the finish with the hated enemy. For a while a more moderate policy was pursued by the Viceroy Almeida, who realized that Portuguese resources were limited and favored, while in control of the sea, concentrating the troops at his disposal at a few strong, well-chosen posts

along the East-African and Malabar Coast. For the time being he would abandon all attempts at expansion toward the Red Sea, where serious Mohammedan resistance must be met, as well as all efforts to conquer Malacca and the Spice Islands. This policy he successfully followed.

Albuquerque's policies

But the plans of his successor, Albuquerque, were quite different. Not realizing that the Moslems, instead of offering a united opposition, were divided, and fearing that Portugal was too far away to give adequate support, he believed that the fleet and a few trading posts would not suffice, but that it would be necessary to create a great colonial empire with ample powers of resistance to the enemy. It would be necessary to divert trade from the Nile and the Persian Gulf by the seizure of Aden and Ormuz, and trade on the Malabar Coast must be absorbed by the Portuguese ports in that region, and through the acquisition of Malacca and the straits the very source of the spice trade must be secured.

With the exception of Aden, all of these aims were realized within the next five years. Since nearly all of the Moslem trade up the Red Sea was stopped, this one flaw in a perfect accomplishment was not serious. A great Portuguese naval base and commercial center was created by the capture of Goa in North Malabar. Trading-posts were scattered throughout the Spice Islands, and soon after Albuquerque's death Portuguese trade was carried even to China. Little attempt was made to acquire interior regions, since these would not only be difficult to defend, but would add little to profits. In all this enterprise Portugal had the satisfaction of feeling that she was weakening Mohammedan power in eastern Europe, and helping to check its advance by diverting its attention and reducing its resources.

Portuguese commercial policy

Much like England at a later day, Portugal, largely free, until its annexation by Spain in 1580, from European complications and ambitions, was able to devote its entire energy to the development of the vast riches of the Indies. So many Portuguese went to the Orient that their homeland was "half depopulated." Lisbon supplanted Venice as the principal center of exchange for Eastern wares, but unlike Venice it employed its new-found wealth neither in developing what few industries it possessed nor in improving its agriculture; rather its attention was so absorbed by chances for quickly acquiring wealth in the East that it neglected and despised the more commonplace but essential domestic concerns. Moreover, though by the middle of the sixteenth century a nearly unbroken chain of commercial and military posts had been established from the Straits of Gibraltar to Canton, China, and though the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea were firmly in its grasp, it failed to profit as Venice had done by carrying its wares to northwestern Europe. Instead, from the very beginning its lack of enterprise was shown in surrendering this lucrative carrying trade to other nations. Commercial houses of almost every nation were established in Lisbon.

Foreigners were even allowed to adventure goods on Portuguese India ships and to go on many voyages and thus learn Portuguese trade secrets. The Dutch grew wealthy through carrying this rich tide of commerce between Lisbon and Antwerp, the great trading center of the North. Like newly acquired riches, the energy early displayed both in the mother-country and in the colonies was dissipated by easily won luxuries, while slaves brought in large numbers from Africa performed all manual labor.

Brazil and the slave trade

Only in Brazil, a land long neglected in the rush for Eastern wealth, did Portugal show its ability as a colonizing nation. To this land of unrecognized opportunities were first sent Portugal's undesirables, criminals, and Jews. At length its riches were recognized when sugar-cane was introduced from the Old World, and other tropical crops began to produce luxuriantly, all this to be followed still later by the discovery of gold and diamonds. To Brazil the Portuguese possessions on the West African coast were linked by the immensely lucrative slave-trade, for which Brazil supplied a market. As has been seen, the Portuguese had early been interested in West Africa, especially in Guinea, for its slaves, ivory, ostrich plumes, and gold dust; along the coastline they had scattered stations used to revictual their ships, sometimes leaving small garrisons, and sometimes merely domestic animals, which multiplied rapidly and furnished abundant food for any ship which might happen along. As ships came to travel the deep sea more and more extensively, they made fewer stops, often pausing only at the Cape to renew their supplies, and many posts were abandoned, to be revived by the slave-trade, especially in Guinea and Congo. Strange to say, both Portuguese and Spaniards had adopted this human traffic not solely for profit, but partly from religious motives. When the first slaves were brought to Portugal, Prince Henry and other prominent Portuguese praised God for this opportunity to redeem to Christianity many pagan souls, and Negro slaves were first introduced into Portuguese and Spanish colonies through the influence of the Church to spare the Indians from slavery.

The Crossing of the Atlantic

Early conjectures on possibility of trans-Atlantic voyage

While the Portuguese ships were circumnavigating Africa, sailors were also attempting to reach the Indies by an entirely different route. Since authorities on physical science generally believed that the world was round, the most direct route to the Orient seemed to lie across the western seas. Both Aristotle, the Greek philosopher of the fourth century, B.C., and Eratosthenes, sometimes called the "Father of Geography," who lived a century later, had held that such a passage was, except for the vast extent of the Atlantic Ocean, in every way possible. Still, later the Greek geographer Strabo and after him the Roman philosopher Seneca had contended that the passage would be short and easy, and that in all probability there

existed large unknown lands which would serve as way-stations on the road to India. Although the noted geographer Ptolemy propounded the theory that the ocean did not reach as far as Asia, and that the way was obstructed by impassable morasses, this view had clearly been discredited by Marco Polo. In 1267 Roger Bacon, no doubt stimulated by Marco Polo's reports, collected passages from ancient writers to prove that the distance from Spain to the shores of Asia could not be great. Bacon's arguments were copied by Pierre d' Ailly in his book *Imago Mundi*, published in 1410.

King of Portugal's interest in western expeditions

The task of reaching the southern end of the African coastline and then turning northeastward to the Indies, must, as year after year passed with the goal unattained, have seemed an endless one. Doubts must have arisen whether it would ever be accomplished, and if the feat of turning directly westward into the unknown sea, instead of skirting the coast, had not seemed such a venture for the small ships of those days, it is probable that many more voyages in that direction would early have been attempted. As it was, the Portuguese King, Alfonso V, after learning in 1472 that Africa did not turn to the east after the Gold Coast was passed, but continued as before to the south, began to turn his attention to the possibility of discovering a western route to Asia. He had inquiries made of one of the most noted scientists of the day, the Florentine Toscanelli, as to the feasibility of such a route. The latter not only replied encouragingly, but sent a map sketching his ideas concerning the course to be pursued. Although assuming the distance to be about what we now know it to be, he asserted that about half-way there existed a land which would serve as a post on the way to the country of Kublai Khan.

Search for an Atlantic land

This unknown land, which Toscanelli supposed to exist, came to be commonly called by the Portuguese "Antillia," and year by year ships left Lisbon to search the seas beyond the Azores for this illusory island. Similar notions were entertained by sailors of Bristol, England, who during these same years were scouring the Atlantic farther to the north for the islands of St. Brandan or Brasil, which they likewise hoped to make a half-way station on a new route to India. That neither the Portuguese nor the English voyages reached America was probably due to the fact that the ships did not pursue a direct course, but upon failure to find land after sailing a certain distance altered their course and even turned back from fear of having passed it on the way. It remained for Columbus to adhere resolutely to the western course.

Columbus

Columbus, though a Genoese by birth, had early moved to Portugal, where he found work as a map-maker, and probably as a mariner, on at least a number of the Portuguese African voyages. Just how he became convinced that the Indies could be reached by

sailing westward, is not entirely clear;[1] but the fact remains that he had conviction and courage sufficient to overcome all obstacles. After eight years of effort, in which he tried to secure aid first from Portugal and later from England and Spain, he was at length commissioned by Queen Isabella of Castile to make the attempt. About $100,000 was raised through the efforts of the Queen, Columbus, and his friends. Three small ships were equipped, and on August 3, 1492, they sailed from Palos on that ever-memorable voyage.

Motives for Spanish voyages of discovery

As in the case of Portugal, the motives for this enterprise appear to have been both economic gain and religious zeal, and throughout the whole process of establishing the Spanish colonial empire these motives were generally present together. Thus, while taking for granted the great profits of an expedition to the land of Kublai Khan, Columbus states in the introduction to his journal of the first voyage that, although the Great Khan had frequently asked the Pope for missionaries to instruct his people in the Christian doctrine, these had not been sent and therefore the Spanish sovereigns "as Catholic Christians and Princes, Lovers and Promoters of the Holy Christian Faith, determined to send (him) . . . . to see the disposition of them all, and the means to be taken for the conversion of them to the Holy Faith." The fact is likewise to be noted that it was largely through the influence of a former confessor, as well as some other clerics, that Isabella at length decided to aid Columbus. Her well-known religious devotion and later interest in the American Indians would appear to indicate this as a prominent motive. Columbus' own zeal was further aroused by the dream of finding enough wealth in the Indies to equip a crusade to win back the Holy Land from the Turks.

Discovery of America

In undertaking his great venture Columbus appears to have realized how important a factor the psychology of their crews had been in causing the failures of earlier Portuguese navigators. Therefore, instead of sailing directly westward from Spain, in which case he would have met with unfavorable winds which would have retarded his progress, he bent his course first to the southwest. This gave him the double advantage of sailing before favorable winds and of stopping at the Canaries, the farthest Spanish land to the west.[2]

After a voyage of thirty-three days from the Canaries, during which time the only means he had of measuring the speed of his

[1] It is quite commonly held that he corresponded with Toscanelli, and had read many of the works of those who had referred to this route as practical. There is also a story related in Oviedo's *Historia General*, I. 12 (ed. 1851), that a pilot of a vessel driven by storms from the European coast to an unknown land had died in Columbus' house and told him his secrets. Although repeated by Las Casas and other writers, and quite likely believed rather widely during the sixteenth century, the story has not been verified.

[2] It must be noted, however, that the route from the Canaries involved crossing the ocean at its very widest place. See, G. E. Nunn, *Geographical Conceptions of Columbus*, and G. A. Ballard, *America and the Atlantic*, for a discussion of this whole question.

ship was by watching the bubbles and sea-wrack as they floated by, and the only means of measuring time a sand-glass, on October 12, 1492, he saw land. He believed that he had arrived off the coast of Asia.[1] Instead, as we now know, he had discovered one of the Bahama Islands, probably Watling's Island.

Columbus' return and second voyage

Great was Columbus' enthusiasm on noting the luxuriant vegetation and strange people, and although he was unable to find the splendid palaces, great cities, gorgeously attired people, the silks and spices of the Great Khan's country, so convinced was he that he had reached at least the outskirts of that great land that, after visiting Cuba and Santo Domingo, he returned in haste to Spain to report the great news to the Spanish sovereigns. Although the only returns he had to show for his enterprise were a little gold, some strange birds, and a few Indians, great enthusiasm was aroused at the Castilian Court, with the result that he soon left Spain again, this time with a fleet of thirteen ships carrying twelve hundred men, for the settlement which he had left the year before on the island of Santo Domingo.

Results of Columbus' voyages

By his first expedition Columbus had done little more than determine the breadth of the Atlantic Ocean in the latitude of the northern tropic and find a group of islands which might indicate the proximity of a continental shore. In his three later voyages he proved that this was so, but he died still believing that he had found Asia. His voyage, however, was a turning-point in geographical knowledge. Only eighteen years after his death the general outline of the New World had been learned, the southernmost point of South America rounded, and the Pacific Ocean crossed.

Line of Demarcation

Upon learning of Columbus' success John II of Portugal, believing that the Pope had already (in 1481) granted the Indies to Portugal, thought to send a fleet across the Atlantic to seize some point from which he might dispute the Spanish claims. Ferdinand and Isabella, however, were too quick for him. They hurried a messenger to Rome to ask Pope Alexander VI, who was a member of the Spanish Borgia family, to confirm their rights to the recent discoveries. The Pope, glad to reward the Spanish sovereigns for their zeal against the Moors, on May 4, 1493, assigned to Spain all lands west of a meridian one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. The Portuguese King, realizing that this decision would confine Portuguese voyages too closely to the African coast to take advantage of the trade winds, and thinking that he might discover spice islands in western waters, was by no means satisfied with this decision; but fearing Spanish sea-power, and realizing that if he broke one papal decision the previous ones from which he had gained so much might be invalidated, he decided upon a conciliatory policy. One year later this

[1] Columbus supposed that he would only have to sail westward about 2,250 miles from the Canaries to reach Japan. The idea was quite frequently entertained by scholars of that day that the land mass of Asia occupied much more of the earth's surface than it actually does. They also miscalculated the distance around the world.

proved so successful that an agreement was reached with Spain, by the Treaty of Tordesillas (June 7, 1494), fixing the line of division 270 leagues further west. This alteration gave Portugal title to the discoveries her explorers had made along the Brazilian coast.

Spanish Explorations and Settlements

Establishment of Spanish colonial empire

In many ways Spain was little prepared for the great rôle which she was now called upon to play in world affairs. Spain possessed no great resources, no dense population, no extensive industries The continental wars which she had waged with the Moors had left her no leisure in which to develop the arts of peace in security, and what is worse they had caused even the lower ranks of society to disdain work. Spain at first was much less ready than Portugal for a career as a great overseas power. She had no Prince Henry to direct her energies to commerce and exploration, and with the exception of the Canaries no colonies along the coast of West Africa to arouse an interest in maritime exploits. Furthermore, her interests were more concerned with European politics than were those of Portugal, and her absorption in the crusade against the Moors within her boundaries was more recent.

In both countries the long wars with the Moslems had aroused a strongly nationalistic and passionately religious spirit, and had created many adventurers who were ready, when excitement near at hand was over, to seek it in foreign lands; but unfortunately these wars tended in both countries to arouse a restlessness little suited to sound economic development. As Martins expresses it: "Men thought of the millions of souls to be won for God! Of the mountains of gold to bring home! Of the great battles, the vast kingdoms to conquer! They saw all the crosses, commanderies, riches, captaincies, and glory."

Three elements took part in the foundation of Spanish colonies: adventurers recruited from the nobility and army, now out of employment and resources; members of the clergy, especially monks who went to convert the natives; and the Crown, with its jealousy and fear of the initiative of those who served it, its predilection "for an aristocracy of office-holders," and its anxiety lest the people of the colonies "become too rich or too united." Although, later, commercial, industrial, and agricultural classes were added, it was with the character of the first elements that the political and economic organization of the Spanish colonial empire was impressed.

Further explorations

During the first years of the sixteenth century the larger West Indies were occupied and served as the nucleus of further explorations. These were hastened by news of the great wealth which the Portuguese had found in the East, and by their taking advantage of Cabral's accidental discovery of Brazil to claim it for Portugal. Spanish enterprise responded with explorations in the Gulf of Honduras and

Yucatan and along the northern coast of South America.[1] Moreover, Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama in 1513, and discovered the Pacific Ocean. Afterwards many explorations were undertaken up and down the Pacific Coast, and de Solis was commissioned by the Spanish sovereign in 1514 to sail southward along the eastern coast of South America to discover a passage through or around that land to the Pacific. This expedition, though it discovered the mouth of the La Plata River, failed to accomplish its purpose.

Magellan's circumnavigation of globe

Some years later, in 1519, the Portuguese Fernando Magallanes, or Magellan, volunteered to take a Spanish fleet to the Spice Islands by way of the Atlantic and South America. Starting on this great undertaking with five ships, two of which were of one hundred thirty tons and three of only ninety, the expedition wintered in the land of the Patagonians, or "clumsy-hoofed," so called from their crude footwear. After various vicissitudes, including a mutiny in which three captains lost their lives, the wrecking of one ship, and the desertion of another, after a sail of thirty-seven days through the straits which bear his name, Magellan emerged with the other three ships into the great ocean to which he gave the name Pacific. Resolutely pushing forth into the unknown, the explorers sailed for thirteen months and twenty days, in all of which time they sighted only two desolate islands. On the way their water became putrid, and they were forced to eat biscuits reduced to powder, and "swarming with worms," as well as rats, and the very leather used to prevent the shrouds from chafing. To add to the general misery, nearly all the crew were afflicted with the scurvy.

Arriving at the Philippines, they claimed these islands for Spain. Here the heroic Magellan and many of his men were killed in encounters with the natives. One of the ships was burned, but the other two managed to reach Tidore. Here, after necessary repairs, the *Trinidad* made a vain attempt to recross the Pacific to America against contrary winds, but was obliged to put back to the Moluccas, where her crew were taken prisoners by the Portuguese. The other ship, the *Victoria*, bearing eighteen Europeans and four Asiatics, rounded the Cape of Good Hope. At length, after the most remarkable voyage in the annals of seamanship, lasting almost three years from the time of departure, it reached Spain, bearing as its cargo twenty-six tons of cloves, the value of which exceeded the total cost of the expedition.

Importance of Magellan's voyage

The details of Magellan's voyage are important as illustrating the great difficulties encountered in the early voyages and the remarkable heroism displayed. For the first time, actual knowledge was obtained of the size of the earth, and conclusive proof of its sphericity. The vast size of the Pacific Ocean was now revealed, as well as the distance between Asia and America, which until then

[1] On one of these voyages went a Florentine adventurer, Amerigo Vespucci, who later wrote with such effect about the newly discovered land that it was called America after his first name.

had not been realized. America now was known to be a huge continent, isolated from the rest of the world. The chief political result of Magellan's exploit was Spain's claim to the Philippine Islands, which she maintained in spite of agreements with Portugal to the contrary. Nevertheless, the Portuguese monopoly of the African route compelled the Spaniards, upon the establishment of a colony in the Philippines, to communicate with them by ships which sailed from the western coast of Mexico.

Conquest of Mexico and Peru

No stranger and more romantic tales have ever been told than those of the conquests of Mexico and Peru which laid the basis of the Spanish empire in the New World, and showered Europe with streams of treasure. In many respects these expeditions, the former in 1519 under Cortez, the latter in 1531 under Pizarro, are similar. Both exhibited great daring, penetrating as they did with only a few hundred men into the interior of unknown lands inhabited by many warlike natives who had succeeded, largely through conquest, in forming large confederacies capable of putting armies of from forty to fifty thousand men in the field. In each case the conquerors were helped by their ruthless fortitude, in the exhibition of which they did not stop short of seizing the persons of the native sovereigns and treacherously slaying many of their followers. Both were assisted by divisions and quarrels among the natives, and the expedition against Mexico was further aided by a superstitious fear that the newcomers might be gods who could not be resisted. The horses, which proved terrifying monsters to unaccustomed eyes, to say nothing of the armor and firearms, gave the Europeans great advantages, and yet both conquerors had desperate struggles to wage before completing their conquests.

The spoils wrung from these lands were such as to satisfy the wildest dreams. Accordingly, many Spaniards, eager to secure easy wealth, rushed to the new source of riches, as to a magnet. They based their own institutions upon the ruins of a native civilization which might boast of great temples and buildings of stone, often curiously carved and adorned with gold and silver, and with tapestries of featherwork; and they made use of the many primitive industries, such as the manufacture of cotton cloth and pottery, and work in gold and silver. They rebuilt a new city on the site of the old native Mexico City destroyed in a revolt. In Peru they raised Lima, the "City of the Kings," to which many noble families from Old Spain emigrated. Temples were everywhere demolished, and great cathedrals, monasteries, and convents were erected to house the many priests and monks who, filled with a craving for souls no less eager than that of the adventurous seekers for gold, hastened in considerable numbers to America.

Organization of new territories

The new territories were soon organized, and formal governments, which will be discussed at greater length in a later chapter, were set up. Great estates, sometimes comprising whole provinces,

were granted to fortunate adventurers, and although at first little attention was paid to agriculture, subsequently large fortunes were made on the plantations of the tropical regions, while the mines, richer than any hitherto known to Europeans, furnished an ever-increasing wealth.

Further Spanish explorations

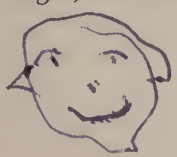
Such enthusiastic interest had been aroused by the discovery in Mexico and Peru of the precious metals that eager adventurers not only flocked to these centers of wealth, but from them set out in every direction to find new El Dorados. In this manner Chile and the land now known as Bolivia were conquered from Peru, and the riches of the present Colombia were sought by adventurers coming from many directions. Meanwhile, Venezuela had been settled as a concession made by Charles V to a German banking company, and the Argentine's commercial possibilities were exploited by voyages down the eastern coast, and Buenos Aires was founded. Northward, Spanish settlements had arisen in Central America.

After Ponce de Leon's vain attempt to colonize Florida (1521), and Ayllón's endeavor to do likewise in Carolina (1526), and Narvaez's search in that same year for a fabled land of riches in northern Florida, Hernando de Soto, one of Pizarro's old troop, sought to repeat the exploits of his former leader. Landing in Florida in 1537 with six hundred men, he wandered in vain search for wealth northward and westward as far as the territory now known as Arkansas and Oklahoma. The restless energies of Cortez himself were not satisfied by his great accomplishment in Mexico, but he and his lieutenants overran Honduras and Yucatan, and sent expeditions up the western coast of Mexico in an attempt to reach the Moluccas.

Rumors of seven cities to the north of Mexico, greater than any yet found, started another rush of adventurers which resulted in Friar Marco's journey into New Mexico, and Coronado's great expedition which, equipped at royal expense, left Mexico in 1540 and wandered through much of our Southwest and as far north as eastern Kansas. In vain efforts to find a passage through North America that might be used as a route to the East Indies, the Pacific Coast was explored as far north as the present state of Oregon (1542). In that same year an expedition under Lopez de Villalobos was sent as a part of the same enterprise to take possession of the Philippines, but was unable to maintain itself there.

Missionaries

As the sixteenth century progressed, another element which from the first had been interested in the new enterprises, proved of great value in aiding the efforts of the Spanish conquerors and explorers to extend Spain's dominion. Eagerly striving to win new converts, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits were ever in the vanguard of Spanish settlement. This was particularly true of Spanish advance to the north, where along the Atlantic Coast chains of mission stations were established in Florida, Georgia, and even



temporarily in Virginia, while in the west New Mexico and California were largely won for Spain by the Church.

The Philippines, conquered in 1564 by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and named for Philip II of Spain, were slow to appeal to economic interest, since they afforded neither precious metals nor spices. Instead, from the first the Spanish settlements in the Philippines were mission stations rather than true colonies. Founded and administered in the interests of religion rather than of commerce and industry, they give some idea of what might have occurred in Spanish America if the mines had been absent. Soldiers and friars composed the larger part of the Europeans, and much was done toward protecting and instructing the natives and preparing them for European civilization. Everywhere throughout the Spanish colonial realms the Church became active and influential on behalf of the natives.

The Overseas Expansion of Other European Nations

Privileged position of Spain and Portugal overseas

Because of the start which Spain and Portugal secured in first taking possession of the wealth of America and of Oriental lands and the sea-routes by which they might be reached, because of the strength of their navies, and at least to some extent because the Pope, the recognized international authority of the time, had sanctioned the claims of the Iberian Powers to an exclusive monopoly, other western nations at first believed that they might never have a chance to share in the opportunity for acquiring wealth possessed by their more fortunate neighbors. The situation seemed exasperating when it became evident that Spain and Portugal not only sought to maintain a rigid monopoly of the trade of a large part of the world, but were incapable of properly developing the natural resources of their vast empires. Matters were bad enough under Charles V when the wealth of the American mines was used to maintain him in power throughout much of Europe; but when, in 1580, his son Philip II, King of Spain, succeeded in annexing Portugal, thus uniting in one hand the wealth of both America and the Indies, not only the future prosperity, but the very political existence of England, Holland, and France, as well as the religion of the two former nations, which had become Protestant, were threatened by the seemingly overwhelming strength of Catholic Spain. This was especially true since Philip II, as champion of the Old Faith, made it his life work to win back the revolting nations to the Catholic fold. In subsequent chapters it will be made clear how the Dutch, who upon Charles V's abdication had been placed under Spanish rule, became discontented and were successful in winning their freedom; how England succeeded in maintaining her independence and in crushing Spanish sea-power; and how France saved itself under a strong king.

We must now consider what means these nations adopted to break the Spanish-Portuguese trade monopoly, and to secure their share of the overseas wealth and dominion. Four courses of action were fol-

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lowed: (1) attempts to find some new route to the Indies, to the northeast around northern Europe and Asia, or to the northwest around North America, or through that continent; (2) buccaneering in the English Channel and in the West Indies, and smuggling; (3) settlement in the West Indies and in North America; and (4) direct infringement of the East India monopoly, by the sending of ships to the Orient to seize trade and trading posts.

Methods used by other nations against Spanish monopoly

Only four years after Columbus' discovery of America, Henry VII of England, perhaps disappointed at having missed the opportunity of sending that famous explorer on his voyages, commissioned a Venetian, John Cabot, to discover another route to the Indies by sailing farther to the northwest. Leaving Bristol in a single ship manned by a crew of only eighteen men, in 1497 he landed on the North American coast near Labrador or Cape Breton Island. This voyage gave England her claim to territory in the New World. For more than a hundred years the English persisted in this search for a passage which would not touch upon the routes claimed by Spain and Portugal, dispatching such noted navigators as Davis, Frobisher, Baffin, Gilbert, Hudson, and many others in this fruitless effort.[1]

English attempts at discovery of northwest passage

Somewhat later, France began a similar search but gave it up much sooner than England. Under French auspices Verrazzano, in 1521, and Jacques Cartier, in 1534, 1535, and 1541, departed on this quest. It was due to Cartier, who sailed up the St. Lawrence River as far as the Lachine, or China, Rapids, that France obtained a claim to Canada.

Portugal and Spain, unwilling that other nations should break their trade monopoly or discover a shorter route to the Indies by the northwest, both sent expeditions on this same enterprise. Gaspar Cortereal set out in 1501 from Portugal, and Gomez in 1521 from Spain, the latter sailing the length of the Atlantic Coast.

These expeditions, besides leading to the later settlements of France and England in North America, had the immediate result of acquainting nearly every European nation with the value of the Newfoundland fisheries. In 1578, long before the mainland was settled, there were annually fishing more than a hundred Spanish vessels, fifty Portuguese, one hundred and fifty French, and fifty English off the banks of Newfoundland. Besides this extremely profitable industry, the way was likewise prepared for the development, during the next century, of the rich fur trade with the northern regions of America. A still further result was the valuable training in seamanship afforded by these ventures in small ships, often under twenty-five tons, amid the ice, blinding snowstorms, and dense fogs which even now delay and endanger our large ocean-going vessels.

Meanwhile attempts were made to discover a route by the northeast to the riches of the Orient. It was argued that if such a route could be found it would be shorter by two thousand miles than the

[1] These voyages took place chiefly in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Efforts toward finding route by northeast to Orient

Portuguese route around Africa, and besides would be healthier than voyages through the tropics where sometimes more than half of the crew died of disease. It would, moreover, not be subject to Portuguese opposition. Foremost in this endeavor were the English, who in 1553 organized a company which sent three ships under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor to find a new way to China by the northeast. Two ships were wrecked, but one under Chancellor's direction succeeded in reaching Archangel on the White Sea coast of Russia. Journeying to Moscow, the English captain made a trade agreement with the Czar, who was only too glad to escape from the clutches of the Hanseatic League, which had long monopolized Russian commerce. Straightway the Muscovy Company was founded, and for many years it not only traded for Russian furs, hemp, wax, etc., but also extended its operations down the Volga River to the Caspian Sea, and by this roundabout route carried on trade with Persia for Oriental wares. The English were followed by the Dutch, who set up a trading post at Archangel in 1584 and, stimulated by prizes offered by the home government, toward the close of the sixteenth century made a number of voyages which did little except to prove the impracticability of a northeast route to the Indies.

English smuggling and buccaneering

Since all attempts to reach the Orient by new routes, or to find other lands of treasure, with the exception of the Muscovy-Persian trade, had proved fruitless,[1] it was not long before Englishmen ventured upon bolder measures. First as Channel pirates who preyed upon Spanish ships passing to the Netherlands,[2] then as smugglers and buccaneers, they carried their enterprises to the West Indies. The English government, which under Queen Elizabeth maintained Protestantism in England, silently encouraged these enterprises against Spain, which under Philip II was using its wealth to reestablish Catholicism throughout Europe. Between 1562 and 1568 John Hawkins, of Plymouth, made three voyages to Sierra Leone, there securing cargoes of Negroes; and in spite of Spanish regulations forbidding all trade between colonists and foreigners, he managed to dispose of his human cargoes, at a rich profit, to planters in the West Indies and the Spanish Main. On his third voyage, however, he lost three of his five ships, and many of his crew, through an attack by Spanish government vessels. This led to a direct attack upon the Spanish colonies and treasure ships. English piracy was transferred from the Channel to the West Indies, where it later became known as buccaneering, which by the silent coöperation of the Crown was given somewhat the status of privateering.

Drake

The chief hero of these enterprises was Francis Drake, who had accompanied Hawkins on his last and fateful voyage. Incensed by the perfidy of the Spanish admiral in attacking Hawkins' vessels after

[1] The Levant Company for carrying on trade with Turkey and Western Asia by way of the Mediterranean was chartered in 1581.

[2] French and Dutch pirates also frequented these waters.

he had promised them a safe-conduct, and at the sufferings of English captives at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition, Drake entered upon a lifelong warfare with Spain. Although England was at peace with that country in Europe, it was tacitly recognized by European nations that hostile actions in America or the East were not prevented thereby, since European relations were not considered as applying to the tropics. Having secretly connived with the Queen and the Admiralty, in 1572 Drake sailed to the West Indies, successfully plundered the Spanish treasure convoy, raided towns in Central America, despoiled two hundred trading vessels, and arrived home with a huge treasure. Five years later, again with secret governmental backing, Drake executed the bold exploit of sailing around South America. He captured many rich prizes on its western coast, and then in his flagship, the Golden Hind, a vessel of one hundred tons, he journeyed northward in search of new territories beyond the Spanish possessions, and a sea-passage through North America which might be claimed for England. Having reached northern California, he landed and claimed the country for England, and named it New Albion. Striking off across the Pacific, he touched at the Spice Islands, and at length arrived again in England, having been away a little less than three years. His voyage was not only important as the second to circumnavigate the globe, but, besides a treasure of great value, it brought home to English traders information of the Spice Islands which soon led to efforts to reach them.

Spanish Armada

These repeated attacks upon Spanish monopoly, together with other developments to be explained in a subsequent chapter, led to an attempt on the part of Spain to overwhelm England by the attack of a great fleet called the Armada. The English, thanks to the skill which their seamen had gained through buccaneering and other voyaging, were able successfully to resist this great onslaught, which came in 1588, and by this victory they not only destroyed Spanish supremacy on the seas, but made a first step toward the up-building of English sea-power. If Spain had succeeded, both England and the Dutch Netherlands doubtless would have been prevented from obtaining overseas possessions and trade.

English and Dutch in Orient

The English and Dutch soon took advantage of the Spanish defeat to establish themselves in the East. As early as 1591 London merchants had sent an expedition under James Lancaster which had gone as far as the Malay Peninsula and, returning with valuable cargoes, had aroused in England enthusiasm similar to that which the voyage of Vasco da Gama many years before had aroused in Portugal. An English East India Company was formed by the merchants and aldermen of London. It was incorporated on December 31, 1600, with a monopoly of all English trade in the Indies. So long as the Portuguese remained rivals of Spain, against whose rule the Netherlands had revolted, the Dutch contented themselves with supplying northern Europe with spice bought in Lisbon. In 1580,

however, when Portugal was annexed by Spain, Portuguese harbors were closed to Dutch traders, and four or five hundred Dutch vessels were seized by order of the Spanish King. Thus threatened with commercial ruin, the Dutch were not slow in sailing directly to the Indies for their spices. A Dutch expedition reached that desired goal in 1596. Companies organized by the various Dutch cities for continuing this trade were in 1602 finally merged in one large East India Company, which was given a monopoly of Dutch trade in the East.

Rivalry between Dutch and English

Both companies at first sought to capture the trade of the Spice Islands from the Portuguese, who, crippled by the Spanish government's indifference, and by their own inefficiency, offered but feeble resistance. The Dutch soon had a chain of trading posts extending from the Cape of Good Hope, which they made a half-way station, through most of the East Indies and to China and Japan. For some time the newcomers were forced to share the island trade, but it was not long before the English traders, due to Dutch naval superiority and aggressiveness in the East, were obliged to center their attention upon the peninsula of India and upon Persia, from which countries they eliminated Portuguese competition. Both Dutch and English companies were so successful that the French government decided to organize an India Company, and in the eighteenth century the French became, as we shall see, active competitors with English interests for control of India.

Dutch in the New World

Meanwhile, serious blows at the Spanish trade monopoly in the West were delivered by a Dutch West India Company, organized in 1617–1621, and heavily subsidized and supplied with warships by the Estates-General. With a monopoly of Dutch commerce which covered most of the west coast of Africa, the islands east of New Guinea, and all American waters, its primary business became privateering, smuggling, and the establishment of plantations. In a period of thirteen years it fitted out over eight hundred ships, captured and destroyed over six hundred Spanish vessels, and seized about $14,800,000 worth of booty. Establishing settlements on several of the Antilles, particularly Curaçao, it carried on an immense smuggling trade with the mainland. To obtain slaves, it occupied numerous Portuguese posts in West Africa, and in 1624 seized one-half of the coast of Brazil. Dutch ambitions did not stop there, since Prince John Maurice of Nassau was sent by the company to secure all of Brazil, and then to seize Peru and Mexico, thus delivering the final blow at Iberian monopoly by supplanting Spain and Portugal in the New World. This grand design failed, however, because of the unwillingness of Dutch merchants to supply money for armies and fortifications, because of a great rising of the Portuguese in Brazil, and because of the fact that Portugal freed itself from Spanish control and succeeded in making peace with the Dutch government.

Settlements in West Indies

For many years the West Indies and the adjoining "Spanish Main," including Peru and Mexico, were regarded in Europe as the most valuable part of the New World, and, except for Spanish opposition, much easier and less risky to reach than North America. The late-comers to the American world were further tempted by the large number of islands which the Spanish in their eagerness for the treasures of Mexico and Peru either had neglected to occupy or had abandoned. These afforded the Dutch, French, and English many chances to establish valuable plantations as well as numerous smuggling and buccaneering stations. The English in Barbados, St. Christophers, and many other islands, finally including Jamaica; the French in part of Santo Domingo, Martinique, Guadalupe and in other islands of lesser consequence; the Dutch in Curaçao and St. Eustatius—all secured a share of American riches.

Settlements on mainland of North America

During the seventeenth century the Atlantic Coast of North America was occupied through the efforts of England, Holland, and France. England, whose colonies came to extend from Canada to Florida, wished to secure a territorial counterpoise to the power of Spain, hoped to increase English sea-power, and was eager to develop the fisheries and fur trade, and to avail itself of the chance, which was thought to exist, of discovering valuable mines or a new passage to India. Moreover, England, unlike other nations, wished to found in the New World a home for discontented citizens, religious dissenters, political exiles, and even convicts, and through these plantations to derive a profitable trade for English merchants. The motive of winning new converts for Christ, so vital to the colonial policies of the Catholic countries, Spain, Portugal, and France, although nearly always mentioned and kept in mind by the English colonists and their government, was less influential than were other motives.

The Dutch also were relatively indifferent to the task of proselytizing. As a result of Hudson's voyage up the Hudson River in search of a way to India, they had founded New Netherland and, until checked by English progress, they extended the boundaries of this colony from Manhattan Island up the Hudson, south to the Delaware, and north and east on Long Island and the Connecticut river. With them, the fur trade was the predominant motive.

The French, who followed up Cartier's explorations by occupation of Nova Scotia and Canada, and later, as we shall see, scattered forts and trading posts through the Great Lakes region and the Mississippi valley, were divided between a sincere desire to convert the Indian and a strenuous effort to capture the very valuable fur trade. Settlement, as in the case of the Dutch, was a minor motive.

Russians in Siberia

During the seventeenth century, while the English, French, Spanish, and Dutch were planting colonies in North America, Russians were founding the first settlements in Siberia. Two motives led to the occupation of this eastern land—the search for sable skins, and the

desire of the Russian peasants to escape from oppression. Cossacks on their fleet ponies, and a kind of Russian *coureurs des bois* (the promsyshleniki) were the pioneers in this enterprise.

Siberia is intersected by many great rivers flowing northward into the frozen Arctic, with branches that nearly touch each other. River valley after river valley was occupied in successive stages by small bands of men, who, as soon as they arrived, established posts, built boats, and went up and down the rivers overawing the scattered tribes of natives and collecting furs. By 1639 the eastern border of Siberia had been attained and a fort had been established on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk. The Amur valley to the southeast was likewise occupied, but in 1689 had to be surrendered to the Chinese. Lured by the discovery of large deposits of fossil ivory, the Russians pressed on still further to the eastward, until finally, in 1690, the Kamchatka peninsula was discovered.

Rumors of Alaska

Here rumors were heard of an unknown land lying to the northeast, where great forests grew and furs were plentiful. It was reported by the natives of Kamchatka that a half-day's sail from the East Cape lay a barren island and from this, on clear days, a continent could be seen. Such evidences of another land as the trunks of strange trees washed ashore on the Kamchatka coasts, and whales with spearheads of strange design in their backs, were also to be found.

Bering's discovery

The active interest of Peter the Great was excited, and expeditions were organized with the object of discovering the new land, and finding out whether America and Asia were connected. It was not until 1740, however, that an expedition under a Danish navigator in Russian service, Bering, succeeded in sighting America. This expedition was shipwrecked on Bering Island, where Bering himself died. Part of the crew, after building a boat from the wreckage, managed to return to Kamchatka with many valuable seal skins. This led to the dispatch of other expeditions to Bering Island and later to the Aleutian Islands. A company was established, and settlements composed largely of exiles and some missionaries were founded in 1794 at Yakutat Bay and later at Sitka.

Rivalry for seal fisheries

The Spanish, hearing of the Russian settlements and seal fisheries lying to the north of their colonies, sent ships to claim as much of the country as possible. They were followed by a French expedition under La Perouse, and by the English under Captain Cook. Soon Russians, Spanish, French, and English were all hunting in Alaskan waters for seal, and taking many of their skins to China for sale.

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CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES

The Expansion of Finance and Commerce

Commercial Revolution

Just as in political affairs the beginning of the modern age was marked in many countries by the breakdown of medieval feudalism and the formation of unified national states, so also economic and social organizations were subjected to alteration. It was a period of change, the turning-point of which arrived with the maritime discoveries which made communication with all parts of the globe possible and thereby extended all fields of human endeavor. Whereas medieval economic life was communal in its nature and was controlled by the manor lord or the city gild, modern conditions are characterized by private enterprise and competition, by national rather than local regulation, and by international commercial and colonial rivalries. This change to modern conditions, variously called the "Commercial Revolution" or the "Financial Revolution," began to be operative during the sixteenth century. It was brought about by the creation of capital and its profitable employment in newly-developed world trade and in industries stimulated by wider markets. Later, capital came to be applied to all phases of economic life, and the world entered what has been commonly designated the "Capitalistic Age."

Question of capital

The growth of capital implies a plentiful supply of some precious medium like gold or silver which can be utilized in any direction and transported with reasonable ease from place to place. Furthermore, there must be opportunities for profitably employing capital, so that it may be increased. In the Middle Ages neither the medium nor the opportunities existed on a sufficiently large scale. The production of bullion in the few mines worked in Europe was small and uncertain. Moreover, the stock of money in circulation was depleted, and the output of the mines was offset by the steady drain of money to Asia for Oriental wares, by the transformation of gold and silver into plate and jewels, and by the accumulation of ecclesiastical and royal hoards. Toward the close of the Middle Ages the need of gold and silver was so severely felt that the alchemists increased their efforts to transform baser metals into gold, while more attention was paid to mining in Germany, and Columbus and other discoverers were spurred on in their search for the "golden land of Zipangu." The money which the medieval capitalists did possess was largely loaned out for unproductive purposes such as the prosecution of wars, and the construction of magnificent churches instead of business buildings, and thus failed to increase the material wealth of the community.

Indeed, commercial loans were resorted to only as temporary expedients, and "the habitual conduct of business on borrowed capital was unknown" until the approach of modern times.

Increased supplies of precious metals

During the sixteenth century the need for precious metals was more than supplied from two sources, that is, through the increase in mining in Germany, which in 1525 was furnishing $4,800,000 worth of metals annually, and through the Spanish mines in America, which by 1560 had sent about $139,720,000 to Spain. In the course of the following century the American supply was more than five-fold the amount derived from the Old World.[1] This bullion, because of the activities of buccaneers, and because Spain was dependent upon other nations for most of her manufactures and even for agricultural products, and was almost constantly at war, chiefly found its way to northern and western Europe, where it was profitably employed in developing industry.

Capitalists

A class of capitalists was already in existence to make use of the new opportunities. Owing to the lack of profitable investments, and to the fact that the clergy condemned the practice of lending money at interest as unchristian,[2] capitalism had developed but slowly. Jews who were not hampered by Christian scruples, and some goldsmiths who were indifferent, were for a time the only financiers. Later, Christians avoided the troublesome restrictions upon interest-taking by substituting a fine if the capital was not returned promptly on an appointed day. It came, besides, to be considered right for merchants to take interest if they loaned their money, since it was thought legitimate that they should be reimbursed for losses they might incur as a result of not being able to employ this money in their mercantile business. In this fashion the great merchants likewise became the great capitalists of the day.[3] The need of the national sovereigns for ready money with which to carry on their wars, and for some means of transporting their resources to distant provinces, led to the development of international finance. At first these great financiers were mainly Italians, like the Medici and the Peruzzi, and they developed in Italy the instruments and methods for conducting business along

[1] According to Werner Sombart, the output of the American mines "increased from an average of some 30,067,000 ounces, between 1521 and 1544, to 103,900,000 ounces between 1545 and 1560. In the seventeenth century the supply varied between 100,000,000 and 140,000,000 ounces. In that century Brazilian gold was discovered, and the silver age of capitalism ended, to give place to the age of gold. Between 1701 and 1720 Brazil yielded gold to the value of 7½ million sterling." *The Quintessence of Capitalism*, p. 316.

[2] As Werner Sombart points out, the Church forbade "payment for simple lending," but permitted a share of the surplus which capital created, provided the capitalist himself participated in the undertaking. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

[3] However, as Pirenne points out, these generally did not come from the old burgher merchants but from a new, bold, adventurous group who became "great merchants, bankers, and speculators." The old merchant class retired and lived from private means, or secured positions as officials and lawyers.

modern lines, such as the use of bills of exchange, discounting and clearance of bills, the employment of bank notes, and banks of deposit.

Great bankers of South Germany

A new center of capital had been developing in the century preceding the discoveries, in the South German cities, especially Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Strassburg, which were situated along the route of trade between Venice and the North. Here great firms of international bankers, such as the Fuggers and the Welsers, held the money power of much of the western world. They illustrate how the wealth of the great banking firms was accumulated. The Fuggers were at first interested in the manufacture of cloth. Later they invested in the spice and silk trades with Venice, and in 1487 engaged in silver mining in the Tyrol, and in 1497 in copper mining in Hungary, combining with other Augsburg merchants to form a ring for the control of the copper supply at Venice. Meanwhile they were conducting a large banking business, lending money to many sovereigns, and performing many other useful functions for them, such as farming the taxes for the German princes, selling indulgences for the Pope at a 33⅓ per cent commission, and collecting annates and other church dues.

Upon the discovery of wealth in the New World, the Fuggers, Welsers, and other financiers were not slow to take advantage of the apparent inability of the Spaniards to utilize their new resources. Establishing branches in Spain, they made frequent advances to the Spanish kings in return for pledges on incoming bullion fleets, or concessions such as that of Venezuela to the Welsers, and the monopoly of quicksilver production to the Fuggers. They were thus able to make the king's credit immediately available for war and pressing governmental expenses.

Antwerp as financial and commercial center

When the Venetian trade began to decline after the Portuguese had found their way to the spices of the Orient, the South German capitalists, as well as those from Italy, Spain, and other lands, established themselves in Antwerp. Here they received the spices and Oriental wares brought by the Dutch from Lisbon, and much of the Spanish bullion. They were able to purchase and distribute the spices, and transfer the precious metals to other European nations, making them available for new enterprises. Here likewise the Hanseatic League had its depot, and the English Merchant Adventurers had their continental distributing center for English cloth; while the copper market was moved to Antwerp from Venice. Antwerp thus became the great financial and trading center in Europe, for here, contrary to the practice of most cities, the utmost freedom of trade was allowed. Ordinarily merchants had to accompany their own wares and sell them, or buy new ones in person, but in Antwerp brokers and agents were authorized to take any merchant's business, and the Antwerp exchange became famous, presenting, as it did, the first place of exchange where men met daily and carried on trade "without displaying and transferring the wares themselves." "Never

before or since," Day remarks, "has the world seen such concentration of the trade of different peoples in a single place."[1] It was loanable capital, however, which furnished the chief article of trade on the Antwerp exchange. Princes who were in need of money and who would previously have turned to individual financiers like the Fuggers now sought it at the Antwerp exchange where loanable capital from other European nations had been collected. Here, likewise, capital was available for new commercial or industrial ventures, and speculation flourished in the stock of various trading companies. Due to several setbacks, especially the terrible destruction wrought by the "Spanish Fury," Antwerp's business and prosperity passed in the latter part of the sixteenth century to Amsterdam, which in turn became the leading financial and commercial center.

Northern Renaissance

So important was the stimulus imparted to almost every enterprise in the nations lying along the northern Atlantic seaboard,[2] by the plentifulness of capital, and the general rise of prices accompanying the great increase of precious metals,[3] that one author has ventured to apply to it the term "Northern Renaissance."[4] Great commercial companies were launched, rivers and harbors and roads improved, canals dug, extensive warehouses constructed. While trade had previously been to a large extent in the hands of South European peoples, during the seventeenth century it is estimated that "two-thirds of the entire maritime trade of Europe" was carried on by these northern seaboard countries. Commerce, which had previously for the most part consisted of a coasting-trade carried in small vessels, assumed world dimensions. The Dutch, French, and English fisheries were capitalized and for the first time "systematically prosecuted." New manufactures, many of which were introduced from Southern European countries, were started. Many mechanical devices, among which may be mentioned wind and water mills, spinning-wheels, and diving-bells, were put in use. Great inventions such as air-pumps, quadrants, telescopes, microscopes, thermometers, and barometers were devised.[5] Communication was facilitated by the employment of the first stage-coaches and the establishment of mail service. Through the confiscation of Church property during the Reformation, and the fact that capital was more plentiful than previously, lands were in many cases made more productive. Likewise it may certainly be said that the general spirit of enterprise which was aroused encour-

[1] Clive Day, *A History of Commerce*, p. 154.

[2] The Netherlands, England, and France.

[3] Previous rapid increases of the amount of precious metals occurred in European history during the Augustinian Age and during the exploitation of the Spanish mines by the Moors. A somewhat similar stimulus to the world's business likewise occurred after the discovery and exploitation, during the nineteenth century, of the gold mines in California and Australia.

[4] Alexander Del Mar, *Money and Civilization*.

[5] Southern Europe, however, especially Italy, as in the case of Galileo, shared in these inventions.

aged statesmen to undertake projects of domestic reform, and led to intellectual progress.

Overseas trade

As a result of the various overseas discoveries described in the preceding chapter, many new and valuable trades were opened to European enterprise, and the foundations were laid for a vast modern world-wide commerce. By the close of the seventeenth century the Newfoundland fisheries, employing many ships of all nationalities; the American fur trade, shared by France, Holland, and England; the Virginia and Maryland tobacco trade, annually employing two hundred English vessels; the West India sugar plantations of Spain, France, and England, said to require four hundred ships to carry the latter nation's share alone; the extremely lucrative African trade for slaves, ivory, dyes, and gold-dust; the Barbary and Levant trades, of which the latter, in the case of England and Holland, was in 1682 almost as important as their East Indian trade, and in the case of France was the most extensive foreign trade—all were calling forth European capital, as well as creating it, and were compelling the formation of business on new and modern lines. To these may be added the East India trade which lured Portuguese, English, Dutch, French, and even Danes and Swedes to the Orient; while the mines of Peru and Mexico continued to pour American silver into European coffers, and to furnish the backbone of many commercial and industrial undertakings.

Importance of overseas trade to European commerce

While the volume of the overseas trade continued until much later to be greatly inferior to that within Europe itself, it furnished capital and many raw materials otherwise unattainable, as well as markets for the products of new industries and the surplus of old ones. It was thus of great value in calling forth the European economic world from its medieval restrictions and limitations into a freer and more aggressive life. The spirit of enterprise and boldness engendered by distant voyages was likewise communicated to the homelands, and resulted in a widening of trade within Europe itself.

Mercantilism

Origin of mercantilism

Due to this great expansion of commerce, as well as to the increasing tendency toward centralized states, it was believed that the king's government should control all economic life, instead of continuing the outworn municipal system. Given the complex problems of a new economic world there was need of uniform regulation. On the other hand, the employment of more expensive means of warfare, such as artillery and mercenary soldiers, the almost constant struggles which sovereigns waged to maintain their control against the forces of disunion in their own countries, or against rival Powers eager to try their strength, compelled the marshalling to the support of its government of all the economic resources that a land might possess. From a period in which the medieval sovereign led feudal levies against an enemy no better prepared, European politics emerged to

the struggle between rival powers maintained by such sinews of war as the wealth created by expanding industry and world commerce. In turn the acquisition of such resources became a chief motive for wars.

Mercantile theory

Under these circumstances a policy or theory of action was adopted which has been called mercantilism. Due perhaps to past scarcity of the precious metals, and to the difficulty which monarchs had encountered in borrowing, as well as to an exaggerated opinion of what the precious metals might accomplish for national prosperity, the governments sought to increase the supplies of gold or silver within the national boundaries, and to keep them from escaping. The first method employed was to forbid the exportation of bullion, but since this proved largely futile, it was planned to accomplish the same result by creating a balance of trade. If a country exported more than it imported, it was argued that some of the merchandise bought by the foreign country must be paid for in gold or silver; and if a perpetual balance of this kind could be maintained, the fortunate nation could always command greater resources in time of need. Consequently, nations often discouraged and at times even forbade the importation of articles similar to those produced at home, or of luxuries not deemed necessary for consumption. If, however, these might be re-exported and sold at a profit, as in the case of East India goods, their importation was looked upon as justified. The purchase of raw materials, which could be manufactured and then sold abroad, thus returning bullion, was encouraged. Efforts were made to keep such raw materials in the country by forbidding their export.

Home industries, because they reduced the importation or furthered the exportation of their products, were greatly favored by the government. They were encouraged by bounties on exports, and by commercial treaties to prosecute foreign sales more vigorously. Likewise shipping and the fisheries were favored, not only as an aid to commerce and as a source of wealth, but because they provided sailors and vessels for national defense. When colonies were acquired their commerce was reserved for the mother-country, their industries which might compete with those at home were discouraged, and the production of raw materials which might be useful was encouraged. Furthermore, mercantilism involved an interest in regulating and promoting agriculture to assure the national food supply and manpower, and in the regulation of manufactures and the supervision of labor. Arrangements in many respects similar to those formerly employed by the gilds were adopted by the state.

The Rise of Commercial Companies

Large trading companies necessary for overseas trade

It was as a result of overseas commerce that modern commercial companies originated. Unlike the Spanish and Portuguese, who followed the Venetian system of sending great government fleets under naval protection to their colonies, and prohibiting all other trade, the English, French, Dutch, and Scandinavians secured their overseas

commerce and colonies through entrusting the task to trading companies and private proprietors. Although rather small groups of adventurous merchants or gentry, sanctioned and sometimes aided by the government, undertook voyages of exploration, just as soon as profitable commerce seemed possible, some stronger organization which might be entrusted with its development was thought necessary. The following reasons for such organization may be cited: (1) Trade ships had to be constantly guarded against attacks from pirates and sailors of rival nations. Trade with the East and West Indies had the added danger of violating the property rights of the Portuguese and Spanish, recognized by the international law of the time. Protection had likewise to be given trading posts and colonies against native attacks, which might be incited by rivals. All this, since the home governments refused, like the Spanish and Portuguese, to assume the burden, made it necessary for the merchants themselves to arm and man their vessels, and to establish forts and garrisons at the points where trade or settlement was carried on. The expense of such an enterprise necessitated the coöperation of a large group of merchants. To secure success it was necessary to invest great sums of money on which the return was slow, though it might be large. (2) At that time capitalists were few and often hesitated to invest in enterprises involving considerable risk. Ships were often wrecked or captured, so that sometimes only half a fleet might ever return; but even these might still make the voyage profitable. There was greater safety if a large group of merchants united in sending twelve ships than if a small group sent only one, which might be a total loss. Moreover, the practice was often followed of investing in a number of companies, thus increasing the probability that some would be successful. Under these conditions the necessary capital could more easily be raised. (3) By granting a monopoly to one large company, the government might be able better to assure merchants who went to great expense and risk to build up a trade that later comers who had gone to no trouble should not deprive them of the profits which they had so justly earned.[1] (4) A Government could tax and control the activities of a trading company in the interests of the mother-country better than it could those of individual traders. (5) Finally, there was much greater need of regulation at that time than there is now when trade information is more widely disseminated. Too many vessels were likely to go to one port, while too few visited others; and agents often arrived at the wrong season for successful buying or selling. The danger constantly existed that, without control, merchants might resort to unfair competition and mistreat native peoples, thus

[1] There was a vast difference between the scales of values existing in Europe and those in overseas lands, which made possible huge profits on the sale of European goods. If competitors were permitted, they would be likely to underbid the original traders. This would diminish the great difference in values and bring about their disappearance, before great rewards could be secured by selling large quantities of goods at existing high rates. Therefore, the maintenance of monopoly was imperative.

injuring the business chances of all traders of the same nationality in that region.

Regulated companies

Since neither gilds nor partnerships, nor again direct governmental management, the familiar ways of handling foreign trade, were considered feasible or desirable, two other forms of business association, the regulated company and the joint-stock company, were turned to. In either case the government granted trade monopolies, generally allowing the companies to set up governments in the trading post or colony, and to employ military measures in its defense. The regulated company differed from the joint-stock company in the important fact that there was no pooling of capital or profits; but, as in the case of the medieval gild or modern stock exchange, a merchant simply paid for the protection afforded by the company and the privilege of carrying on his own trade within its grant of monopoly and having his goods transported on its ships. He kept his capital and profits distinct from those of the others. He was expected to contribute to the company's funds and carefully to observe its rules. The regulated company, a private concern, occupied much the same position as the Spanish and Portuguese governments, which dispatched to the colonies well-protected fleets on which private traders upon payment of a fee, and under strict observance of trading laws, might send their goods.

Joint-stock companies

One of the chief weaknesses of the regulated company was the fact that its members were competing with one another and failed to consider the interests of all. Since each member kept his own capital, instead of putting it in the general fund, the company not only lacked the resources which would have enabled it to pursue a progressive policy, but in a crisis it might be seriously endangered by withdrawing members. The joint-stock company, a form of organization early utilized in Italy, was intended to correct these defects. A large and relatively permanent capital, to which many people subscribed, was placed under the management of a few directors who were able to use it to the best advantage of all the stockholders. The investor secured, as in the case of a modern corporation, a dividend if the company was successful, and he might dispose of his stock, if he so desired, without hampering the operations of the company.

Benefits and defects of chartered companies

The chartered companies of those days, though lacking many of the perfections of later corporations, did secure capital, and were able to carry on a definite and forceful policy abroad in a manner which individuals would have been unable to do, especially before governmental protection and consular services were established in undeveloped and un-Christian lands. Moreover, they were recognized by the government as a means of enforcing mercantilist principles, and of subordinating trade to public objects such as the regulation of the flow of money, and in time of industrial depression as a means of disposing of manufactures, thus preventing unemployment. The companies themselves argued that they served a valuable purpose in the infancy of

modern business in preventing cut-throat competition and speculative trading, which caused falling prices and fluctuating markets. Their opponents accused them of being close corporations controlled by a few, and of buying at low prices and in unlimited quantities in order to sell at monopoly prices. They were also criticized for failure to advance trade as rapidly as free-traders might have done. This criticism, when European industries and international commerce became more developed, appeared to be justified, and trading companies, after serving a useful end in preparing the way for world commerce, had to give way to freer enterprise, but in most cases not until well into the eighteenth century.

Monopolistic practices

Corporations other than those for overseas trade underwent at least some development during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they often secured monopolies through surprisingly modern methods. Medieval regulations had attempted to maintain fair conditions for the laborer, employer, and consumer; now capitalized business sought by every means, whether or not legitimate, to accumulate wealth. Corners, rings, rebates, and trusts were resorted to in an endeavor to get control of markets and raise prices. Such practices appear to have been particularly pronounced in central Europe, where at the beginning of the sixteenth century many of the capitalists were to be found. Because of the ease in controlling the supply, they first turned to the Eastern trade for monopoly, but soon their efforts were extended to domestic goods. The companies could force down the purchasing price by being in a position to buy vast quantities of commodities at one time. Availing themselves of the capital at their disposal, they sometimes bought from the peasants, at low prices, whole fields of crops in the stalk. In 1518 the Landtag of Lower Austria stated:

"The great companies have monopolized all things and are not to be borne any longer. All sorts of merchandise—silver, copper, steel, iron, linen, sugar, spices, corn, cattle, wine, meat, tallow and leather have fallen into their hands. Through their money power, they have become so strong, that no merchant having less than 10,000 florins is able to compete with them. They raise prices arbitrarily when it is to their advantage, and as a result their incomes are as great as those of princes. They are a great harm to our land."

It was further complained by the Imperial Diet in 1522:

"The companies take special care to monopolize those spices that are most needed. If one company is not rich enough it associates itself with another and so gets the article in its hands. If a poor merchant desires to deal in these wares, the companies are immediately at his throat. They are able to ruin him because, having more money and more goods, they are able to sell cheaper and give longer credit. . . ."

It was reported by a commission which examined the situation in 1523 that an agreement had been made between the King of Portu-

gal and some merchants to buy pepper to the value of $243,120 on the condition that a higher price should be charged to other merchants. The pamphlets of the time frequently denounce the adulteration of goods, particularly foods. "To ginger they add brickdust and mix unhealthy stuff with their pepper," and the trick had been learned of placing spices in damp vaults in order to increase their weight. False measuring, counting, and weighing were also practiced.

Many attempts were made by the German Diets to restore free competition and break up monopolies. Thereupon the bankers and great merchants made friends with the princes and city magistrates, and especially with the Emperor. They gave him considerable sums of money, and in return he energetically intervened in their favor, and the Imperial Council of Regency passed a secret ordinance allowing the merchants to sell at the highest prices they could get and recognizing many monopolies which were considered to be in the national interest. The sovereigns of almost every country created monopolies which it took decades to abolish.

Changes in Industrial Organization

Internal reasons for decline of craft gilds

The rise of capital and new trade possibilities inevitably wrought great changes in the industrial world. The craft gilds, before ever the new conditions came to effect them, were undermined by a number of causes, such as the Black Death and the many wars, which produced such instability that the maintenance of the old industrial system was difficult. The growth of national states took away from the cities much of their control of economic life, and limited their political activities. Due to the shift of commerce resulting from the discoveries, many of the old city strongholds of the gilds declined. The efficiency and usefulness of the gilds themselves had in many cases disappeared. Masters, by arbitrarily limiting the number of masterships and reserving them for their relatives and the wealthy, destroyed the democracy of those organizations. By preventing journeymen and apprentices from rising, they created class divisions, and weakened their vitality through failure to receive new blood.

Divisions grew up even between the masters themselves and led to endless quarrels and unfair discriminations. Satisfied with the monopolies they had secured, they were indifferent to new methods which might lessen cost of production and increase profits, since they might also involve risk. Among the chief reasons for this obstinate adherence to tradition may be mentioned the changes which had taken place in the control of the gilds, which had placed the older and more conservative members in power.

The very ideals for which the gilds had stood were forgotten, and many of them no longer guaranteed honest exchange and good quality of product. Indeed, gildsmen were to be found dampening their spices, passing off inferior woolens on unwary customers, cornering raw materials, and conducting secret sales below the established

prices. Upon the rise of world commerce and the demands it made upon industry for larger production, the gilds for the most part could not raise the necessary funds, compete with the new technical methods introduced by the capitalists, or maintain control in the new towns over which the industrial magnates held sway.

Rise of capitalistic industry

Capitalistic industry is first to be found in the manufacture of products which were sold in distant markets, or which depended upon importations of raw material from abroad. The new industrialists might be able to establish their industries in cities controlled by the gilds, especially if the article to be manufactured, as was often the case, was a new product not made by the existing gilds. More commonly the new industrialists, in order to avoid gild opposition, established themselves in places which had escaped gild control, or built new towns, or carried the industry into the very homes of the farmers. Well supplied with capital, the promoter was not confined as was the master craftsman to production in one place, but he might extend his operations over a considerable area. After buying larger quantities of raw materials, and at lower rates, than had ever been available to the gildsman, he might give them out to many workmen through town and country to be manufactured in their homes at a fixed rate per piece, and to be delivered to him upon completion for disposal wherever a market might be obtained. This was called the "domestic system," and by the seventeenth century a large class of such capitalist middlemen had been developed, who excelled in buying raw material and in finding markets, but did not concern themselves with the manufacture, as the gilds had done.

The process was, however, by no means uniform. In some places the germs of the modern factory system were to be found. In such cases large numbers of workmen were gathered by the capitalist into one shop and assigned some portion of the manufacture, as, for example, weaving in the cloth industry, while the spinning might be carried on in the homes of workers scattered over a large area. On the other hand, the usual gild system, or some variation of it, might exist, such as the master, journeymen, and apprentices working up raw material assigned to them by a dealer, or of the master himself becoming a dealer on a large scale. The entrepreneur, however, usually came from a new class of financial adventurers which had arisen with the new conditions. Whatever method was employed, the tendency was toward greater specialization, and toward the utilization of new classes of labor, such as women, first extensively employed in the seventeenth century, and agricultural laborers. It further meant the grouping of certain industries in a few centers where their development might be greater, and the conduct of business on borrowed capital to an extent hitherto unknown.

In spite of the gradual growth of new forms of industrial organization, the gilds continued to function in many places, especially in the local industries, until well along toward the beginning of the

Slow disappearance of gilds

nineteenth century. They had reached their height in the thirteenth century, and from that time on had slowly lost their power and effectiveness. They became so exclusive and oppressive that counter-associations of journeymen were formed, many of which were flourishing in the sixteenth century. In order to exist, many of the larger and wealthier gilds became capitalistic, and as corporations included their old members. The others had to be content with small returns as local industries.

National governments and gilds

National governments adopted many of the rules formerly employed by the gilds, and though they were constantly, through their regulations, infringing upon gild privileges and weakening their authority, they likewise often sought to adapt them to the needs of the time, and to make use of them as convenient instruments for the control of industry. In France, Henry III even sought to nationalize their organization and make it compulsory.

Further effects of overseas trade upon industries

Besides furthering the application of capital to industry, the exploitation of overseas lands both stimulated new industries and increased the output of old ones. Moreover, it provided new sources of raw materials. The following may be mentioned as examples of new manufactures directly resulting from overseas expansion: calicoes and other cotton goods made in imitation of those imported from India; chinaware and japanware; cabinets, tables, picture-frames, musical instruments, screens, and coaches—all shining with "gum-lac" varnish brought from the Orient; furniture manufactured from American cedar or mahogany; pipe-making, originating as a result of the new practice of smoking introduced from America; and sugar-refining.

It is quite evident that the ancient crafts of goldsmith and silversmith would be given tremendous encouragment by the increased supplies of precious metals, about one-fifth of which came to be devoted to decorative purposes. The jewelers were at first amazed by the emeralds, turquoises, and opals from Peru and Mexico, the pearls from the West Indies, and the diamonds and other precious stones from the Orient, which continually arrived in fabulous quantities, and surpassed in size and beauty all known gems. The increased wealth and luxurious habits are also to be considered a cause of the great development of this industry. The textile, hardware, and mining industries were likewise given considerable stimulus by the demands of Oriental, Levantine, and African natives and of American colonists.

Rôle of governments in formation of new industries

The national governments greatly assisted the capitalists in their attempts to found new industries. Monopolies for the sale of articles produced, subsidies, machinery and equipment, exemptions from taxation, etc., were frequently granted to stimulate infant industries. Special privileges were thus developed which later were severely criticized.

The advance in civilization and the growth of wealth which characterized the opening of the modern era, led to a desire for greater variety and luxury. The weavers had to exert themselves to produce cloths more gorgeous and varied in design, and the manufacture of such luxuries as lace and watches commenced. Old industries, such as those of copyists and armorers disappeared and were replaced by many new trades, such as printing, engraving, paper-making, book-binding, canvas-making for use of artists and sailors, the construction of nautical instruments, and the manufacture of firearms and gunpowder.

Effect of social change and invention upon industry

Changes in Agricultural Conditions

During the first two centuries of the modern age, European agriculture underwent far fewer changes than commerce and industry, and in many respects its general appearance throughout much of Europe remained unaltered even to the end of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless capitalism did not fail to affect it somewhat, as it affected every other phase of economic life. The old communistic agriculture existing on the manor had been undermined during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by a number of causes. (1) While more recent studies of the subject have tended to modify the older views concerning the ravages of the Black Death, it is certain that about the middle of the fourteenth century in many places in Europe this plague swept away almost one-half the population, and thus tended to disrupt the established order. (2) The many destructive wars which disorganized and frequently devastated considerable portions of Europe altered customs and weakened institutions. (3) What produced the greatest difference of all, however, was the change from subsistence farming to commercial farming, and this, although it commenced before the Commercial Revolution, was given its chief impetus thereby. In previous centuries, if the landowner and his tenant had enough to eat and drink and to clothe themselves, they were content. Now, instead of this, the aim came to be money-making. The desire for riches grew among the merchants, and from them it extended to farmers and landowners. So long as the lords had continued to maintain large bands of retainers for war, numerous tenants had been more important than large returns from their lands. As soon, however, as strong monarchs took away the political power of the nobility and forced them to stop private warfare, they began to value the control of wealth more than that of men.

Break-down of medieval agricultural system

The first considerable use modern capital found for land was to supply the industrial demand for wool, which on account of the increasing manufacture for export had doubled in price. Two countries, Spain and England, were the chief sources of supply. In the former a huge monopoly of sheep-raising was established by the Castilian "sheep-trust" or mesta, which about the middle of the sixteenth century, owned seven million sheep and annually exported

Capital in sheep raising

55,000 tons of wool. In England the expansion of sheep-raising resulted in large enclosures of the commons and even of much of the arable land. This process had begun about 1350, immediately after the Black Death, and by 1610 probably about two and three-fourths per cent of the area of England, or one-fifth of the arable land, was devoted to this purpose.

Increasing profits from agriculture

Many factors soon united to interest capital in the production of grain and other crops. In Spain, for some years after the establishment of overseas colonies, agriculture was greatly stimulated by the complete dependence of Spanish colonists upon Europe for supplies. Iberian industry soon showed its inability to meet these demands, and consequently the agriculturists of other nations profited. In many European countries, notably England and Holland, farming gained from the rise in prices, due to the greater abundance of gold and silver, and to the increased demands of a population which, as a consequence of the prosperity of trade, was growing in both numbers and wealth. Besides, as in the case of Spain, the demands of colonists and of trading voyages proved a considerable factor in making agriculture profitable. By the seventeenth century grain prices in England had risen to about seven times what they had been before 1540.

Investment of capital in agriculture

Under these circumstances English, Dutch, and, to some extent, German capital, secured in trade and industry, was invested in lands, either for profit or as a means of acquiring social prestige. Wealthy East India traders and West India planters vied with London and Bristol merchants in buying up English estates, while English lords entered business.[1] "The old-fashioned landlord" was shown by the newcomer, who employed "the instincts of a shopkeeper and the methods of a land-agent," how to cut down his expenses and get the utmost from his property.

New methods of landholding

As soon as profits became the chief object of agriculture, it was found that the old methods of coöperative farming and the open field system were not productive of the best results. Confronted with a shortage of labor, and with the increasing importance of money in all business transactions, landlords often rented their demesnes, and enclosed other land for renting purposes.[2] In some parts of Europe, such as France, serfs were allowed to become free peasants, who, although they often had to pay many dues in kind and service, made payments in money or produce in place of three or four days' work each week.

During the sixteenth century the modern method of holding land by leases for a definite term of years was introduced, along with the medieval custom of a copy of the court roll, which stated the mutual

[1] In England, moreover, many of the vast landholdings of the Church were, after the Reformation, given or sold to members of the newly rising middle class.

[2] The rent for lands was designated as the *firma*. From this the peasant who leased the land came to be called *fermar* and at last farmer.

obligations on each side, and was like a deed for life which might not be broken if its terms were observed. In contrast with the feudal notion of land, it was now, at least to some extent, bought and sold in the market like any other commodity. This gave rise to a class of land speculators who purchased leases without the intention of becoming owners or occupiers, and then rented the farms out at a higher rate, making in this way large profits.

Improvements in cultivation

Where capital was invested in land new and better agricultural methods began gradually to be introduced. In England in the seventeenth century the high prices for grain as compared with those for wool came to be recognized. The long narrow strips of the old medieval manors were joined together and enclosed with hedges and fences, and each enclosure was managed by one farmer and his helpers. The older method of cultivating in common did not give enough land to any one man to enable him to make much profit, and cultivation was hampered by the scattering of the strips and the unprogressiveness of some farmers. Enclosures had been begun, not only by the large landowners, but also by the peasants themselves.

Together with this movement, not only in England, but sooner or later in many parts of Europe, waste lands were put under cultivation, marshes were drained, and arid land was irrigated. The Dutch, due to the large amount of capital which their trade had made available for investment in agriculture, as also to the peculiar problems which their land presented, became most expert in draining and recovering land, and their services were frequently sought. It was in Holland, likewise, that the earliest and most extensive agricultural experiments were pursued, and from there vegetables and rootcrops new to other nations were introduced into other parts of Europe. These changes, although slight when compared with those of today, nearly doubled agricultural production in some countries. During this period also, better methods of selective stockbreeding were developed.

Social Changes

Decline in influence of privileged classes

The alterations wrought in the economic world by the rise of capital and the expansion of commerce and industry brought about changes of similar importance in social relations. The power of the two great privileged orders, the clergy and the nobility, gradually declined. It had been based largely on the static wealth of landed estates, and when once the importance of money came to be recognized, they were able to maintain their old position only insofar as they were able to share in the more fluid wealth of trade and industry. Moreover, they were weakened by dissensions among themselves—the Church by the Reformation, which divided it and deprived it of much of its wealth; the nobility by civil wars, and in many countries by the forcible absorption of their political power by the monarch.

On the other hand, the new merchant and capitalist class, commonly called the bourgeoisie, in a number of the more progressive

Rising importance of bourgeoisie

countries gradually rose to a position of greater importance in society. The strong monarchs needed the support of the capitalists to finance their activities and to make their nations economically strong and capable of rivaling other great nations. The bourgeoisie likewise were needed to conduct the increasingly complex machinery of government in a businesslike manner, and to meet the wider problems of the day in a way which the old-fashioned nobleman with his limited experience was unable to do. On the other hand, the new bourgeoisie needed a strong central government to maintain orderly conditions suitable for business prosperity, and to secure for it favorable trade concessions abroad and monopolies, subsidies, and other kinds of assistance at home.

Changes among lower classes

Certain changes likewise were to be noticed among the lower classes of society. The spirit as well as the custom of social relations was transformed, while the ideals as well as the power of capitalism replaced those of the Church and the knight. Competition was gradually substituted for customary relations; a money economy replaced one of mere subsistence. Thus the motive for obtaining from labor as much as possible was supplied at the very time when the restraints upon its oppression began to be relaxed. Capitalists, eager for gain at any cost, employed not only men but also women for unmercifully long hours, merchants turned landlords, easy-going squires became more businesslike, and harsh agents of the many noblemen who preferred to live extravagantly at royal courts sometimes made agriculture more profitable for their masters, but also more exacting and less stable for the peasants. The governments, on their part, became active in issuing new and detailed regulations which in "the spirit of capitalistic gain" were almost entirely designed to benefit the propertied classes. The poor were forced to bear the burden of most of the taxes. Wages were kept low by government regulation, working hours fixed at twelve to fifteen a day, and the poor and able-bodied men forced to work under threat of the branding iron. Labor, which with the growth of new industries flocked from the country to the towns, was not protected as the older artisans had been by the gild regulations. It formed an unorganized and discontented proletariat outside both the social life of the town and the protection of its law.

Rise of proletariat

Even before the advent of the modern age, gilds began to lose their high ideals of justice, and masters combined to prevent journeymen and apprentices from ever becoming master gildsmen, and treated them oppressively. This resulted in strikes and attempts at union among the workers, and in the organization of an association of journeymen called a *compagnonnage* which undertook to obtain work and better conditions for its members. As soon as the capitalists came upon the scene, the rift between the workers and the employers became still wider. Labor came to be regarded as a commodity to be moved from town to town according to demand, and the individual was lost sight of in the general concern for the expansion of business.

Labor, on its part, continued its long and bitter struggle to rise through combinations, strikes, and revolts, sometimes camouflaged by religious or political aims. Although restrained with a heavy hand by the state, the artisan had somewhat more freedom of movement in seeking advancement from place to place, while the peasant, at least in some countries, had a better chance than he formerly had to acquire land.

Poverty and unemployment

The transformation from medieval to modern conditions was accompanied by much immediate suffering from the poverty and unemployment which the governments were slow to relieve. Although wealth increased during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it became more concentrated in a few hands. The artisan class, moreover, was very adversely affected by the general rise in prices which resulted from the large importations of precious metals from America.[1] The poor were unable to obtain many of the necessaries of life, since food, clothing, and rents rose in value, while wages were kept low.

The situation was accompanied by considerable unemployment throughout Europe. This was due to a number of causes. In the first place, there was an increase of population. Secondly, manufacturing for export to more distant markets was much less stable than the small industries which had supplied the home trade, and overproduction frequently resulted in unemployment on a large scale. In England the enclosures threw many agricultural laborers out of work, although not so many as has often been supposed. Furthermore, the large number of men who during feudal times had served the nobles as armed retainers swelled the ranks of the unemployed. These men, in the countries where the sovereigns succeeded in restoring order and in checking the power of the nobility, disbanded and roamed the country without employment. In some countries, as in France and Germany, discharged soldiers also added to the problem. It was estimated that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth between a quarter and a third of the population of London were paupers, and that conditions in the rural districts were nearly as bad.

Vagabondage

As a result of this situation, the towns and countrysides of many European countries were plagued with vagabonds driven by lack of employment to seek a livelihood through begging, thievery, and other minor crimes. Books written about them describe no less than twenty-eight varieties.

This situation called for some decided action. Until then the poor and unfortunate had been relieved by the charity of wealthy private individuals, by the gilds, and by various agencies of the Church. During the Middle Ages the clergy had cherished poverty

[1] The peasant, on the other hand, was frequently benefited, since his customary rent, fixed long before, as D'Avenel points out, represented a very light burden under the new values of money, while the fall in the price of silver considerably raised the nominal worth of the products of the soil, when the villein sold them. *Histoire Economique de la Propriété*, vol. I, p. 92.

as a virtue possessed by Christ and his apostles, and the Church itself had sought the alms of the faithful through its orders of begging friars. This respect for voluntary poverty, together with the indiscriminate aid given by monasteries and hospitals established by the Church to aid the sick and the poor, had often tended to cause pauperism, as well as to relieve destitution. This medieval system of poor relief was unable to meet the social crisis which confronted Europe during the sixteenth century, and, besides, in Protestant countries the monasteries which had been the principal agency for poor relief were destroyed.

Poor relief

Much suffering was experienced before the authorities were able to meet the problem, for it was first necessary to overcome the inertia caused by the change from the medieval charitable spirit to the selfishness and callousness which affected all classes, even many of the clergy, in the new era. The cities of the Netherlands were among the first to take up the task of poor relief, starting charitable bureaux, combining religious and philanthropic endowments, forming new funds, organizing schools for poor children, and forbidding mendicancy. At Ypres recourse was had to the still more advanced method of visiting the poor in their dwellings to study their needs, and of either sending their children to school or teaching them a trade. Due to the teachings of the humanist, Luis Vives, poverty was no longer considered honorable, but was regarded as both a disgrace and a danger to the community. This attitude may have been strengthened by the new emphasis placed by the commercial ideals of the time upon worldly success. The Protestant reformers likewise condemned begging, and urged each town to care for its poor. As a result, throughout Germany religious endowments and other funds were applied to the care of orphans and the assistance of poor students, and were used for loans to those in need. Everywhere begging was forbidden by law. Although Catholic lands were more likely to cling to the old institutions, they too came to adopt many of the new methods.

In England, where the problem proved the most perplexing, two methods of relief were applied. In the first place the parishes were entrusted with the care of the poor. As early as 1536 private almsgiving was forbidden, and each parish raised a voluntary fund; but in 1601 contributions for poor relief became compulsory. By this later law of 1601, the helpless and aged were cared for in institutions, the children of paupers apprenticed, the able-bodied idlers supplied with stocks of hemp and wool to manufacture, and houses of correction were set up for those who refused to work.

A second method of disposing of her unfortunate classes, which England inaugurated early in the seventeenth century, was to send them as indentured servants to her American colonies. Hundreds of pauper children and adults, their passage paid by parish authorities, were shipped as plantation laborers. Moreover, vagrants, criminals,

religious and political offenders, and prisoners of war were sentenced to service in the colonies, instead of paying the penalty on the gallows or in prison. This method of getting rid of undesirable elements England continued to utilize far into the nineteenth century. Portugal adopted the same method in regard to criminals much earlier than England, sending them to Brazil, and France and Russia later employed it.

Influence of European expansion upon social customs

We have seen what large changes the commercial expansion following upon the world-wide discoveries brought about in economic and social relations, and we may now say that its affects upon social usages was no less marked. Articles formerly regarded as luxuries came into more common use, and new luxuries were discovered. This change was due to the following reasons: (1) fortunes made in trade and industry invited expenditure for luxuries and even extravagance; (2) a more plentiful supply of luxuries was now available, since Europe was being flooded with precious metals, jewels, and furs from America, and with commodities from the East Indies, which now were brought around Africa by the shiploads instead of across desert trails by caravans, which not only took much longer but carried only half as much; (3) due to greater abundance and, in the case of Oriental luxuries, to the saving of the cost of many times reshifting wares, prices of articles formerly regarded as luxuries were gradually lowered.

When the precious metals became relatively plentiful in Europe, the costumes of civilians and military folk were adorned with gold and silver lace and embroidery. Gold cloth and silver taffeta embroidered in gold became popular. Whole fortunes were placed in gold necklaces and gold and silver plate. Silverware came into use not only among nobles and princes, but among tradesmen, clergy, and lawyers. Silver and gold were sometimes even used in the manufacture of bedsteads, bath-tubs, mirror-frames, toilet-sets, and andirons. All told, one-fifth of the supply must have been employed in this manner. The large quantities of jewels which came pouring in from overseas led to their profuse use in jewelry. Costly perfumes, imported from the Orient or America, were used upon clothing and even upon gloves and shoes, while small perfume-balls were carried in the hands or left in the pockets.

By the middle of the seventeenth century cheap textiles, such as muslin, chintz, gingham, and calico, the latter named after Calicut in India, were imported from the East. For a while even queens were known to dress in calico in preference to finer materials, and the woolen manufacturers became greatly worried over cotton importations. Cheaper cloth provided by cotton tended to promote, among the masses, the custom of wearing undergarments.

The rather meager European diet was likewise enriched by a number of foods which have since become important. From the Americas were introduced both sweet and white potatoes, long

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valued as a luxury, and but slowly meeting with popular favor; maize, never popular; and tomatoes. Sugar, first cultivated in the Levant, Sicily, and the Canary and Madeira Islands, was carried to the West Indies, and grew so luxuriantly that, although it was not of American origin, it came to be considered as one of the principal products of the New World. Used in nearly three hundred remedies of the time, it had long been regarded as a medicine rather than a food. As its supply increased, it replaced honey, which had commonly been employed as a means of sweetening.

During the seventeenth century the common table beverages of the present day were first introduced into European usage: coffee from Arabia, tea from China and India, chocolate from Mexico. The two former were at first thought to possess innumerable medical virtues. Tea came to grace the ladies' tea table, while coffee served, at least in England, to inaugurate the coffee houses which were the forerunners of our modern mens' clubs, and filled at the time an important social and intellectual need. Rum, a product of the West Indian sugar, enlivened many a seaman's and even many a merchant's dull days. The plentiful supply of spices from the Orient made it possible to manufacture "aqua mirabilis," "a combination of wine, cloves, galangals, cubebs, mace, cardamoms, nutmegs and ginger," as well as other spiced beverages so highly tempered that throats and noses suffered.

To the sixteenth-century expeditions to America, Europeans owed tobacco and the practice of smoking it. This custom of the American Indians, first popularized by the English, soon spread among all classes throughout Europe.

European homes, especially in those nations which had direct relations with the Orient, came to be adorned with cabinets and screens, with various bric-a-brac and collections of chinaware; while nothing perhaps impresses one more with the importance of the contact with overseas lands upon every-day life than the host of trees and flowering plants brought from abroad to grace the parks and gardens.

European introductions to overseas lands

In return, many valuable commodities were carried overseas. This was especially true in the case of the Americas, where before the arrival of the Europeans the only beast of burden was the llama. Europeans were responsible for the introduction of horses and cattle, donkeys, swine, sheep, and poultry; of many vegetables and grains; of such fruits as oranges, lemons, choice grapes and olives; and of silkworms. Besides, Europeans acted as intermediaries between America and the Orient, carrying from Asia and planting in America such products as sugar-cane, coffee, and indigo, and taking from America to the Orient, in return, quinine, that priceless drug and tobacco. Moreover, Europeans, both in the Occident and in the Orient introduced such material blessings as tools and manufactured goods, and, as time advanced, much valuable technical knowledge.

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CHAPTER VI

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT 1500–1700

The Spirit of European Culture

The history of culture has to note a wavering advance rather than a steady progress. Such obstacles as wars, plagues, and faulty social and political arrangements have checked advance. During the period, for example, from the fifth to almost the eleventh century A.D., commonly called the Dark Ages, European culture, due to decadence of ancient civilization and the many barbarian invasions, sank to its lowest point, and after much marking time and many readjustments rose again in altered form. At other periods, especially those in which peace, material prosperity, and strong government have been present, the curve of progress has shown a rapid rise. *Cultural advance*

Man is traditionally minded, preferring to walk safely in the steps of his fathers rather than to experience the risk and the trouble of new ideas. A person living in the present generation of many changes and constant flow of ideas may perhaps at first thought be inclined to question this, but it must be recalled that it is only within the most recent times that many of the restraints upon freedom of thought and action have been removed, and only within the past few years, as history goes, that we have consciously progressed. Our fundamental institutions undergo only slow alteration, and frequently something of a shock is required to shake mankind from its easy-going traditionalism. Such a spur to progress may be provided by contact with some new region of the world and the opening of its resources—as was the case during the Crusades and later during the sixteenth-century voyages of discovery. Today such stimulus takes the more subtle form of the application of electrical physics to transportation and communication, the discovery of new chemicals, or the feats of aërial navigation.

European culture has been shaped by the ideals which have prevailed at the different stages in its development. With the Greeks, ancient civilization reached its high-water mark. Their ideal was one of complete earthly perfection. The individual was to live in such harmony with Nature and with the State that his individuality could find a perfect union with them and could be fully expressed only by civic service. There was to be no excess, no artificiality, no eccentricity in the Greek's life. His whole being and everything around him was to be based on accuracy and truth, and consequently he was constantly seeking to know himself, his virtues and his limitations, as well as the truths of the physical universe. His inexhaustible curiosity, his keenness of mind which demanded that there should be no *Greek culture*

haziness even in the realm of imagination, his ability to execute with clearness and accuracy, made him peculiarly well constituted to lay the foundations of learning. His many speculations about the nature of the universe furnished the foundation of modern philosophy, and his keen inquiries into human conduct made him an early master in ethics, psychology, and the science of government. To him, likewise, may be traced the rudiments of the sciences of astronomy and medicine. His insistence upon minutest accuracy in detail, as well as upon perfect harmony of the whole, and at the same time nobility of content, gave us the model for nearly every form of literature. It also furnished an ideal of balance and proportion in architecture and in the sculpturing of the perfect human form which has never been surpassed.

Roman culture

The Roman, unlike the Greek, cared little for knowledge for culture's sake; instead, he sought practical application. A man of affairs, an empire builder, he stood for stability and order. Although absorbing much of Greek culture and utilizing it in art and literature, he had neither the artistic nor the philosophic leanings of the Greek. He was rather the constructor of massive aqueducts and roads, of walls, fortresses, and temples, the military organizer and law-giver. His standing armies and their regulations, his military strategy, his statecraft and diplomacy, taught valuable lessons to later states; while his literary language, his legal system, and his ideas of justice and governmental organization have been at the foundation of much of our modern civilization.

Medieval culture

While Greek culture was characterized by emphasis upon a beautiful, harmonious, earthly life, and Roman by the solving of the practical problems of existence, medieval culture laid emphasis on the life after death and sought to form on earth the foundations of spiritual power. Through the centuries following the decline of classical civilization and the barbarian invasions, the Church had brought to the uncultured races of Europe Christianity and something of Latin learning. Gradually there had evolved a unique culture which reached its height during the twelfth and, especially, the thirteenth centuries. The entire "human fabric" was infused with Christian dogma and ethics, and no activity was free from their influence. Life was endued thereby with "a certain supernatural sanction." Every one, it was assumed, was journeying through the world toward his "heavenly home." Into the gilds was inculcated, through their close association with the Church, a holy zeal for perfect workmanship, fair play, just prices and wages, and the condemnation of usury. The manor lord, the crusader, the painter, the sculptor, the author, the teacher in cloister-school or university, all were more or less vitally affected by the prevailing spirit. Due to it the soil of Europe was sown with "that most perfect flowering of medieval genius," the Gothic cathedrals with their lofty spires and arches, their gloriously colored windows portraying the scriptural lessons, their images and wonderful carvings.

The age was characterized by institutional growth. To it we owe the origin of our universities and the development of church organization, the beginnings of nationality, and the growth of democracy in the towns. Other medieval institutions, such as the manor and the gild, which affected European life for so long, have been superseded by different arrangements more suited to modern life. Doubtless due to the long effort to bring order, progress, and enlightenment out of the confusion of so many struggling peoples, and so much mental confusion and darkness, the period was characterized by a longing for unity, for order, for universality. Monarchs were anxious to unify and bring order to their states, while a dream of universal brotherhood, a kind of republic which should unite all Christian peoples, prevailed. As God directed the universe and the spheres were guided in their courses, so a unity of direction should be given the many conflicting kingdoms by Pope and Emperor, thus assuring a reign of peace. Medieval Europe was already bound together by one religious faith, one code of morals, one system of education, one learned language, similar feudal habits, universal application of the gilds, while such things as commerce and the Crusades established the experience and the bond of common association.

In the field of knowledge the same desire for inclusiveness prevailed. Collections were made which professed to unite all available information on varied subjects, such as manners, lives of the saints, liturgy, the Canon and Civil Laws, and "the properties of all things." Once collected, all available information was welded into a single coördinated system of philosophy which came to be known as Scholasticism. Around this great edifice of knowledge was thrown the protection of the Church. So eager were its erectors to realize their ideal of unity that they sometimes grasped at fiction to prove it, and denied scientific facts when they appeared to contradict it. Thus the great schoolman, Thomas Aquinas, held the view that the earth was the center of the universe, and that "since unity is a more perfect thing than plurality and creation is perfect, one must therefore believe in the unity of creation" and a plurality of worlds must be rejected "as discrediting the work of God."[1] This tendency, taken together with the general failure to make scientific investigations and the general willingness to depend upon authority, led, except in a few notable instances, to a lack of exact science in all but the mathematical branches, which were stimulated by introductions of Arabic and Greek learning through Spain, Sicily, and Constantinople.

Accompanying the tendency of universality was that of coöperation. In the gild, on the manor, in the monastery, in the university, even in the art of the cathedral the individual effort was governed and absorbed by the whole. Little is heard of the accomplishments of

[1] Quoted from Maurice De Wulf, "Philosophy and Civilization During the Middle Ages," p. 112.

individuals. There never was a time in Western Europe when such close coördination was demanded.

Beginnings of modern spirit

Two intellectual influences were chiefly responsible for bringing about changes in medieval intellectual life: first, that derived from a revived knowledge of and interest in Greek and Roman civilization which came with what has been called the Renaissance movement; second, that resulting from the discovery and development of new continents beyond the seas. Europeans who had been taught by the Church to despise the worldly and the human and to seek instead the heavenly vision, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were confronted with a gloriously active past when men had realized the possibilities and worth of earthly existence, and with an unfathomable future in vast lands never before viewed by them. A tremendous impulse to activity, to search out and to know all things, to live life here and now to the full, was thereby furnished.

Humanism

That part of the new intellectual spirit which drew its inspiration from classical culture, particularly Latin and Greek literature, was called Humanism. It first became prominent in Italy during the fourteenth century, and spread thence during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to other nations of Europe. It was a reaction toward earlier classical ideals[1] from the medieval emphasis upon the virtue of an unworldly life and the suppression of the individual. The humanist experienced a new sense of the beauty and joy of life, a new realization of the dignity and importance of man. Through reading the classical writers, acquaintance was gained with a past civilization which had centered around man's earthly existence. The old Greek ideal that all the human faculties should be completely developed, that no opportunity should be missed for living life to the full in this world of infinite possibilities, was revived. Humanism sought not only to absorb the spirit of the past, but also to express it. It became an age of expression, when poets, philosophers, artists, and statesmen sought to emulate the past in expressing their individuality and breaking down the medieval dead level of uniformity.

Petrarch, father of Humanism

The Italian poet, Petrarch (1304–74), has been called the "Father of Humanism." He "inspired others not merely to read ancient literature," but to think as the ancients had thought. "He was a kind of living representative of antiquity." By his own attempts to imitate all styles of Latin poetry, he encouraged others to follow the same course, and by his historical and philosophical writings and many letters, he made known the ancient masterpieces to his contemporaries. Through his zeal in collecting Latin manuscripts, inscriptions, and coins he encouraged that eager search for and study of those

[1] That this reaction did not merely arise from classical example, but was given impetus by it, is evidenced by a growing interest in worldly affairs during the later Middle Ages, which though frowned upon by the Church found expression in the exuberant and vulgar songs of students, in the music of the gay troubadours, in the French fabliaux and in the development of art. Even Scholastisicm exhibited an increasing appreciation of humanity and human reason.

records of past civilization which characterize the Renaissance period.

But Petrarch means to us even more than this. He was the first man in many centuries completely to lay bare his own soul, exhibiting all the strength and weaknesses of an intensely human character. Like the ancients whom he revered, he was filled with the joy of living, with reliance on his own human ability and power rather than upon Divine Providence, and was possessed of a desire for earthly glory and renown. He was greatly gratified with the praise and honors which were heaped upon him from all nations, and with the place he occupied as one of the foremost writers of Europe.

New world spirit

It is difficult for us to realize the impression made upon the mind and spirit of Europe by the sixteenth-century discoveries overseas, which tore away the veil from half the world and gave an impetus to intellectual achievement which has never been surpassed. At the very time when man was ready once more to turn his attention earthwards there arose before his dazzled eyes land after land filled with new phenomena, new possibilities, of which even the ancients with all their knowledge had not been aware. While classical Humanism was interested in man and his life on earth, the discoveries emphasized and almost forced the study of the physical universe itself. Even more than the perusal of ancient authors they shattered false deductions maintained by authority, and led to freer thought. Even more than the emulation of the past, the voyages and the economic changes which resulted from them produced a bold, free, individualistic spirit which chafed under restraint. Here also were discovered the material interests, the lure of gold and cargoes of rich spices, which incited in Europeans a greed for wealth which has never been quenched. This was followed by luxurious tastes which demanded satisfaction. At the same time in strange contrast, almost from the first, the virginal simplicities of new lands called attention to the artificialities of European civilization and suggested the desirability of following a less complex mode of life. Moreover, there was presented to European man the greatest chance for expressing his ideals that has ever been known, that of transplanting European civilization to the uttermost parts of the earth. This expansion of Europe overseas ranks among the most important of the accomplishments of mankind.

The Discovery and Dissemination of Knowledge

Search for ancient manuscripts

Many Italian scholars, wealthy merchants, and princes engaged in collecting the manuscripts of classical writers. Agents were searching everywhere to locate lost literary treasure. From Constantinople came hundreds of Greek manuscripts, and the libraries of Italian, French, and German monasteries yielded many valued works, of which sometimes only a single copy remained. For more than a century this eager search to rescue for the present the literature of the past was continued. So great was the interest displayed that

some devoted entire fortunes to the purchase of rare books. Cardinal Bessarion gathered six hundred Greek manuscripts, while the Medici founded great collections; and Pope Nicholas V spared no expense to secure the rarest Greek and Latin books. Thus much of the culture and knowledge of the past which had been lost or ignored by the medieval world was recovered for the use of modern scholars.

Interest in discovery of new lands

Meanwhile, a no less worthy search was conducted during the fifteenth century by the Portuguese, who, as we have seen, were incited by the splendid zeal of Prince Henry to unravel the secrets of distant lands and seas, and secure the wealth of new regions. Christopher Columbus, encouraged by the theories of ancient scholars, made his memorable voyage. Thereupon, a host of bold navigators enlisted in the eager search for gold and the Indies. For many years Europe was to be greeted with almost constant discoveries of "far-away oceans, novel landscapes, strange races of astounding habits and features and faiths," of unusual flora and fauna. It is not surprising that the curiosity and the imagination of the sixteenth-century scholar and man of the street were greatly aroused. Many were the strange objects collected and brought home to amaze and interest the home folk, and many the strange tales that led them to believe that the world in which they then lived held as vivid interests as had that of the ancient past.

Early methods of bookmaking

Luckily during this very period when mankind found so much to interest it, a way of producing books in larger numbers and at cheaper rates than ever before was discovered in the printing-press. Until well into the fifteenth century books were slowly and laboriously written out by hand. It took forty-five copyists two years to produce two hundred volumes for Cosimo de Medici, and it required the skins of three hundred sheep to furnish the parchment for printing a single copy of Gutenberg's Bible. This made books vastly more expensive than they are now, and only an extremely limited number could be published. Under the circumstances only wealthy persons or institutions could afford them, and the few copies available were frequently filled with errors made by the transcriber. Petrarch says that were Cicero or Livy to return and read a transcription of his own writings he would fail to recognize them, and he states that he himself, after ten attempts to secure for a friend an accurate copy of one of his own works, finally had to give up in despair. As soon as printing was invented, uniformly accurate copies might be secured.

Paper

Before the invention of printing could be successfully utilized, cheaper and more suitable writing materials than those used by the medieval scribe had to be made available. The material commonly employed by the Greeks and Romans was papyrus, made from a reed growing in the Nile valley, but before the twelfth century its use had entirely disappeared. From the tenth to the fourteenth century parchment, made from sheep or goat skins, and with finer grades called vellum, made from calf or kid skin, was the ordinary writing material.

This was very expensive and was so stiff that it was not well adapted to ordinary use in a printing-press. It was, however, much more durable than paper, and for some time after the latter was adopted for most purposes, parchment continued to be used and even required for government documents, and to this day many college diplomas are inscribed upon it. We derive our word paper from the Egyptian P-apu. Many centuries before that article was found in western Asia and Europe, the Chinese were manufacturing paper from bamboos, grass, and the bast of certain mulberry trees. Later such substances as cotton wool, silk waste, vegetable fibre, bark, hemp, and rags were successfully used in its manufacture. Some Chinese paper-makers having been taken as captives to Samarkand in central Asia, a paper manufactory was established there, and thus the art was acquired by the Arabs, who captured this city in 704 A.D. Used for many years in western Asia and northern Africa, paper reached European nations through Greece, Sicily, and Spain. In the latter country the Moors erected the first European paper mills as early as the twelfth century. Not until the end of the fourteenth century, however, was paper abundant and cheap enough to make the printing of books practicable.

Printing

The germs of the principle of printing are to be found in the stamps and seals discovered among the remains of the earliest civilizations. In Europe, William the Conqueror and other sovereigns used wooden or metal stamps with ink on state documents. The first example of printing is to be found in China in the sixth century A.D., when books were produced through the use of engraved wooden plates. The first printing in Europe, as in China, was done by a block or slab of wood upon which a design was carved in relief, covered with ink, and applied to paper. This was called block-printing and was first used for making illustrations rather than for texts. Playing-cards and pictures of saints, which after being printed were brightly colored by hand or stenciled, were the first productions. During the first part of the fifteenth century books of pictures with appropriate short explanations or verses from the Bible were produced. The most famous of these picture books was the "Biblia Pauperium" or "Bible of the Poor," which, with its scenes from sacred history and portraits of Bible characters, accompanied by short explanatory texts, met the need of many monks and priests of slight education and meager resources. The only book produced by wooden blocks, consisting solely of texts, was the Latin grammar of the period, a book by Donatus.

The inventor of printing with movable type is unknown, but the honor is usually conceded to Johann Gutenberg of Mayence. At any rate, it was to Gutenberg that Europe was indebted for instruction in the new art, and it was from Mayence that printers driven by war carried this knowledge to other European countries. The types were made of lead, and at first the letters were copied from the hand-

writing of transcribers. Later the capital letters were adapted from the letters used by the Romans in inscriptions, and the small letters from those employed by that people in business correspondence.

First modern books

The first book printed with movable type was probably Gutenberg's Bible, completed about 1456. The first book printed in English was a translation of *Le Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*, produced by William Caxton about 1474.

Increase and importance of printing

In the cities of eighteen European countries printing-presses were at work before the end of the fifteenth century, and by the opening of the sixteenth as many as eight million volumes had been produced by publishers, who were printers, editors, and booksellers combined. Thus a great revolution was wrought in the dissemination of knowledge. Ideas were now certain of a wide hearing, since the number of people who were able to share in them was increased a thousand fold by the new invention. Peoples were brought closer together by the printed page, the way was prepared for the instruction of the masses, and the aristocracy of learning gradually disappeared. Printing likewise made possible the accuracy in books necessary for any scientific advance.

World-wide expansion of knowledge

An intellectual movement of as far-reaching consequences as the dissemination of classical knowledge through western Europe was the carrying of the civilization of European peoples overseas to distant regions of the world. Nothing serves as a better illustration of this than the introduction of printing to the New World. The first book to be printed in America was issued about 1536 in the City of Mexico, and was called *La Escala Espiritual para Llegar al Cielo* (A Spiritual Ladder for Reaching Heaven). As many as ninety different works, some of them in the Aztec and other native tongues, were printed during the sixteenth century in Mexico. Many were likewise produced in Peru. In North America the first printing-press was established at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and issued as its first works *The Freeman's Oath* (1639), *The Bay Psalm Book* (1640) and, still more remarkable, a translation of the entire Bible into the Indian language by John Eliot (1663).

Characteristic Literary Tendencies

Later Humanism

The humanists collected all the ancient Greek and Latin works they could discover and busied themselves in editing them, comparing texts and correcting errors, translating into the vernacular, compiling lexicons and Latin, Greek, and Hebrew grammars, and writing treatises on chronology, on comparative philosophy, on ancient religion and history, on Roman coinage and Roman Law, thus familiarizing the world with the past, and laying the foundations for its study. With this knowledge made available they began to execute critical studies, and, especially in the case of the Bible, much valuable work was accomplished in preparing new and more accurate editions directly from the Hebrew and the Greek manuscripts.

Not only did they seek to appreciate the Latin and Greek writers, but they also copied their literary style. Imitation of the past was carried so far that many authors and students changed both their given names and their surnames in favor of Latin ones. The great Protestant humanist, Philip Melancthon, was originally named Philip Schwarzerd. Melancthon was the Greek for Schwarzerd ("black earth" or "muck"), his original German name. Humanists were employed by sovereigns as secretaries to draw up the State documents in the best Latin. They also were utilized as envoys and ambassadors, and were always expected upon presentation at the foreign court to make eloquent and lengthy Latin orations filled with quotations from the classics. Prose style, with the exception of narration, was patterned after Cicero. This was particularly the case in letter-writing. Latin poetry likewise was slavishly imitated. This, though it resulted in the production of no authors of note, but, on the contrary, retarded originality, nevertheless had its value in laying the basis of a much-needed literary style.

Although the universities as seats of scholastic philosophy and theology were at first much opposed to Humanism, the movement did result in the founding of new schools, literary centers, universities, and chairs in some of the older universities for the study of the classical languages and literatures. Many Greeks found their way to Western Europe and helped to stimulate as well as to provide the means for the study of Greek, which during the Middle Ages had been generally abandoned. Great centers for Greek and other humanistic studies grew up in Florence, along the Rhine, and at Oxford, where many noted teachers such as Chrysoloras in Florence, Rudolf Agricola at Heidelberg, and William Groceyn, Thomas Linacre, and John Colet in England taught Greek. To Colet was due the founding, in London, of St. Paul's school for classical studies, upon which he is said to have expended about $200,000 of his private fortune.

Humanism in northern Europe

Elsewhere in Europe Humanism assumed an aspect somewhat different from that which it had in Italy, its place of origin. Whereas to the Italian the humanistic ideal meant "enjoyment and creation," to the northern European it meant "labor and self-discipline." The former was devoted to "art and beauty," the latter to "education and learning." In Italy Humanism became aristocratic, the possession of the favored few; in Germany it was more democratic. While Italian Humanism was secular, even anti-religious, and individualistic in character, in other countries it showed an interest in religious and social reform. Some of the humanists, like Jacques Lefèvre in France, became dissenters from the prevailing theology; others, like the great Dutch humanist Erasmus, or the German Reuchlin, attacked Scholasticism and certain practices of the Church; while still others, such as Sir Thomas More, and the Spaniard Vives, sought to set forth ideals for social reform.

Results of Humanism

In estimating the effects of Humanism in promoting intellectual advance, certain facts may be noted. Thanks to it, some Latin works which were in danger of being lost were preserved, and western Europeans were made acquainted with at least a part of Greek literature. It formed literary taste, led to literary criticism, and promoted a more careful observation, a greater "scrupulousness and diligence" in scholarship. Through humanistic influence the classics gradually became the accepted basis for liberal education. By breaking away from the restraints which medieval theology and Scholasticism had imposed, Humanism helped to secularize intellectual life. Man came to realize and value his own individuality, and woman emerged from the seclusion in which she had been placed, to play a rôle beside him in the activities of a freer society.

Some of the consequences of Humanism, however, were not favorable to progress. While a general spirit of inquiry was aroused, and an endeavor was made to discover what the ancients knew about all sorts of things, the confidence placed in their authority proved to some extent an obstacle to scientific advance. Not only was attention diverted from the study of nature, but the ancient philosophers whom the humanists valued, often had little regard for experimentation. Furthermore, Humanism, through its over-regard for classical languages and lack of respect for the vulgar tongue, impeded the development of modern languages and literatures.

Adages

To make more generally available the wisdom of the classical philosophers and poets, books composed of collections of their sayings were compiled, and essays filled with quotations and references to the classics were written, and these proved very popular. The most famous examples of the collected sayings were Erasmus' *Adagia* and his *Apophthegmata*. The *Adagia* "adapted the wisdom of the Greeks and Romans" to the minds of sixteenth-century Europeans. It became the book "from which everyone, including Luther himself, drew his classical quotations." The proverbs, pithy sayings, and noteworthy phrases of the ancients were all arrayed in convenient form for use. The *Apophthegmata* included not only sayings but also incidents in the lives of ancient worthies, and was especially prepared for the education of young princes.

Use of classical wisdom in essays and drama

The essay writers went a step further, and while frequently quoting and discussing the wisdom of the ancients, they used it rather to express their own ideas and those of their time. The most outstanding of the essay writers were the Frenchman, Montaigne, and the Englishman, Francis Bacon. One other striking application of classical wisdom was its employment in drama. This is particularly true of Shakespeare's plays, which are filled with classical wisdom, and also were almost certainly influenced by Montaigne's essays.

Satire

A natural aspect of a period of awakened thought and changing conditions is a tendency to satirize the inconsistencies and foibles inherited from the past. The object may be a serious attempt to secure

reform, or it may be mere "pleasantrie" written to amuse more enlightened minds. The age which we are studying presents notable examples of satire written from both points of view. Certain humanists, such as Erasmus in his "Praise of Folly" and the authors of "The Letters of Obscure Men" (which will be discussed more fully in a later chapter), represent this first group. No better examples of the second type can be afforded in the sixteenth century than by the Frenchman, François Rabelais, who wrote *The Inestimable Life of the Great Gargantua, Father of Pantagruel*, and the Spaniard, Miguel de Cervantes, who wrote *Don Quixote*. Almost every line of Rabelais' work is filled with boisterous mirth and not infrequently with "obscene ridicule." Cervantes, whose *Don Quixote* was read everywhere throughout Europe, and still remains as a classic, sought to parody the romances of chivalry, but ended by giving a vivacious and amusing panorama of sixteenth-century Spanish society. The seventeenth century was graced by many satirists over whom tower the amiable wit of the French comedian Molière and "the keen and dexterous thrusts" of the Englishman, John Dryden.

Interest in the extravagant and unusual

The imagination of the sixteenth-century Europeans was so aroused by the vast store of new interests afforded both by the revival of classical civilization and by the discoveries in the New World, that for many a day they were unwilling to accept the ordinary and usual. All thought and interest, even in such commonplaces of daily life as dress, had to be of the most varied sort. Versatility of interest and experience was the accepted token of human excellence. Men were often not over-critical of information, so long as it was new and attractive. Such wonderful things were constantly being discovered, that the very assertions that seemed most unreal might, according to the reasoning of the time, well be believed. The English poet Spenser, who wrote his great poem *The Faerie Queene* during this period, admirably expresses this feeling in the following lines:

"But let that man with better sence advize,
That of the world least part to us is red:
And daily how through hardy enterprize
Many great regions are discovered,
Which to late age were never mentioned.
Who ever heard of th' Indian Peru?
Or who in venturous vessel measured
The Amazons huge river, now found trew?
Or fruitfullest Virginia who did ever view?

"Yet all these were, when no man did ever them know,
Yet have from wisest ages hidden beene;
And later times thinges more unknowne shall show,
Why then should witlesse man so much misweene,
That nothing is, but that which he has seene?"

While the scholars were absorbed in perusing ancient books or studying new physical facts, popular interest was aroused by the strange animals and plants, and by the Indians brought to Europe. Magnificent pageants were presented before the French king, for one of which no less than fifty Indians were imported.

These interests were strongly represented in the literature of the time. There were published many collections of stories of voyages, such as those made by Richard Hakluyt and later by Samuel Purchas in England, as well as individual accounts such as that of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* (*Decades of the New World*), which Pope Leo X enjoyed reading to his sister and the cardinals, or that of Amerigo Vespucci. To fill still further the demand for the romantic or marvelous Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*, and Sir Francis Bacon in his *New Atlantis*, pictured fanciful isles where ideal conditions might exist, and Shakespeare laid the plot of his *Tempest* in far-off Bermuda. Rabelais in *The Inestimable Life of the Great Gargantua* satisfies the popular appetite for novelty by the journeys of that strange, monstrous personality, Pantagruel, whose father, Gargantua, ruled over the visionary land of Utopia. In the course of these journeys Pantagruel follows the routes discovered by the explorers, and guided by Jacques Cartier he safely sails through the northwest passage. The whole book is weird and grotesque, and evidently tries to surpass even the voyagers from whose works the author freely borrowed. It is filled with a certain coarse boisterousness, and even vulgarity, which characterized many of the works of the time. Rabelais likewise caters to the popular fondness for the unusual by the profusion of strange words and expressions which he employs.

Heroic vein

In Portugal, Spain, and England epic poetry was written during the sixteenth century, perhaps in imitation of Homer and Virgil, but inspired by the daring exploits of mariners, conquerors, and pioneers in the New World. The Portuguese Luis De Camoens wrote his long epic *The Lusiad* in honor of Vasco da Gama and the Portuguese conquests in India. The heroic deeds of Cortez are told in indifferent verse by Gabriel Lasso de la Vega in *El Contés Valeroso*, and by Antonio de Saavedra in *El Peregrino Indiano*. Especially noteworthy is Alonso Ercilla y Zuñiga's *La Araucana*, which recites the conquest of the brave Arucanian Indians in Chile, and of lesser merit Pedro de Ona's *Arauco domado*, written concerning the same event. Lope de Vega's *Dragontea* deals with Sir Francis Drake as a scourge to the Spanish colonies. George Chapman's *De Guiana Carmen*, as well as some of the poems written by Englishmen in honor of Sir Francis Drake, are likewise examples of this spirit. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Drayton wrote a spirited ode *To the Virginian Voyage* and his *Poly-Olbion*, a lengthy Homeric recital of the deeds of English seamen. Two other famous epics which had a far different inspiration may be mentioned in passing. One of the most truly popular of the great Italian poems, Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, written in

1581, has for its theme the recovery of Jerusalem during the Crusades. The other, that surpassingly great epic, John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1663–1667), deals with the temptation and fall of man.

Romance and allegory

A fondness for the romantic deeds of chivalry, for an unreal world of allegory for which pagan mythology and medieval legend and fancy were drawn upon, resulted in the production of a number of well-known works. Such were, for example, the Italian Ariosto's poem *Orlando Furioso* (1516), which Hallam classes after Homer's *Iliad* as the favorite poem of Europe, running as it did into sixty editions during the sixteenth century. Edmund Spenser constructed "a living world of allegorical romance" in his *Faerie Queene* (1590–1596), which expresses the highest ideals of chivalry. The more serious temper of the seventeenth century is reflected in the allegory written in prose by John Bunyan. His *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), standing with Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, is among the world's greatest allegories.

Drama

The modern European drama originated in imitation of classical writers and also in the medieval scenic religious pageants, often presented by the gilds, which were variously called mystery, miracle or morality plays, and dealt with scriptural episodes, with the legends of saints, or with moral virtues and vices. Latin plays inspired by classic models were written in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and produced before university or clerical audiences, and sometimes before the Pope. Later, they found their way to other countries. From the little humorous scenes interposed in the miracle and morality plays to add life and interest came the interlude. From the interlude was gradually fashioned the comedy.

Italian drama, the first to be developed, was characterized by tragedies "deeply imbued with horror," and by the pastoral drama. The latter idealized the innocent and simple life of shepherds and other rural characters. To people satiated with the vice and artificiality of urban civilization, it had much appeal. In Italy, also, the opera first developed.

While for some time the long oratorical speeches, the Greek choruses, and the symmetrical division into five acts, which characterized ancient drama, continued to impress European dramatists, it was not long before national unconventional forms developed. In no country was this truer than in Spain, which refused to accept either classical plays or the style of the Italian theater, and under the leadership of Lope de Vega (1562–1635), who is said to have written nearly two thousand original dramas, including spiritual plays, heroic and historical comedies, and comedies of real life, Spain's own national life was presented.

In England the drama formed one of the earliest expressions of English nationalism. Here, though at first plays were composed in classical style, audiences were never tolerant of "frigid narrative" and demanded action and "comic buffoonery" intermixed with the

gravest story. Due to such men as Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593), Ben Jonson (1573–1637), Beaumont (1584–1616), Fletcher (1579–1625), and, greatest of all, Shakespeare (1564–1616), drama became the great literary achievement of the English. Shakespeare's talent "consisted in sympathy with human nature" in all of its aspects, and it is said no other author has so completely portrayed it in all its moods and passions. English dramatists perhaps more than any others felt the thrill of maritime discoveries, the enchantment of new lands, and many a vivid simile and metaphor, many a descriptive phrase, resulted from that interest.

No dramatists showed greater polish and delicacy of style than those of France. Such great names as Corneille (1606–1684), Racine (1639–1699), and Molière (1622–1673), stand in the forefront of literary history. Striving after classic perfection, Racine cultivated a style which has been considered by some as second only to that of Virgil. So perfect was it "that nothing could be displaced, nothing added, nothing retrenched." Molière has been largely acclaimed as superior to "all earlier and later writers of comedy."

Novels

Boccaccio (1313–1375) may perhaps be called the "father of novelists." His *Filocopo*, marking the transition from the medieval metrical romance to the modern prose novel; his *Ameto*, the first modern pastoral romance; his *Fiammetta*, filled with the passion of love; and, greatest of all, his *Decameron*, rich with romance and shifting plot, established the reputation of the Italian novel and made it popular in other nations. Scattered throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are a few noteworthy novels, such as Rabelais' great work previously mentioned, the *Heptameron* of Margaret of Angoulême, Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.

Newspapers

Although the newspaper holds a place of slight importance during the period under discussion, its origin and development are of sufficient interest to deserve mention. Even before newspapers came to be known, news-letters were written by professional news-writers to keep men of importance informed of the happenings of the day. It was during the Turkish war of 1563 that newspapers in manuscript form made their appearance in Venice. The *Frankfurter Journal*, a weekly started in 1615, was the earliest newspaper to be issued at regular intervals, and the first English regular weekly newspaper was the *Weekly Newes* of 1622.

Religious prose

In addition to many editions of the Bible, many new books of a theological nature were printed, especially during the period of the Reformation. These were the works of such religious leaders as Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Knox, and Loyola. Jeremy Taylor's *The Liberty of Prophesying* and his *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, Richard Baxter's *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* are representative of this style of literature as it was cultivated in England in the seventeenth century.

Political Theory, History and Biography

The idea of a common superior over all European states, such as the Pope or the Emperor, was destroyed by the rise of nationalism, the revival of learning, and the Reformation. The removal of the old restraints had both good and bad effects. While doubtless a progressive step in the life of European nations, it opened the way for unscrupulous policies and cruel wars. The endeavor to justify a policy of force caused the development of a theory that might makes right and that, in turn, caused an increase of warlike practices.

Machiavellianism

The book which above all others embodied this realistic theory was Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1513). For more than two hundred and fifty years Europe was either subject to its teachings or in revolt against them. Such sovereigns and statesmen as Henry VIII, Elizabeth, Catherine de Medici, Richelieu, Louis XIV, Frederick the Great[1] and, later, Bismarck and Izvolski exemplified in their statesmanship the application of Machiavellian principles.

Machiavelli adopted the attitude that the idea of the brotherhood of man for which the medieval civilization had striven was ridiculous, and the restrictions to conduct found in Christ's teachings impossible. Statecraft, he taught, must be divorced from ordinary morality. The essential quality of the successful ruler was strength. He could not be expected to submit to the morality that was suitable for the people. Although the Prince was always to be the servant of the State and "win the love of his people," he was not "to regard the scandal of being cruel, if thereby he keeps his subjects in their allegiance and united." "When men individually, or a whole city together, offend against the State, the Prince—for a warning to others and for his own safety—has no other remedy than to exterminate them." His foremost business was to maintain his authority and, if possible, add to his dominions. Therefore, he was "to have no other design, nor thought, nor study, but war and the arts and disciplines of it, for indeed that is the only profession worthy of a prince." As to good faith, he "neither can nor ought to keep his word when to keep it is hurtful, and the causes which led him to pledge it are removed." Machiavelli further contended that "it is necessary for a prince wishing to hold his own to know how to do wrong, and to make use of it or not, according to necessity." "Where the bare salvation of the motherland is at stake, there no consideration of justice or injustice can find a place, nor any of mere cruelty, or of honor or disgrace; every scruple must be set aside and that plan followed which saves her life and maintains her liberty."

The theory just described was not one invented by Machiavelli. It was rather "the codification of the current practice and traditions of the age." In opposition to this the three Oxford reformers, Colet by his sermons, Erasmus by his book *The Christian Prince*, written for

Christian political philosophers

[1] Frederick was professedly opposed to Machiavellianism, but at least in his foreign policies he was thoroughly Machiavellian.

the benefit of Prince Charles (later Charles V), and Sir Thomas More by his *Utopia*, sought, though vainly, to introduce Christian ideals into the conduct of public affairs and international relations. Prince Charles was admonished by the great humanist Erasmus, "As often as it comes into your mind that you are a prince, call to mind also that you are a Christian prince." "If you find that you cannot defend your kingdom without violating justice, without shedding much human blood, without much injury to religion, rather lay it down and retire from it." "A good prince will never enter upon war at all unless after trying all possible means it cannot be avoided. If we were of this mind, scarcely any wars would ever occur between any nations." If war became necessary he believed that it should be waged with as little evil and as little bloodshed as possible. Princes should first perform their duties faithfully before asking taxes, and these should not oppress the poor. The *Utopia*, with its New World setting and its appeal to the purity of a primitive land where perfect conditions might exist, portrays an ideal community in which none of the social injustices and the profitless wars for extension of empire are to be found.

Beginnings of international law

By the beginning of the seventeenth century a great moral and intellectual revolt against Machiavellianism was in progress and resulted in the formation of the beginnings of international law. Roman law, since its broad principles of justice had been applied to a great variety of peoples, was quite naturally consulted in the settlement of disputes between rival princes. Canon law, which had been formed by the Church on the model of the Roman civil law, and was used in the Church courts throughout Europe, was likewise utilized in finding rules and principles for the conduct of international affairs. International customs and Christian morality were also large factors. A still further element, that of natural law, was taken into consideration by Hugo Grotius, who in 1625 published his famous *Law of War and Peace*, the first systematic text-book on the principles of international law.[1] According to Grotius, there were natural laws based on "the rational and social" nature of man which could not be altered and must govern human relations. They should serve as the fundamental basis of international law.

Early problems of international law

International law was first concerned with such problems as the control of the seas, the treatment of conquered races, such as the Indians of North America, the rival claims of nations as to new lands, and above all with the conduct of European wars. The horrors of the Thirty Years' War, which devastated Germany during the seventeenth century, contrasted with the somewhat more humane practices of war in Italy, led to the consideration of rules which would protect non-combatants in war time, safeguard the sick and wounded, and prevent wanton pillage.

[1] However, during the sixteenth century Italian and Spanish predecessors of Grotius had laid the foundations for international law.

Theories of government

The rapid growth of states, the shift of sovereignty from the privileged orders to the bourgeoisie, the Reformation, which introduced changes in the relationship of Church and State, all tended to give importance to political speculation. The religious reformers emphasized the theory that secular government was divine, and this gave much encouragement to princes. However, the two chief reformers, Luther and Calvin, greatly differed as to the form of government to be supported; whereas the former favored absolute monarchy, the latter believed in an aristocratic republic. What limits might be placed upon the sovereign's authority when once assumed, was perhaps the most important question that had to be settled by nations for many centuries. Two theories were developed in regard to this issue. On the one side were those who held with Luther that it was improper for those who aspired to being Christians to turn against the government whether its actions were just or unjust, though he granted that no one should obey an order directly contrary to the law of God. This view was held by the established authorities throughout the next two centuries and it was advocated by Jean Bodin, as also by Robert Filmer, who in his *Patriarcha* firmly supported Bodin's dogma that the essential characteristic of every government was an arbitrary and irresponsible power coming from God. On the other side were those who, with Buchanan, said that the king, when he violated their rights, should be resisted by the people's elected representatives. It was still further contended by both Protestant and Catholic philosophers in France that a pact had been made between people and sovereign, and that he was bound by an unwritten law. Joined to this was the belief in a law of nature which lay at the basis of all institutions. From this it was not a far step to the doctrine held by the English philosophers Hooker and Hobbes, as well as by Grotius, that government did not come from divine inspiration and guidance but was a matter of historic evolution. When this view arose, a modern political science was developed. A still further step was taken by John Locke (1632–1704), who was the first to turn to reason in his attacks upon arbitrary authority, thus inaugurating that group of philosophers who in the eighteenth century were known as Rationalists, and who perhaps more than any other force brought about the fall of the old régime. Locke and his followers believed that government had its origins in a contract between the people and their rulers, and contended that when the rulers violated the contract revolution was lawful and desirable.

Radical theory

Some political thinkers of this period went so far in their theory as to desire a radical change in all existing political and even economic institutions. There were writers like Richard Hooker and Francis Rabelais who contended that men might live without any government at all. English seventeenth-century "Levellers" desired not only political but social equality, and German Anabaptists believed in a community of goods. Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* (1516) had

presented the classic modern conception of an ideal community where perfect equality both economically and politically was the rule. Others, like Milton and Algernon Sidney, dreamed of the creation of a republican form of government modeled after what they imagined that of Greece and Rome had been.

History

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were three main currents of historiography, the humanistic, the ecclesiastical, and the history of overseas discoveries and conquests.

The humanistic influence on history resulted in greater attention to literary style as well as in interest in political and social rather than in religious affairs. This type of history was written by prominent laymen rather than by theologians. Through their criticism of literary texts the humanists developed at least some appreciation of the value of criticizing historical documents, but they were far more prone to treat history as literature than as a critical science. While freeing it from the miraculous element and the theological bias which had so long characterized it, they frequently substituted instead respect for secular governments and exaggerated reverence for the classical authorities. Prominent among the humanist historians were Flavius Blondus, Leonardo Bruni, "Sabellicus," Poggio, Laurentius Valla, Guicciardini, Polydore Vergil, and Aeneas Sylvius.

With the Reformation there occurred again in historical literature a swing away from concern for human affairs to ecclesiastical interests. History once more came to be considered simply as a "great struggle between God and the Devil," and the element of divine intervention in human affairs was dwelt upon. What little critical method had been practiced by the best humanist historians was speedily abandoned, and each group of church historians produced the most biased record of past events of which they were capable, in order that their opponents might be discredited. The value of historical sources for controversy, rather than their accuracy, was the main consideration, and invective took the place of dispassionate historical narrative. On the Protestant side appeared the *Magdeburg Centuries*, as well as the many works of John Foxe, John Knox, and "Sleidan" and others; while Cardinal Baronius, the director of the Vatican Library, and the great French divine, Bossuet, responded from the Catholic viewpoint.

More than any of the influences yet described, European expansion, since it led to a break in the interests in religious and political history, and to desire for wider knowledge of world civilization, tended toward producing modern historical writing. Historians who dealt entirely with European affairs were strongly influenced, and they began to devote more attention to the description of countries and the manners and customs of their peoples. Radical changes in the style of writing also resulted, since the customary chronological narration was unsuited to the new themes. The first historian of the discovery of America was the Italian humanist, Peter Martyr d' Anghiera (d.

1526), who at the behest of the Spanish government wrote his famous *Decades of the New World*. This was soon followed by many other works by Spanish authors such as Oviedo, Las Casas, Gomara, Bernal Diaz, De Solis, and Herrera, who dealt with the conquest and the character of the Spanish Indies. The history of the Portuguese exploits in the Far East was dealt with by the Portuguese official and historian, João de Barros. In English this class of history is well represented by Richard Knolles' *General Historie of the Turks*, Captain John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles*, and by the interesting collections compiled by Richard Hakluyt and by Samuel Purchas.

Biography

As might be expected, the interest shown in human character and the craving for renown which characterized Italian Humanism, resulted as early as the fourteenth century in a large output of biographies and autobiographies of almost all of the noteworthy Italians of the day. A keen search was made for the characteristic features of remarkable men. Due to this special interest, Italians long remained the best informed concerning the personal character of European leaders. Valuable portraits of contemporaries are to be found in Filippo Villani's *Illustrious Citizens of Florence*, Pius II's *Commentaries*, Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Best Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, and the works of such men as Jovius, Brantôme, and Erasmus. For the late seventeenth century Madame de Sévigné's correspondence vividly portrays both the characters and incidents of French court life. The earliest modern autobiographies are to be found in the Italian family histories of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the art is carried to a height of perfection in the autobiography of the Italian artist, Benvenuto Cellini. In the realm of exploration the letters of Columbus and the reports of Cortez, as well as the works of many others, form vivid personal narratives, while the realm of religious introspection cannot be better represented than by the autobiography of Ignatius Loyola.

Economic thought

Much of the thought of the seventeenth century was directed toward solving economic problems, especially those caused by the rapidly expanding trade which followed the enterprise of navigators and adventurers. Many trade tracts were written and statistics collected. In this way much information was brought to light, and while it was not organized as theory or science, yet it formed the basis of later development.

Scientific Development

Mathematical science

It is in our scientific development perhaps more than in any other intellectual accomplishment that we surpass the ancient world. Only in mathematics, astronomy, and medicine had the ancient scholars made any considerable progress. With the opening of the modern period, much stimulus was given to mathematical studies by the demands of navigators and map-makers. The basis for the

science of geometry was laid by a revival of the work of the Greek mathematician Euclid, while as early as the thirteenth century a knowledge of algebra had come through the Moslems. The system of modern numerals and the use of ciphers which has made possible rapid calculations in large numbers was acquired by the Arabs[1] from the Hindus, and was passed on by them to Italian merchants who popularized their use in Italy. Although this system but slowly supplanted the use of the clumsy Roman numerals, by the beginning of the modern era it was coming into rather common use in other European nations. A number of other improvements in mathematical symbols such as the use of the plus (+) and minus (−) and equals (=) signs facilitated rapid advancement in mathematical science, and the invention of logarithms (1614) was of inestimable assistance in complicated calculations.

Spherical trigonometry, which revolutionized map-making, was invented by Copernicus in 1505, while in 1637 Descartes laid the foundations of analytical geometry. The high point of mathematical progress came at the end of the seventeenth century, when Leibnitz in 1684, and Sir Isaac Newton in 1687, independently conceived the principles of calculus. The discovery of calculus was of the greatest importance, since now for the first time the motions of the planets and the movement of heat might be measured quantitatively, and the content of circles and character of stresses might be quickly ascertained.

Astronomical revolution

Ever since the time of the Greek astronomer Ptolemy (100–170 A.D.) it had been commonly accepted that the earth was motionless, and that the sun, stars, and planets moved around it every twenty-four hours. This view had been adopted by the Church, which, relying upon the Old Testament writers who had drawn this conception of the universe from the Babylonians, made it part of the Scholastic System. During the fifteenth century it came to be doubted by Nicholas of Cusa, but it remained for a German-Pole of Thorn, Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543), to set forth the simpler theory that the earth rotated in space on its own axis, and together with the planets, which also rotated on their axes, revolved around the sun. Copernicus was first led to these conclusions by observing certain peculiar variations of size and brightness in the planet Mars, and by discovering the writings of ancient Greek scholars who believed, contrary to Ptolemy, in the earth's and planets' motion. After twenty years of study he wrote out his conclusions in a book called *The Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies* (1543), which laid the foundation of modern astronomy.

Before there was any chance that Copernicus' theory would be accepted by even the most advanced scholars, great quantities of

[1] The Mohammedan scientists of the Middle Ages are frequently called "Arabs" because they used the Arabic language. As a matter of fact, the Arabs at that time were a rude and unenlightened people.

accurate data had to be collected. Tycho Brahe, a Danish scholar (1546–1601), supplied through royal patronage with the most elaborate equipment the age afforded, for more than twenty years made daily observations which eliminated much of the obscurity surrounding the planets, and determined with great accuracy the position of some eight hundred fixed stars, thus mapping the heavens for later study.

Laws of motion

Through many years of study of Tycho Brahe's observations of the planet Mars a young German, Johann Kepler, who toward the end of Brahe's life had been associated with him, discovered (1609–1618) that planets did not have circular orbits, as all scholars, including Copernicus, had supposed, but traveled in an ellipse, moving more rapidly as they approached the sun. However, he was unable to learn the cause for this change in motion. A solution of this problem was imperatively demanded and would have the utmost consequence, since it would reveal the law or force which moved and controlled the universe. Moreover, it would emphasize the fact that all things were controlled by natural law. Even in Kepler's day some progress toward an understanding of these forces was being made by his brilliant contemporary, the Italian Galileo (1564–1642), who through observing the slow swinging of the cathedral lamp at Pisa, discovered the regularity of pendulum vibrations—a principle which seventy-five years later was utilized by Christian Huygens in making accurate clocks. An experiment with weights dropped from the Leaning Tower of Pisa showed that the rapidity of descent was not according to the weight of the object, that the motion of falling bodies was uniformly accelerated, and that moving bodies, unless compelled to change, would tend to continue in motion forever in a straight line. He was able also to prove that "all bodies on the earth or near it shared its motion, even clouds and air and mist." Thus heavy objects when dropped would fall not quite vertically, but to the east of the point from which they started.

It remained, however, for Sir Isaac Newton by his discovery of gravitation to reveal the law of motion. Combining Galileo's conclusion, that a falling body was constantly accelerated, with Kepler's discovery, that there was a fixed relation between the time of a planet's revolution and its distance from the sun, Newton arrived at the law that the sun caused an acceleration toward itself "proportional to the inverse square of the distance of the planet" from it. Thus a planet at twice the distance from the sun would receive only one-fourth as much acceleration. He used the revolution of the moon as the basis of a problem the solution of which would prove that it was the force of gravitation which kept the moon going around the earth, and the planets around the sun. Taking the principle (already discovered by other scholars) of the centrifugal tendency of any body revolving around a central point, and adding the discovery that the weight of a body was identified with the force exerted upon it by the

earth, he reached the conclusion that "the earth attracts any body with a force inversely proportional to the square of the distance from the centre of the earth and directly proportional to the mass of the body." From this it was only a step to the decision that the planets and all other sidereal bodies were mutually attracted to one another in proportion to their size and the distance separating them. Thus the whole universe was kept in place and made to revolve through the force of gravitation.

New instruments

Of the utmost importance to the advancement of the physical and natural sciences was the invention of instruments for increasing man's range of vision and enabling him to make exact measurements. This was valuable not only for theoretical science but also for practical sciences such as navigation. Many instruments of great importance were either invented or greatly improved during this period: the compound microscope, the telescope, the micrometer, the barometer, the thermoscope, the thermometer, and the pendulum clock were invented; and the quadrant, sextant, spheres, astrolabes, and the simple microscope were improved.

Telescopic revelations

It was with one of these inventions, the telescope, that Galileo made wonderful discoveries in the heavens at the same time that venturesome navigators were revealing new sections of the earth's surface; and so capable was he of popularizing his subject, that he may be called the true founder of descriptive astronomy. By the use of the telescope, objects might be made to appear "more than thirty times nearer, and almost a thousand times larger than when seen by the naked eye." With it not only was he able to discover four new planets, and to examine their surfaces and motions more closely, but he could note the irregular and mountainous surface of the moon, as well as the spots on the sun; and by observing the latter he was enabled to measure as well as prove solar rotation. By discovering the satellites of Jupiter and noting their periodic circulation around that planet, he revealed a smaller solar system in operation, and thus afforded so convincing an argument for the Copernican Theory of the universe that many were persuaded.[1]

Geography

The voyages of the European nations, made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had raised the veil under which for thousands of years half of the terrestrial globe had remained concealed. Within thirty years of the date of the first voyage of Columbus, the whole coast of America from Greenland to Cape Horn had been explored. The Pacific Ocean had been navigated, and the world had been circumnavigated by Magellan; the coasts of eastern Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India had been visited by the Portuguese; and numerous islands in the Indian Ocean had been discovered. Through the ardor and rivalry of the Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch

[1] He also revealed the character of the Milky Way and the physical character of comets.

merchants and explorers, the succeeding centuries continued constantly to reveal new geographic facts.

Momentarily geographic theory was swamped by the great mass of material which had been collected in narratives by explorers, histories of new lands, and more formal geographic investigations. The work of Ptolemy, who for many centuries had enjoyed the distinction of being the source of nearly all geography, was now made practically obsolete. Moreover, before the end of the seventeenth century a new turn was given to the study of geography by bringing other sciences, such as biology, astronomy, physics, and meteorology, to bear upon it. Perhaps the chief characteristic of the study of this science was the interest shown by so many scholars in the newly discovered facts, without reference to classical tradition. This was undoubtedly due to the spirit of inquiry and interest in the universe aroused by the new discoveries, as also to the fact that they revealed so many errors in the writings of the old authorities as to cause the new generation to distrust them.

Map-making

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the rapidly accumulating fund of geographic information was organized by a generation of cartographers, among whom Mercator was the most important. For many years scholars had sought to picture the world graphically, and at the same time accurately. The chief difficulty was to display on a level surface all sides of a globe. In 1569 Gerhard Kramer, known as Mercator, succeeded in making a world-map "drawn on a cylindrical projection with lines of latitude parallel to the equator, and lines of longitude at right angles to these." This new principle revolutionized cartography, and ever since has served as a model for navigation charts and maps. The new developments in trigonometry were most useful in this work. Maps, though greatly improved, still remained inaccurate, but were nevertheless vivid in their interesting portrayal of strange savages, animals, sea-monsters, and exotic vegetation.

Rise of modern natural science

Modern natural science is not to any extent a result of the efforts of Renaissance humanists, who were absorbed in classical literature and art and cared little for the investigation of nature. Its origins rather are to be traced to two periods of extensive contact with alien peoples and strange natural phenomena.

Medieval contact with Oriental and Arabic civilization

Pilgrimages, crusades, and trading voyages made possible contacts with Arabic civilization both in Asia and in Spain and Sicily. These contacts acquainted men during the thirteenth century with many African and Asiatic vegetables and animals, as well as with the scientific lore of Arab naturalists and parts of the works of the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, which had been neglected by Europeans but preserved by Asiatics. Much interest was aroused in exotic products, and many scholars journeyed to Spain to secure what knowledge the Arabs had to impart.

Modern oversea discoveries and natural science

The discovery during the sixteenth century of entire new continents proved a still greater stimulus to natural studies. As von Humboldt remarks: "Never before since the establishment of society had the sphere of ideas relative to the exterior world been increased in a manner so prodigious; never had man felt a more pressing need to observe Nature and to multiply the means of successfully questioning it." The many varieties of vegetation and animal life hitherto unknown proved of great interest to naturalists; while immense chains of mountains, rich in precious metals, drew the attention of geologists. The philosopher, on his part, might contemplate races of men possessed of temperaments, manners and languages different from those of Europe. Many problems concerning the tides, ocean currents, and winds had to be solved by the mariners. A new world of surpassing variety, novelty, and interest could not help but stimulate enthusiastic study, and at the same time afforded comparisons with familiar European conditions.

So much enthusiasm was created, so keen were explorers to report new wonders, so little trained were they for scientific investigation, that much of the information first gathered was unreliable and badly organized; but curiosity was aroused in natural phenomena which ended in scientific study. The observations made by explorers, sea-captains, colonists, physicians, and factors in distant lands were the forerunners of that long line of scientific observations which have laid open the secrets of nature in even the most inaccessible regions of the world.

Foundation of scientific societies

The interest in these natural problems, as well as in those of mathematics and the physical sciences, resulted in the formation in many countries of royal scientific societies, such as the famous Royal Society of London, the main purpose of which was to collect information and promote experimentation. From published accounts of the new lands queries were compiled and given to ship captains or travelers who were to obtain accurate information. Seamen bound for the West Indies and on other far voyages received special directions for geographical, meteorological, astronomical, and other observations. In Spain the *Casa de Contratacion* (Council of Trade) was entrusted with the investigation and study of all knowledge that could be collected about the new seas and lands. Spanish explorers were required by law to report to this body the most detailed observations concerning distances, general geographical features, and character of soil, products, animals, and peoples.

Herb gardens and herbals

That part of the natural sciences which we now know as Botany possessed special interest to Europeans because of its connection with medicine. Many gardens where exotic herbs were planted and their medicinal values studied were established, and explorers made a special point of sending home samples of those plants which were reported by the natives to have medicinal value. Europeans were no longer content with the medical botany which the Greek physician,

Dioscorides, had written in 64 A.D., and which for fifteen centuries had remained the standard authority on the subject. Instead, they began to prepare herbals based on the plants they had collected in their gardens or had observed elsewhere. Instead of merely copying Dioscorides' illustrations, they frequently made new diagrams from their own observations. Among herbals written in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries those of the Germans, Valerius Cordus, Brunfels, Bock, and Fuchs, and those of the English naturalists, Gerard and Parkinson, are prominent. We should also mention the work of the Portuguese doctor to the Viceroy of India, Garcia ab Horto, who wrote a *History of Certain Plants from the Indies* and of the Spanish physician Nicholas Monardes, who wrote a *History of Drugs Brought from America*, for during the sixteenth century these books were regarded as classics in their field.

Zoölogical studies

Zoölogical studies made far less progress during this period, probably because they were less immediately useful, and also because it was necessary for the most part to depend upon travelers' tales for information because of the difficulty of collecting actual specimens. However, it is a fact that from the time of the earliest explorers some specimens of animal and bird life, as well as of human beings, were sent home and excited keen interest.

Metallurgy and mineralogy

The foundation of modern metallurgy and mineralogy is generally attributed to the German Bauer, known as Agricola (1494–1555), whose *De re metallica* was the leading work on the subject. Among other things it estimated "the approximate amount of metal in ore," and described for the first time the puddling process for making steel.

Anatomy

For fifteen centuries the works of the Greek physician Galen (131–201 A.D.) had been regarded as furnishing the standard in anatomy and physiology. Although Galen himself had insisted upon experimentation and vivisection, his followers during the Middle Ages had accepted his teachings without investigation, thus putting an end to all progress.

In the fourteenth century the Italian universities revived the practice of dissection, which was employed with even more zeal by the great Renaissance artist, Leonardo da Vinci. He dissected more than thirty human bodies, and, employing his artistic genius, portrayed with exquisite exactness, in as many as seven hundred and fifty drawings, all of the muscles, nerves, blood vessels, the brain, and vital organs. Thus by actual observation of the human anatomy he delivered a blow at the fetters imposed by a too ready acceptance of the authority of Galen. Leonardo's failure to complete any book on anatomy greatly limited his influence, and it remained rather for the Belgian scholar Andreas Vesalius to place human anatomy on the firm basis of exact observation. His great work *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543) marks the dividing-line between ancient and modern anatomy. By accepting nothing which he was not able to prove by

investigation he was responsible for establishing methods of study in medical science which give him a place in that field of endeavor comparable to that of Copernicus in mathematics and astronomy.

Physiology

The work of the anatomists in explaining the bodily structure was supplemented by that of the physiologists who sought to discover how the body functioned. The most notable of these was William Harvey, who, after long experiments with animals, published his book *An Anatomical Disquisition on the Movement of the Heart and Blood in Animals* (1628). He was the first to show that all the blood moved in a circuit through the body from veins to arteries, and that the beating of the heart supplied the propelling force. Harvey, when he proved that the blood necessarily returned to the heart, since in about half an hour the heart threw into the great artery more than the total quantity of blood in the body, for the first time introduced quantitative determinations into physiology. The true importance of Harvey's work is realized when it is seen that the circulation of the blood must be understood as a first step in the analysis of any bodily function. It was his discovery which created modern physiology.

Microscopists

Although it is not certain that Galileo constructed the first microscope, it is known that soon after he used the telescope to examine the heavens he realized how the same principle might be employed to study small objects, and made himself a microscope of such power that he was able to examine the structure of an insect's eye. The microscope has proved of the utmost importance to biology, for by its use plant and animal structures and functions too delicate for observation with the naked eye may be detected. Soon after it came into use, many notable discoveries were made, such as that of the cell by Robert Hooke (1665), and of bacteria and protozoa by Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), the first bacteriologist. Swammerdam (1637–1680) spent his whole life in studying the anatomy of insects and their life history, revealing the fact that, however minute, they were similar to larger animals in possessing vital organs. Grew (1641–1712) devoted all his attention to plant structure, while Malpighi (1628–1694), besides studying the structure of glands and the development of embryo in plant and chicken, completed Harvey's work on the circulation of the blood by the most important discovery yet made by the microscope, that of the capillaries which connect the arteries with the veins.

Chemistry

At the opening of the sixteenth century chemistry was still confused with alchemy, the attempt to find the philosopher's stone which might transform baser into precious metals. During that century it came to be considered of such value in providing medicines that it lost its earlier goal. Paracelsus (1493–1541) may well be considered the father of this new development of chemistry. He pointed out that the operations of the human body, both when healthy and

when diseased, resulted in chemical changes, and he indicated the value of the application of certain chemicals as correctives.

The discovery of acids and alkalis destroyed the old doctrine of "elements"; and when it was found that metals continued to exist in their compounds and salts, the idea of the immutability of matter had to be accepted; this led to a new conception of chemistry. Finally Robert Boyle, though advancing no new important theories, cleared the way for scientific chemistry by his work *The Sceptical Chymist* (1661), which criticized current chemistry and insisted on more experimentation and less speculation.

Medical practice

With the great advances which during the sixteenth century had been made in the knowledge of anatomy, surgery had made considerable progress and the skill of such noted surgeons as Paré was raised to the highest point of excellence then possible by the demands of many battlefields. Although the development of watches made possible the observation of the pulse and the thermometer made possible the recording of temperature, such observations made little headway until the close of the seventeenth century. Bleeding was frequently resorted to to reduce evil humors or fluids which were thought to prevail. The energy with which chemists sought chemical compounds which might be of service, and the herbalists collected botanical specimens and studied them for their medical virtues, greatly increased the European pharmacopoeia. Large numbers of new drugs were added by the discoveries in America and the voyages to the Orient; quinine, for example, was first imported from Peru.

Physics

Although even in ancient times many isolated facts concerning physics, and many tools and simple machines, the result of the use of physical principles, had been devised, the beginnings of a true science of physics are associated with Galileo, and may be traced to the first part of the seventeenth century. The fact that physics depends even more than other sciences upon experimentation accounts for its beginning later than other sciences. Galileo laid the foundations of dynamics, and those of physical science as a whole. He was followed by Christian Huygens of Amsterdam, who completed Galileo's theory of the pendulum, and gave it a practical application, the pendulum clock, and "discovered the theorems of centrifugal force," the first application of kinetic energy, and was among the first to advance the wave theory of light. Toward the end of the sixteenth century William Gilbert (1540–1603), in his work on the magnet (*De Magnete*), gave the first rational treatment of electrical and magnetic phenomena. Regarding the earth as a great magnet, he attributed its rotation to its magnetic character. The name "electricity" is likewise due to him. In the seventeenth century the greatest physicist was Isaac Newton (1642–1727). His first great discovery, resulting in differential and integral calculus, was invaluable for the study of mechanics. He is best known as the discoverer of the law of universal gravitation.

Philosophy

Need of reconstructing philosophy

Philosophy and science in ancient times were closely related, and often whatever science existed was combined with philosophy into one fund of knowledge. Although Aristotle and many of those who followed him sought to differentiate between general philosophy and natural philosophy, as science was then termed, the thirteenth century schoolmen aimed to draw close the bonds between all knowledge and theology, forming a scholastic philosophy of the universe which should unquestionably support the assertions of the Bible and the Church Fathers. They had tried to accomplish their object through philosophic generalization and deduction. The great discoveries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries now tore to pieces the elaborate system of knowledge so painstakingly constructed. New methods of approach to knowledge had resulted in the great achievements of Copernicus, Galileo, Vesalius, Harvey, and a host of others. The science of this new school was divorced from philosophy and theology, and had been developed independently of them.

There was now need, after a century of startling scientific revelations, to consider how much of the old philosophy might be accepted and to form, if possible, the foundations of a new philosophy of the universe; to establish, as the schoolmen had attempted to do, a method of approach to knowledge. So vast was the importance of the newly-discovered facts, so much of a break with the past did they represent, so difficult, when hampered by past traditions, was the foundation of a new philosophy, that it was only by gradual advances that this was accomplished. At first, since the new philosophers had broken with Aristotle and left behind the logic and systematization of Aristotelian scholasticism, their thought showed much confusion and lacked some basic principles. Such was the case with Telesio (1509–1588), and with Campanella (1568–1639), who was torn between a desire for Church supremacy and the belief that "an equally direct revelation of God and man lay in nature" which it was man's duty to investigate. Still another, Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) "was the first who had the imagination and the courage to proclaim" Copernicus' hypothesis as a fact, making it his chief business to think out and set forth all its implications. He was so filled with enthusiasm by the conviction of the infinitude of the universe that, as Taylor remarks, it permeated all "his conceptions of causation, of God and of life, of force and mind and matter."

Bacon

It was due, however, to Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626) that the methods of investigation so successfully employed by the new scientists received recognition in place of those of the schoolmen which had so long dominated Europe; and to René Descartes (1596–1650) that the foundation of a new philosophy of the universe based on the recent scientific discoveries was laid. Bacon, curiously, never directly contributed to a single great discovery, failed to recognize the truth

of the conclusions of Copernicus, Galileo, and Harvey, made suggestions for research of only scant value, and yet, in spite of it all, was more responsible than any other man for drawing attention to and securing acceptance for truly scientific methods of study and research. Because of his great philosophical and literary ability, as also of his position as Lord Chancellor, he was able to command respect. Pointing out in his *Advancement of Learning* and in the *Novum Organum Scientiarium* the mistaken methods of past scientists, he urged the use of the inductive method, insisting that knowledge could not be real unless it was founded on experience, and that true science could be founded only by being sure of each step before taking another. One was not to be satisfied with any general law which had been founded upon a few observations. This had been the fault with Plato and Aristotle, and even with the more modern philosophers such as Campanella and Bruno. Rather, all of the facts which a natural law was supposed to explain should be exhausted before it should be accepted. Thus, in order to understand the nature of heat it would not be enough to make a few experiments with the heat of the sun and of fire, but the sun's rays would have to be examined "both when they fall direct and when they are reflected; (and heat) in fiery meteors, in lightning, in volcanoes . . . ; in heated solids, in hot springs, in boiling liquids, in steam and vapors, in bodies which retain heat, such as wool and fur; in bodies which you have held near the fire, and bodies heated by rubbing. . . ." So great was Bacon's realization of discoveries yet to be made that he found it impossible, as Taylor remarks, "to write a history of what men knew" or to found a new philosophy. Rather he wrote of what men had to learn. He drew a distinct line "between science and theology, knowledge and faith," making no attempt to reconcile the two.

Descartes

Descartes approached science and philosophy from the standpoint of a mathematician. In his great *Discours de la méthode* (1637), he emphasized the importance of doubt, proclaiming his famous dictum, "I doubt, that I may know." Rejecting all assumptions he insisted on as rigid proof as was demanded in mathematics. Galileo's deductions concerning the universe, together with Harvey's conclusions concerning the circulation of the blood, led him to consider all physical nature, including the human body, as a mechanism which might be explained by the application of mathematical principles. He stated his conclusions after this fashion: "Those long chains of reasoning, quite simple and easy, which geometers are wont to employ in the accomplishment of their most difficult demonstrations, led me to think that everything which might fall under the cognizance of the human mind might be connected together in the same manner, and that provided only one should take care not to receive anything as true which was not so, and if one were always careful to preserve the order necessary for deducing one truth from another, there would be none so remote at which he might not at last arrive, or so concealed

which he might not discover." Accepting a mechanistic explanation of man and the universe, and rejecting all authority except that of reason, he systematized thought and made science the basis of a new philosophy.

Spinoza, Newton

Descartes was followed by Spinoza (1632–1677) in Holland and by Newton (1642–1727) and Locke (1632–1704) in England, who further expanded the Cartesian mechanical interpretation of the universe and laid the foundations for eighteenth-century rationalism. Spinoza, abandoning the long-standing idea of God as a Father to whom man might appeal, regarded him as nothing else than "immutable order" and "mathematical law" itself. By discovering the laws of motion which governed the universe, Newton completed the mechanical view of nature and created a veritable world machine. Locke applied the new conceptions to human relations. As Randall points out, it was through these philosophers rather than through the humanists of the Renaissance that there took place "the outstanding revolution in beliefs and habits of thought" which marked the "complete break with the spirit of the Middle Ages" and opened the way for the growth of more modern thought.

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CHAPTER VII

RENAISSANCE ART

Painting

Artists

No accomplishments of the dawning years of the modern era were more striking than those of art. While the last years of the two centuries we have been discussing were intellectually dominated by science, the first years were characterized by art. A number of European countries, and especially Italy, where the movement began and had its greatest vogue, abounded in accomplished artists, who, more than the humanists, possessed the spirit which was to characterize modern times; for while the humanists frequently were rather slavish imitators of the classical authors, the artists, also students of the past, were nevertheless more inclined to experiment and work out new methods. The latter were noted for their originality, while the former were famed as scholars. Some of the greatest artists, such as Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, represent the spirit of the dawning age more truly than Petrarch, not only because of the reasons just mentioned, but also because their interests were varied and they were keen investigators and even masters in many fields. Da Vinci, for example, was a painter and sculptor, a scientific inventor, an architect, an engineer, a musician, a deviser of ballets, and an anatomist of distinction.

Patrons

Europe possessed not only famous artists but also large numbers of people with keen artistic sense who fully appreciated what was accomplished and encouraged the masters to do their best. Sovereigns, the nobility, rich burghers, and churchmen vied with one another in patronizing them, none more than the Pope at Rome and the Medici banker-princes at Florence. The very greatest works of art were executed under definite agreements to adorn some building or provide a memorial. Under these circumstances artists often had difficulty in restraining the impatience of employers to have a work completed until they could satisfy their own artistic sense. Da Vinci once remarked, in explanation of his slowness in completing his great masterpiece "The Last Supper," that "men of genius really are doing most when they work least, as they are thinking out ideas and perfecting conceptions."

Technique

The art in which Italians especially excelled was that of painting. This may be partly due to the fact that it offered greater chance for individual expression. It was one of the most perishable arts and fewer Greek and Roman masterpieces were left as models than in the case of sculpture and architecture. Giant frescoes were painted over the walls and ceilings of religious buildings and aristocratic palaces, and

sometimes even on the outside fronts of buildings, which vividly and realistically depicted sacred or historic themes. So profuse was their use that many masterpieces met with untoward fates. Some were erased or painted over with other pictures, as was the case with the earlier frescoes sacrificed for Michelangelo's masterpieces in the Sistine Chapel. Others were covered with whitewash at times of plague and perhaps forgotten. Leonardo da Vinci's masterpiece, "The Last Supper," which covers the upper part of one end-wall of the old refectory of the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie has suffered many vicissitudes. Only twenty years after it was completed its colors began to fade, due to a fault in the oils used, and to climatic changes causing a humidity upon the wall which sometimes turned into mold. In recent years it has been preserved by restorative treatment administered by a syringe. During Napoleon's occupation of Italy its life was in even more serious danger when the refectory was turned into a stable and storehouse.

Paintings, however, were by no means confined to wall surfaces. With improvements in the art of weaving and in the use of oils, canvases were employed, and these also met with strange fates; for many were carried to other countries as plunder of invading armies, or were sold to foreign collectors. Under these circumstances some, at least, of the charm of the picture has been lost, since it frequently was painted by the artist after a careful study of the light, shade, and general atmosphere of the place which it was intended to occupy.

Medieval painting

During the Middle Ages painting, like literature, was made the servant of the Church. Its aim was not to display the beauty of the world, but to assist in the realization of the joys of a future life. The Byzantine School dominated the later part of the Middle Ages, taking its subjects from the Scriptures, sacred legends, and lives of the saints. Instead of naturalness, arid symbolism dominated art.

Part of classical Renaissance in development of painting

It was not directly due, however, to the classical revival that new methods were developed, for as early as the fourteenth century there was a growth of naturalness in art in Italy and France which was not due to imitation of antiquity. While this naturalism degenerated in France and Flanders, in Italy, as a result of Humanism and interest in antique examples, it was adapted to the great part it was to play in the development of art. Thus antiquity was the teacher, not the mother of Renaissance painting, regulating as it did, but not creating this art.

Transformation to modern painting

The first improvements were to be noticed in a larger scope of conception and execution and in a more varied coloring. By the fifteenth century the three great changes which have made painting a real art began to assert themselves—accurate drawing, perspective, and the use of light and shade. It was at Florence that there first grew up a school of artists boasting such great names as Giotto, Orcagna, Masaccio, Lippi, Pollaiuolo, Verrocchio, Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo, who created modern painting. By the

achievements of Masaccio, who has been called the pioneer of the "modern manner," painting was raised to a new level. Masaccio borrowed from the plastic art the treatment of drapery, and from nature the sense of aërial space and landscape. The "delicate refinement of conception and tone, the poetical element," simplicity, tenderness, and humanity, now infused into art by the new school, brought an end to the purely decorative formalism and lifelessness of medieval art.

Great Italian Masters—study of anatomy and facial expression

The works of the four greatest masters of Italian painting—Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Michelangelo (1415–1564), Raphael (1483–1520) and Titian (1477–1576)—offer many interesting comparisons and contrasts. The first two, through their mastery of the study of anatomy and experience in sculpturing, were able to impart to the painting of the human form a reality of expression and lifelikeness, an exactness of physical detail, which has never been excelled. To what extent this end was pursued may be realized not only by a study of Leonardo da Vinci's many drawings of every part of the human anatomy made after careful dissections, but also by the suggestions he made for the guidance of future artists, of which the following is a good example: "Which are the muscles which, in old age, or in a young person who is becoming thin, separate? What are the parts of the human limbs where the flesh never increases on account of some quality of the fat, and where also the flesh never decreases on account of some degree of thinness? What one seeks in all these questions will be found at all the surface joints at the shoulder, the elbow, the joints of the hands, the fingers, the hips, the knee, ankles, and toes."

Still more wonderful was the work done by these great artists in portraying through posture, facial expression, and even play of the muscles, the emotions of the character represented. Thus the real greatness of Leonardo da Vinci's "The Last Supper" is due to the contrasting emotions revealed upon the faces of the Apostles at the moment when Christ announces that one among them will betray him. "Mona Lisa," the portrait of the beautiful wife of a wealthy Florentine, one of da Vinci's masterpieces, has with its minuteness of detail and its enigmatic smile ever since entranced and puzzled the world. It remained, however, for Michelangelo to produce a grand symphony of character and form in his two stupendous frescoes covering the ceiling and part of the walls of the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican at Rome. One fresco represents the "Creation of the World, The Flood, and Hebrew Prophets," the other "The Last Judgment." Here every human emotion is presented and marvelously expressed, and every stage in physical development finds its place among the heroic figures.

Portrayal of the spiritual

Much, however, that lies in the human soul and in nature is beyond expression. It was Leonardo da Vinci perhaps more than anyone else who succeeded in conveying this sense of mystery and of the unattainable. A master of the art of light and shade, instead of

casting an even light over all parts of his pictures, he confined the light largely to one part, and steeped the others in shadow or impenetrable darkness, thus utilizing atmospheric effects to produce the sense of mystery. In all of his pictures "there is a subtle, indefinite sense of something held back, half-hidden behind an ethereal film of color."[1]

Raphael and culmination of Renaissance art

Far different from the restless genius of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, seeking to reach and portray the depths of human character, was that of the joyous Raphael, upon whom, as the favorite artist of two Popes, fortune showered all that might be desired of wealth and fame. A lover of color and rhythm, a true exponent of the Renaissance love of beauty for beauty's sake, he more than any other Renaissance artist harmonized the Christian spirit with the ideal of classical art. His art is exterior, "full of a slumbrous peace, radiant with golden color, undisturbed by the enigma of life, content with the loveliness of the surrounding world."[2] Through his ability to receive impressions from all other artists and to assimilate and adapt them to his own work his art became an embodiment of many ideas. He was, moreover, the first great master of pictorial composition, the art of selecting artistic features and arranging them according to nature or after some artificial manner. He was perhaps the most prolific of the great painters and is best known for his many madonnas, his frescoes in the Vatican, and his portrait of Julius II.

Venetian painting

Instead of seeking to express beauty through design as other Italian artists had done, the Venetians specialized in harmony of colors and play of light, leading all others in the warmth and charm of coloring and picturesqueness of composition. There were no sharply drawn lines in their pictures, but objects merged their soft outlines into the atmosphere. Colors penetrating one another and glowing in a splendor until then unrivalled in pictorial art, "reflections playing upon surfaces," "transparent shadows taking on color," characterized their work. With Bellini (1428–1516), Venetian painters transformed landscape painting from a mere accessory to a prominent art. They were wealthy, pleasure-loving men of the world, possessing none of the intellectual curiosity or deep penetration of Leonardo da Vinci or Michelangelo. In them the moral sentiment was surpassed by the sensual, the worship of life, love, and beauty.

Titian

Titian was the greatest artist of the Venetian school and by many was regarded as the leading world artist of his time. Throughout his long life he kept "the middle path of perfection," creating everything in perfect harmony. His "Assumption of Madonna" is one of the greatest oil paintings in the world and is noted for its exquisite blending of light and color. He was in great demand as a portrait painter. The most famous personages of his time, Charles V, Philip II, the Pope, generals, princes, poets, and scholars, posed before him. What

[1] E. M. Hulme, *Renaissance and Reformation*, p. 384.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 384.

makes their portraits so life-like was Titian's great ability to express reality just as he saw it.

German painting

While Italian art was noted for its frescoes, German art, while also producing paintings, was peculiarly characterized by its engravings on wood or copper. Both Dürer (1471–1528) and Holbein (1497–1543), the two most famous German artists, were noted engravers. Their art is characterized by a keen study and interest in nature in all its minutest details. Horses and dogs, cows and pigs, insects and birds, bark of trees and rocks covered with moss are executed with as scrupulous care as are the faces, forms, and apparel of men. Holbein neglects none of the wrinkles or hollows in the human features. While excelling in exactness of presentation, German artists generally failed to distinguish, as did the Italians, the important details and to express the thoughts and emotions called forth by nature.

Dutch painting

Dutch painting, since Calvinism disapproved church decoration, was mostly employed in rich burghers' houses or in town halls. Little attention was paid to religious or historic themes. Instead, scenes of every-day life and many portraits of individuals or groups—corporations, civic guards, directors of trading companies, judges and sheriffs—were executed in realistic manner. As sincere lovers of nature, the Dutch created many fine landscapes. Many noted artists were the product of this school, such as Jan Van Ruysdael (d.1682), the greatest landscape painter of Holland, Frans Hals (d.1666), who "observed and recorded laughter in all its phases," and Rembrandt (1609–1669), greatest of them all, noted for his creation of luminous atmosphere, or the blending of brilliant light with deep shadow. He was interested in nearly every type of theme. Some of his most noted paintings are "The Night Watch," "The Syndics," "The Philosophers," and "The Supper at Emmaus."

Flemish painting

Before the great development of Italian art the Flemish had led European artists in oil painting. Flanders may boast in Rubens (1577–1640) one of the great artists. His remarkable fecundity resulted in the creation of at least 2,235 paintings comprising portraits and religious, historical, allegorical, domestic, and festival themes. Among his paintings "The Rising of the Cross," "The Descent from the Cross," "The Crucifixion," and "The Battle of the Amazons" occupy a leading place. His work is characterized by grandiose style, beautiful forms, and rich colors, but it is sometimes marred by lack of depth and a tendency to grossness. Rubens' greatest pupil, Van Dyck (1599–1641), who spent much of his life in Italy and England, became the favorite portrait painter of princes and great ladies. His pictures of the Stuart family are well known among English-speaking peoples.

French painting

French artistic genius showed its independence rather in such accessory branches of art as the illumination of books, miniature painting, painted glass for church windows, and tapestry. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries France was too troubled with wars, too poor, to develop much art except in sheltered places. In northern

France the influence of Flemish art was strongly felt, while Italian influences were first introduced by the papal court at Avignon and later came to prevail under the Valois kings in their chateaux along the Loire River and at Fontainebleau. Attracted by the art they observed while on their military expeditions to Italy, they induced many famous artists, such as da Vinci, Benvenuto Cellini, Andrea del Sarto, Rosso, and Primaticcio, to decorate their palaces.

Spanish painting

Spanish Renaissance painting found its great exponent in El Greco, a Greek, born in Crete in 1455, who settled at Toledo in 1575. His pictures represent Spain during the period when it was imbued with the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. His picture "Christ Driving the Traders from the Temple" is an allegory of the purification of the Church by Loyola. Spanish art, like French art, was subject to both Flemish and Italian influences. It was very strongly affected by an Italian artist Caravaggio (1569–1609), who, deserting the ideal, painted in somber colors, and in sharp contrasts of light and shade, violent episodes of real life, such as murders, tavern scenes, and adventures of gypsies and vagabonds. Among Spanish painters Ribera (1588–1652) delighted in presenting, after this manner, tortures and martyrdoms. "Beggars and old men with deep wrinkles were his favorite models." The greatest of Spanish painters, Velasquez (1590–1660), broke away from these tendencies. His work is admired for its technique, its delicate tints and clear coloring. He presented the Spanish Court society in all its melancholy pride and physical degeneracy. Murillo (1617–1682) was the interpreter of that tender, sensuous piety common among Spaniards.

Sculpturing

Object, materials and themes of Renaissance sculpturing

Sculpturing during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was still in demand chiefly for sacred edifices. Sculptures were placed around and over the portals of churches, and sometimes entire façades were covered with statues in niches and with reliefs in figured or decorative design. Doors were frequently cast in bronze and adorned with reliefs. Sculptured altars, pulpits, choir-galleries, fonts, tabernacles, candlesticks, crucifixes, single or large groups of statues, and large sculptured tombs ranged along the walls decorated church interiors. However, all sculpturing was not confined to churches, for palaces and even private houses had sculptured friezes and chimney pieces, carved or molded ceilings, statues, and busts. Squares and gardens were adorned with statues, fountains, and vases. Bronze and marble were employed in the more expensive work, while cheaper yet durable materials were discovered in terra cotta, which might be glazed, and in stucco. Classic myths were frequently respresented in civic or domestic sculpturing, though seldom in church adornment, which naturally favored sacred themes.

Though sculpturing found closer association with classic art than painting did, that of the early Renaissance possessed distinct qualities

Early Renaissance sculpturing distinct from Classical

that differentiated it from Greek or Roman models. Instead of attempting to be idealistic through excluding the ugly and emphasizing the beautiful, as ancient sculptors had done, the sculptors of the Renaissance sought rather to be realistic or true to nature, presenting the disagreeable when it could be more faithful to the subject by doing so. While the Greek artist studied the different sections of the anatomy in many models and fused them together in one typical figure, the fifteenth-century sculptor, by seeking to represent one specific person, individualized his art. The classical artist considered the head no more than other parts of the body, whereas the Renaissance master was concerned with portraying through the body, and especially through the countenance, the thought and passion experienced by the subject. The former sought to suggest repose, while the latter sought to express active thought and feeling.

Donatello typical of early Renaissance

No better example of these characteristics of early Renaissance sculpturing is afforded than the work of Donatello (1386–1466). His group of prophets and patriarchs for the cathedral and campanile of Florence were "highly individualized portraits of withered old men." Their pronounced features, wrinkles, protruding bones, muscles, and veins, their emaciation, were certainly not classical, but realistic, representing wiry energy, purity, and asceticism. Into his figures he infused thought. His statue of St. George is distinguished from that of a classical hero by the expression of chivalrous nobility and Christian heroism conveyed by the head; while his large equestrian statue of Gattamelata, the first great portrait of a general on horseback since the days of Rome, represents in its features the craftiness of a military strategist.

Ghiberti's pictorial sculpturing

Renaissance sculpturing was likewise distinguished from the classical by the employment of highly pictorial reliefs with deep perspectives of landscape, sometimes called pictorial sculpturing. Ghiberti (1378–1455) was the greatest master of this art. His achievement was the second and third bronze doors to the baptistry at Florence, the one containing in twenty-eight compartments the life of Christ, the Evangelists, and Latin Fathers; the other, episodes from the Old Testament, arranged in ten panels. An elaborate landscape of rocks and foliage, or architecture, is used, and to give the effect of a deep perspective there is a series of planes "gradually diminishing in height of relief until they vanish into the background," and so merging into one another that they create the illusion of one continuously receding plane. The grace and delicacy of the many figures reveal the hand of the practiced goldsmith, in which trade Ghiberti was first trained. He devoted most of his life to his Florentine masterpiece, laboring upon it from 1402 to 1452.

Della Robbia's terra cotta work

Luca Della Robbia (1400–1482) won renown in sculpturing by applying the shining enamel of different colors, formerly used in glazing pottery, to terra cotta statues. The secret of this art, so popular for its beautiful effects, remained in Della Robbia's family for about

a hundred years and was lost in the sixteenth century with the death of his last artistic descendant. He is likewise noted for his ability to express in his sculpturing "intense and tender devotion." His nephew Andrea Della Robbia added a touch of sentiment to his work.

Michelangelo the greatest Renaissance sculptor

Although almost equally famed as an architect and painter, Michelangelo was in all his work essentially a sculptor. This was the branch of art which he preferred and in which he considered himself best qualified. Even in painting, his figures were large and statuesque. He nevertheless broke sharply with those who employed architectural and landscape backgrounds, perspective effects, and elaborate compositions in their sculpturing. His whole interest was centered in the human form. This he rendered in heroic proportions, with the minutest attention to anatomical detail. The slender, graceful body and the beautifully expressive head of his David, the long, glossy beard of his Moses with "the hairs, so difficult to render in sculpture . . . so soft and downy that it seems as if the iron chisel must have been a brush," the "sorrow more beautiful than beauty itself" expressed by Mary for her dead son, in his "Pieta," afford sufficient illustration of his power.

Sculpturing outside Italy

Renaissance sculpturing beyond Italian frontiers was characterized by a combination of the Italian style with Gothic and naturalistic tendencies. It was generally employed for the decoration of architecture rather than for its own intrinsic value as statuary. Its development was impeded in Germany, England and Holland by the opposition of Protestant reformers and by the disasters of war, particularly the Thirty Years' War.

French sculpturing

In France, Francis I was responsible for introducing many Italian artists, who adorned with sculpturing the chateaux of the Loire valley. Under the Italian Primaticcio (1504–1570) he set up a veritable school of sculpturing at his forest palace of Fontainebleau. The French school was distinguished from the Italian by the charm of femininity of its figures, and under Jean Goujon (1520–1566), the greatest native French sculptor, was famous for the sense of grace conveyed by the undulating garments, such as those of his fountain nymphs. In the seventeenth century, under the influence of Louis XIV, pompous monuments and tombs were the principal achievements of this art.

Flemish sculpturing

The Flemish, instead of importing Italian teachers, journeyed to Italy to learn for themselves. In their hands the details of Italian sculpturing underwent fanciful changes. Delighting in portraying capricious proportions and undue agitation in the human body, in giving whimsical shapes to ornamental detail, and in curious architectural compositions, they conceived sculpturing merely as a decorative art in which the individual figure was not considered so important as its general effect in the whole monument. Further peculiarities which distinguished Flemish sculpturing are its use in pretentious fireplaces, wooden choir-stalls, and high elaborately carved pulpits

and altars. The Flemish style exerted a great influence in many countries of Europe, but especially in England and Germany, where sculpturing had earlier received a more direct Italian impulse.

Spanish sculpturing

In sixteenth-century Spain, under the patronage of Charles V and Philip II, a more monumental sculpture was developed under the guidance of Italian and French masters. Fancilli's tomb of Ferdinand and Isabella, the bronzes of Charles V and Philip II and their families in the Escorial are all works by Italian artists in Spain. Religious passion was expressed in the work of Alonso Berrugueto (1486–1561), the greatest native Spanish sculptor, by the use of contortions and emaciation. Many Spanish statues were of wood and, following Moorish and naturalistic tendencies, were colored sometimes with garish brilliancy.

Architecture

Civil architecture

Of the three fine arts, architecture underwent during the Italian Renaissance the least important development. Nevertheless, a characteristic Renaissance style was evolved by fusing medieval forms with those of antiquity. Turning after a neglect of ten centuries to the ruins of Imperial Roman baths, temples, tombs, forums and triumphal arches, architects sought, instead of using them as quarries, to utilize the suggestions found there, blending them with those of medieval construction. Civil architecture for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire became more important than religious. It was the age of massive palaces built by Italian nobles around quadrangular courts with columned porticoes. While the exteriors still frequently retained the character of medieval fortresses with solid surfaces, there were the beginnings of a tendency to lighten the interiors and break the monotony with large windows regularly placed, while decorated cornices and gables were added. It was, however, in the interiors that the classic influence was most clearly seen. Here were arcades and rows of columns, while the walls were frequently decorated with magnificent friezes, or—if of wood—were paneled and the ceilings coffered. In direct contrast to this tendency toward display may be noted the fact that the general shape of rooms and buildings was patterned after the simple horizontal lines of Greek architecture, or the round arches of Roman structures. Thanks to the influence of Michelangelo, the early Renaissance custom of adorning panels and pillars with leaves, flowers, and vines was abandoned, and simple Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian orders adopted.

Church architecture

The Renaissance church architecture differs from the Gothic in its use of the cupola, in its substitution of pillars for clustered columns, in its employment of the barrel vault or horizontal coffered ceilings, and in its use of many columns, pediments, and niches on the exterior. Michelangelo inspired a taste for the colossal and for straining after effect, which by the close of the sixteenth century had developed into a degenerate style known as the Baroque, characterized by a preference

for the curved line. The interior of the churches of this later period was dominated by the Jesuit style, which attempted to dazzle the eye with variety of ornamentation, and thereby spoilt much of the effect of form.

Dome

Perhaps the most pronounced attainment of the Renaissance church architecture was the dome. The two most famous of these domes were that of the cathedral at Florence and that of St. Peter's at Rome. The former was the work of the first great architect of the Renaissance, Brunelleschi. Domes previous to this time, while presenting an imposing appearance from the inside, were inconspicuous and even hidden from sight when viewed from the outside. This was due to the fact that the drums on which they rested were usually extended upwards so far that the domes were partly concealed, and in many cases were completely covered by a timber roof which projected over them, thus hiding them from sight. The wealthy Florentines, filled with civic pride, wished a dome of such imposing appearance that it would dominate their city. Brunelleschi succeeded in constructing a vast pointed dome rising one hundred and twenty feet from an octagonal drum, every part of which from base to summit was visible. Having the dome of the ancient Roman pantheon in mind, he used principles which enabled him to give it much of the soaring qualities of the Gothic spire, while retaining its Roman massiveness.

St. Peter's

The most stupendous piece of architecture, the combined work of the architects and artists of two centuries, was St. Peter's. This, the largest church ever built, covers 225,000 square feet. It is characterized by its size, its huge dome, and by Bernini's double collonade in front of the building, "which gives the whole piazza the appearance of a vast vestibule before the church."

Architecture in northern Europe

The Renaissance architecture was not readily accepted by the northern nations. Introduced by French, German and English princes and nobles, and utilized for their country houses and palaces, it was only slowly adopted for church building. As a result of the many years of military activity in the Italian peninsula, knowledge of Italian architecture as well as of other arts was carried to other nations, especially France. At first the Italian influence was felt in the increased decoration of the existing Gothic style, but after 1550 architects began to build large unobstructed windows and heavy cornices with flat roofs, in place of the mullioned windows and steep roofs of late French Gothic and English Jacobean.

Exotic influences upon art

Although overseas expansion had little influence upon the branches of art thus far described,[1] it did have a considerable effect upon such lesser arts as jewelry, silver and gold plate, and chinaware making, and the designing of patterns for tapestry and wall paper. During

[1] A few drawings and paintings picturing American Indians and exotic fruits, some wood carving dealing with overseas subjects, and leaden images and statues (for garden decoration) of ostriches and other strange fauna seem to comprise the exotic influence exerted on painting and sculpturing.

the sixteenth century silver whistles resembling boatswain's pipes and ornamented with mermaids, sirens, or seahorses were worn by English ladies as pendants, and by men on gold chains. Pendants representing anchors, dolphins, negro heads, the ship jewel representing Drake's famous vessel, and another celebrating the defeat of the Armada were popular in Elizabethan England. At first the increased supply of jewels from overseas resulted in the style of setting them in glittering masses, but as more diamonds were imported these came to dominate all other gems. Sea monsters, dolphins, shells, and ocean waves were engraved on silver and goldware. Cups were manufactured from cocoanuts, ostrich eggs, and nautilus shells. The handles of spoons were shaped in the image of Buddha. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, silverware was engraved with Chinese landscapes and figures, and with exotic animals and plants, probably copied from the porcelain and lacquer work imported from the Orient; while in the china which began to be manufactured in Europe, Oriental designs were frequently copied as closely as it was possible to imitate them. Tapestries with Hindu and Indo-Chinese designs and blue wall paper with Japanese and Indian designs were manufactured. Even in painting, however, overseas expansion was not entirely without influence. Maritime and adventurous themes were frequently and vividly treated, and exotic beauties, *e.g.*, Pocahontas, came to vie with the Virgin Mary in popularity as a subject for artists.

Music

Influence of Reformation on music

Modern music, unlike the other arts, was formed without borrowing from antiquity and with little guidance from tradition. What crude music existed during the Middle Ages was mostly church music. It was, therefore, only natural that the greatest progress should first be made in sacred music. Martin Luther, himself passionately fond of music, realized the great rôle it might play in his new religion. Medieval masses had been written to be sung by expert musicians. Luther wished all the people to take part in congregational singing. Just as he had sought to provide a Bible and service books written in such simple language that the people could understand them, so he sought to simplify and make accessible sacred music. Gathering the old Latin chants and hymns, assisted by four associates, he selected, translated, and corrected those which he wished to use, added Moravian and old German religious songs, as well as popular airs, and besides composed new hymns. The whole was harmonized by Henry Isaac, and published in 1524 as the first popular choral or hymn book in history. This book had great importance in musical history as it was free from complicated notes and open to the least experienced singer. It created "a new musical language" for the people. Calvin, like Luther, realized the power of music, but he insisted on a closer use of the Bible, and had the psalms of David set to music and chanted in Calvinist churches.

Reform in Catholic Church music

The Catholic Church felt the need of meeting this development of music in the Protestant Churches. Besides, the Church had indulgently allowed the words and airs of secular songs to creep into the music of the mass and the instrumental accompaniment was often both inappropriate and discordant. The Pope and the Council of Trent took the matter in hand. A commission consisting of eight cardinals was appointed in 1564 to undertake the reform. Fortunately a genius was at hand in the person of Giovanni Pier Luigi da Palestrina (1514–1594). Requested by two of the cardinals to submit a musical setting for the mass, he submitted three, one of which, the "Mass of Pope Marcellus," was his greatest masterpiece. During his lifetime he wrote no less than ninety-four masses and many hymns. His music is the first which can be truly called masterly and be compared with the work of the great artists in other fields. Around him was formed the famous papal school of music, and at that time Italy took from Belgium the leadership in music.

Opera and oratorio

Italy was likewise responsible for the development of the opera and the oratorio. Music was much in demand there for grand ballets, court processions, and fêtes, and was employed to give greater dramatic force to the tragic or comic episodes presented. Turning to ancient Greek music for inspiration, the Italians failed to discover Greek harmony, but in their endeavors created the modern science of harmony. Dramatic episodes were then set to music and thus occurred the first crude beginnings of modern opera.

About the middle of the sixteenth century Philip Neri founded at Rome the order of Oratorians and built a church called the Oratory. Here he was accustomed to have biblical stories enacted to the music of choruses, solos, and musical instruments. These sacred pageants were called oratorios after the order and its church. Later musical recitation was added, forming the first modern oratorio.

At the very time when modern music was beginning, the important technical achievement was accomplished of applying printed characters to musical notes, and in 1501 the first printed music book, under the title of *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton*, was published. This prepared the way for making available throughout Europe the work of musical composers.

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PART III

THE REFORMATION AND RELIGIOUS WARS

CHAPTER VIII

THE BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMATION

The Position Occupied by the Church in European Affairs

Christianity at opening of sixteenth century

By far the most important institution at the opening of the modern era was the Roman Catholic Church. Its control reached over all European peoples except those in Greece, the Balkans, and Russia who recognized instead the Orthodox Church of the East. Originally, when the Roman Emperors had accepted Christianity, that religion had spread over western Asia and northern Africa, but during the Middle Ages it had lost its hold upon all lands outside Europe.[1] These had been taken by the Mohammedans who, during the hundred years following the foundation of the Moslem faith in Arabia by Mohammed, had conquered western Asia and northern Africa and thence had expanded across Persia and Turkestan into India. With the Moors Mohammedanism had temporarily occupied Spain, and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the Turks, it had seized Constantinople, had occupied the Balkans, Greece, and part of Hungary, and threatened to overwhelm Christendom itself.

The first years of the sixteenth century saw the delivery of successful Christian attacks upon the Mohammedan strongholds in northern Africa and in the East Indies. At the same time, western Christendom embarked on its career of carrying the gospel to the furthermost parts of the earth, to the newly discovered continents of America and to the Far East. As the great German historian, Ranke, remarked, it was a strange coincidence that at this very time there occurred the Reformation which transformed and divided the Church.

Meaning of Reformation

The Reformation, properly understood, consisted of two phases: the Protestant Revolt from the Roman Catholic Church, accompanied by reforms in Church practices and by the founding of new Church organizations like the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican, according to the ideas of the reformers and their supporters; and, on the other hand, the counter-movements of reform within the Catholic Church itself, which saved for it the allegiance of much of Europe. To understand how these changes came about one must take into careful consideration, (1) the position the Roman Catholic Church had held in the life and affairs of Europe and why this was now difficult, if not impossible, to maintain; (2) the declining efficiency and power of its organization and the increase of grievances against it; (3) the forces, such as Humanism, reviving conscience, and growth of nationalism, which led toward change; (4) the immediate occasion of the German revolt led by Luther.

[1] Unorthodox Christians, however, were to be found in Abyssinia and in scattered communities elsewhere.

Church's spiritual power

The Church, originating in the early Christian communities formed by the Apostles, had come to be thought of as a unified or catholic organization. It had risen to power and influence by converting and civilizing the peoples of western Europe. Starting as a simple Christian brotherhood, it had developed elaborate creeds little understood by the masses, and many rites and ceremonies which inspired them with reverence. Man was made to feel his dependence upon the Church as an intercessor between himself and his Creator. To the Greeks and Romans religion had been an affair of enlisting the aid of the gods for earthly success and enjoyment. It was thought to be of little use to worry about a hereafter which was beyond human control and which presented little prospect for either happiness or sorrow. On the contrary, Christianity considered life on earth as but a brief and uninteresting sojourn compared to existence after death with its prospect of indescribable joy or endless suffering. The Church taught that everyone's fate depended largely upon itself, since to it had been entrusted the performance of certain mystic rites or sacraments, without which none might hope to be saved.

Sacraments

Seven sacraments were accepted by the Catholic Church of the sixteenth century; baptism, confirmation, holy eucharist, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and matrimony. It was taught that baptism cleansed from original and personal sin; confirmation strengthened with the Holy Ghost as the first Christians had been strengthened at Pentecost; and extreme unction administered on the death bed sped the departing to his heavenly home with his soul relieved of the burden of sin. While these sacraments were important, it was the right to administer the sacraments of the holy eucharist and penance which gave the clergy their great spiritual hold upon the lives and thoughts of the masses.

Holy Eucharist

Around the holy eucharist, or sacrament of the Lord's Supper, grew up the elaborate ceremonies and ritual of the mass. This, rather than the sermon, became the center about which all Catholic worship revolved, and in honor of which splendid cathedrals and churches were erected, for the bread representing Christ's body and the wine representing Christ's blood, it was believed, were changed by the miracle of transubstantiation into the actual body and blood of the Savior. Only the priest, it was believed, through his ordination was able to perform this miracle. It was still further thought that by this sacrament Christ was again offered as a sacrifice to God as he had been offered on the Cross. It was said that the same nourishing effect which food imparts to the physical body was thus given to the spiritual life and that the renewed sacrifice of Christ in the mass was efficacious toward relieving not only the sins of the living but also those of the dead.

Penance

Upon his ordination the priest, besides the power to perform the miracle of the mass, also received, it was believed, the power of forgiving sins and absolving the sinner from them. Penance consisted

first in the sinner's examining his conscience, grieving for his sins, and resolving to sin no more. He was then to confess orally to the priest all those sins he could recall, upon which, the priest, if he was satisfied that he truly repented, absolved him of guilt and imposed the penalty or penance. Mere sorrow, it was believed, could not atone for the evil which had been committed, and therefore this must be paid for in this world by the penalties imposed by the priest or purged after death in the fires of purgatory, for all faults must be removed before heaven might be entered. This penance might consist of prayer, fasting, making a pilgrimage to some shrine, or in a gift of money for some charitable or church enterprise.

Indulgences

Besides the sacraments, the sinner, if he proved faithful to the Church, it was believed, might hope for the aid of the Virgin Mary and of the saints in interceding for him. Moreover, it was taught that the Church had in her keeping the treasury of merit and might grant indulgences drawn upon it. When Christ had suffered on the cross more merit had been created than was required to save all those then living. This superabundant merit, increased by that resulting from the life of Christ's mother, Mary, and that from the lives of all the saints who had earned more merit than was necessary for their own salvation, was entrusted to the Church. It might be released at the discretion of the Pope to relieve sinners of part or all of the punishment for their sins. This release of merit to the sinner was called an indulgence. To obtain an indulgence the sinner was first to repent truly and confess his sins to a priest. He must then pay penance for his sin. Just preceding the Reformation indulgences were widely sold in a most indiscriminate and mercenary fashion.

Church organization and temporal power

Fully as impressive as its spiritual authority was the Church's temporal power and the manner in which it entered and influenced every worldly activity. The Church was organized like an international state after the model of the Roman Empire, with Rome as the capital and the Pope as its ruler. Europe was divided into ecclesiastical provinces over each of which was an archbishop. The provinces were separated into dioceses over which were bishops, and each diocese into parishes with their priests. The Church further strengthened its hold through the many monastic orders with vast possessions scattered throughout every European country, and through the orders of wandering, preaching friars who defended papal supremacy, and were all directly subject to the Papacy in discipline and doctrine.

This vast ecclesiastical empire, reaching into every state, sought to keep itself as free as possible from interference by secular governments. The Church had its own law, called canon law, formed from the decretals of the Popes and the decisions of the church councils. It had its own courts by which all who served it in any church position and all tenants on church lands, or students, crusaders, orphans and widows under church protection were tried. Here likewise many cases dealing with wills, contracts and deeds, as well as

those concerning perjury, blasphemy, adultery, heresy, and usury, were heard.

The secular government generally stood ready to carry out the execution of those convicted of heresy by the church courts, and all men after being baptised into the Church at birth were thus compelled to accept its teachings. The Church was likewise maintained by compulsory taxes, called tithes and estimated as a tenth of all the produce of Christendom, as well as by its court fines and fees, and the gifts of the faithful, who endowed it with lands so extensive that they comprised nearly a third of all those of European nations. These, it maintained, were not taxable by the secular state.

Temporal power of Pope

This mighty structure had been ruled for centuries by Popes who were among the most powerful and often the ablest sovereigns of their time. As successors of the Apostle Peter, to whom it was believed Christ had entrusted the Church, they claimed divine authority, Innocent III declaring "that what he did, God did, through him." Relying upon such vast powers and upon the precedence which it claimed over all earthly royalty, the Papacy had throughout the long history of the Church many times interfered in European politics. It was the Pope who crowned the Holy Roman Emperor. Laws of any state which he considered harmful to the Church's interest he felt at liberty to declare void and forbid their observance. He claimed, furthermore, the right to hear any case in which the canon law was involved which might be appealed to him from foreign courts. He was the international authority of that day, to whom disputes between sovereigns were sometimes referred for arbitration. An excellent example of this is afforded by the celebrated bull of Alexander VI, which divided the newly discovered world between Spain and Portugal, a settlement which none ventured to dispute until Protestantism arose. Sovereigns after warfare gave greater force to the ratification of their treaties by obtaining the papal signature. When common perils, such as the danger from the Turks, threatened Christian Europe all turned to Rome to initiate concerted international action.

Power of Pope over Church

Over the Church itself the Pope came to be recognized as the supreme law-giver, judge, and administrator. Although during the first centuries of the Christian Church, its laws had been made by great church councils, and although as late as the fifteenth century a considerable party attempted to secure regularly meeting councils which should be superior to the Pope in legislation, by the early part of the sixteenth century the Pope had succeeded in obtaining general recognition of his claim to be the supreme legislator. No council in future might enact laws without his approval. Church cases were not only appealed to the Pope, but he exercised the right to dispense with all except divine laws. As administrator he confirmed the appointment of, and sometimes selected, the archbishops and bishops, and had direct control over religious orders. Besides, he ruled over the city of Rome and the Papal States like any secular prince.

To give dignity to his office he maintained a splendid court protected by papal guards and a papal army. The vast business to be transacted at the papal court required a multitude of secretaries, lawyers, and other officials. As special councillors the Pope chose prominent churchmen, at first taken from the churches of Rome but later selected from the various countries of Europe. These were known as cardinals and held the rank of princes of the Church. Together with the papal officials they composed the papal curia. The cardinals upon the death of the Pope were entrusted with the task of choosing his successor. The papal court was maintained by fees required for the business transacted there and by special taxes levied upon all Christians. *Papal court*

Medieval society had been constructed on the principle that Christian influence should be supreme in all the relations of life. This implied that no sphere of human interest should be exempt from spiritual authority and concern. All the universities and schools were in the hands of the clergy, and all students were granted the privileges of the clergy. The authors of books were almost all churchmen. Thus the Church was able profoundly to influence the thought of the time. The monasteries still cared for the poor and the sick, taking the place of modern almshouses and hospitals. Bishops often ruled territories as great as those of secular princes and occupied positions beside the great nobles in the diets and parliaments of nations. Ecclesiastics, since they were almost the only educated people, since they were more conscientious, since there was less fear of their seeking to steal away the king's power, and since they could support themselves by using their great Church incomes, were made ambassadors, ministers, and chancellors of sovereigns and were everywhere active in politics. The Church also played its rôle in business affairs because of its vast possessions, its control of contracts, and its machinery for regulating the conduct of business. *Ecclesiastical influence in secular affairs*

As may clearly be seen, the Church during the Middle Ages had been the great restraining, organizing, and civilizing force. Converting the barbarians, it had taught them and led them to the forms of settled life. It had imparted to Europeans a sense of solidarity in withstanding other races of the world, which feudalism and the Empire had failed to do. By furnishing a common standard of life and thought and acting as a link between Roman and German ideals and practices, it furthered the development of an orderly European civilization. It preserved the Roman legal traditions, the Latin language, and parts of Latin literature. It patronized art and music, and much is owed to monastic builders and agriculturists who frequently furnished the models for their time. It imparted a spirit of charity to society, of chivalrous ideals to knighthood, and of fair dealing to business. It helped to check and ameliorate feudal warfare, and was the one great force toward promoting justice between rulers. It raised the standards of family morality. By opening a career to all, and by asserting the *Contribution of Church to civilization*

equality of man before God, it kept alive a spirit of democracy, and many of the greatest Popes had risen from the humblest surroundings.

Inevitableness of change in Church's position

Yet, in spite of all these great services and the powerful hold which it kept upon European life, the Church could not indefinitely maintain this position without adapting itself to the changes which were certain to take place in the growing society which it had found in its infancy and nursed to maturity. In many activities where its services or control were once vitally required they were now no longer desired and might even be an obstacle to progress.

Difficulties before Church

With the Renaissance had come an interest in Greek and Roman culture, whose ideals in their emphasis upon man's earthly life differed profoundly from those of the Church. A secular learning arose among scholars who felt competent to assume direction of education, thus lessening the Church's control of thought and of the learned professions. Likewise, the new interest in science came into conflict with dogmatic ecclesiastical assertions concerning the universe, and with the Church's hostility to investigation of hidden truth. The new spirit of inquiry influenced religious belief itself. Many Christians began to refuse to accept without question what the Church chose to reveal concerning religious truth and refused also to depend upon the sacraments for salvation.

In economic affairs, the great commercial expansion and the development of capitalism led to impatience with the restraints upon business freedom which the Church had been instrumental in bringing about; especially the restrictions upon interest-taking. Moreover, the new business men, aroused as never before to the possibilities of employing capital in gainful pursuits, and little appreciating the devotion which had lavished money upon the Church for cathedrals and monasteries and the maintenance of countless clergy, considered these expenditures wasteful and unproductive; while it is doubtless true in many cases that the people themselves, filled with new desires, gave more grudgingly where before they had willingly contributed.

The management of the great landed estates held by the monasteries, which had formerly served as a model for European agriculture, had deteriorated. This, together with the fact that the monastic lands might never be sold, and contributed little or no taxes to the state, was considered an obstacle to economic progress. As the monasteries lost more and more of their efficiency, while civil authorities became more capable, it came to be thought that the latter were better able than the former to undertake such benevolent enterprises as assistance to travelers, maintenance of the roads and bridges, and care of the sick and destitute, especially since the greater demands of a changing world generally required the application of new methods.

Conflict with rising nationalism

Above all, upon the rise of strong states like England, France, Spain, and Portugal with efficient governments, the activity of the Church in their secular affairs was no longer needed or desired. During feudal times when governments had been weak the Church had forced

the warring knights and lords to observe a truce in their warfare during part of the week, and when justice elsewhere was precarious, its courts had sought to give fair decisions; but now in many states strong monarchs had succeeded in stopping their barons from fighting one another and robbing the people and the royal courts were well organized. It was inevitable that a power like the Papacy, which had pretensions to establish itself as a superstate controlling all the others, should come into conflict with the growing national aspirations of European states and with the strong individualistic personalities of their sovereigns. Moreover, in such countries as Italy and the Germanies, which had failed to become strong united monarchies, some patriotic leaders looked upon the Church as a principal obstacle in the way. Everywhere, the freedom of the clergy and their dependents from the taxation and control of the secular government, the ecclesiastical courts, the right of sanctuary, which was a constant encouragement to crime, the Church's vast lands and large income from special taxes, brought forth increasing censure and protest.

Growing worldliness

To add still further to the Church's problem, society was becoming more worldly. Many men not only desired to escape from all forms of ecclesiastical restraint, but going further, they proclaimed the sufficiency of intellectual, esthetic, and sensuous enjoyments. The self-indulgence, extravagance, greed, and actual immorality which affected society are proved by the censure of reformers, by the extravagant and frequently obscene language of such contemporary authors as Rabelais, and by the sumptuary laws passed by the governments. Much of this laxity had come with the growth of an ever-aspiring and self-sufficient individualism characteristic of the humanistic movement and from the increased wealth and growing desires which accompanied an expanding world commerce and the discovery of material wealth in the New World. The Church, if it fulfilled its spiritual mission, had to keep its own servants pure in the face of greater temptations than ever before, and was forced to seek a way to re-spiritualize a large and leading portion of society.

Unfitness of Church in crisis

Under all these circumstances the Church's position was critical, although at the time it was far from realizing the seriousness or even the existence of the problem. Could it cope with the prevailing evil and at the same time adjust itself to the changed position to which it had fallen, or would it, as is generally the case with vested interests of long standing, refuse to conform? Whatever it did it was certain to lose something, but if it proved true to its trust and was possessed of wise leadership it might hope for an altered but still vast power. Unfortunately it was lacking in all these qualities; still worse it was suffering from pronounced abuses which lost it the sympathy and support of those who were responsible for the Protestant revolt, men who might otherwise have been the Church's most loyal defenders in its hour of need.

The Growing Weakness in Church Organization

Babylonian captivity

To understand the decline in efficiency in Church organization it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1309 upon the election of a French Pope, Clement V, the French government induced him to change his capital to Avignon, an autonomous city in southern France. Here the Popes resided until 1376, and since they were much under the influence of the French kings their stay at Avignon was called the "Babylonian Captivity" and greatly weakened their prestige in the rest of Europe. An effort to transfer the papacy back to Rome still further decreased the papal influence by creating the Great Schism (1378–1417) during which two Popes, one in Rome and one in Avignon, shared the Church's allegiance.

Church councils and Papacy

The Council of Pisa, 1409, made matters worse by its attempt to end the schism, which resulted in a third pope being chosen, all three simultaneously contesting the control of ecclesiastical affairs. The Council of Constance (1414–1418) saved the situation by deposing all three and restoring unity, but it could not return to the Pope his prestige and the confidence which Europe had once reposed in him. Moreover, it inaugurated a struggle for supremacy between the Papacy and church councils which, while it lasted, weakened the Church. At both the Council of Constance and that of Basle (1431–1443), the attempt was made to place the government of the Church in the hands of the national churches, which were to be represented in general church councils which should meet at short intervals. Although this plan was supported by some sovereigns and had to be temporarily accepted by a weakened papacy, the Pope soon afterwards succeeded in reasserting his authority and declared void all decrees limiting his supremacy.

Rivalry between Pope and cardinals

By the end of the fifteenth century, the Pope had to encounter another danger to his authority, this time from the cardinals. These princes of the Church, possessing the privilege of choosing the Popes and closely associated with them in the conduct of ecclestiastical business, had, according to the plans formed at the Council of Constance, been limited to twenty-four in number. It was intended that they should be drawn proportionately from different nations, as were the representatives to the councils, and should provide further check upon the papacy. All during the fifteenth century, at every election of a Pope, they had sought to take away his powers by demanding pledges for their votes. In order to gain control the Popes disregarded the limitation imposed by the Council of Constance and, by increasing the number of cardinals to forty-four, packed the sacred college with their friends and largely diminished the proportion of cardinals from other nations. Henceforth the curia was freed from international influence. At the same time the government of the Church, through the failure of both church councils and cardinals to place it under international control, was unable to keep the sympathy of the na-

tional churches and the chances for peaceful reform within the Church were greatly lessened.

Secularization of Papacy

Another most unfortunate outcome of the cutting off of international influence was the secularization of the papacy. By removing a wider European control it was subjected to the endless quarrels and intrigues of Italian princes. The independence and at times even the safety of the Popes was threatened by the turbulent nobles who filled Rome and the Papal States. The cardinals lived in fortified palaces and the Vatican was closely guarded by soldiers. Each papal election degenerated into an attempt by rival Italian families supported by political factions to place their candidate upon the papal throne. At such times, and even during the Pope's lifetime, murder and violence were common. It was reported that during the sickness of Innocent VIII there were more than two hundred murders in eighteen days. Much of this anarchy was caused by the support of the disorderly elements by other Italian states such as Venice, Naples and Florence, which desired to keep the Pope's power weak and to expand their territories at his expense. In self-defense the papacy was drawn into an Italian policy and implicated in a maze of intrigues, alliances, and violence. By recourse to nepotism, the filling of offices with relatives; by increasing family possessions and power, which strengthened the reigning Pope but caused endless trouble for his successor; by creating a vast bureaucracy of servile officials; by allying with one Italian state against another; and by first siding with greater European powers against those Italian princes who were too strong and ambitious, and then becoming the rallying point against foreign aggression, the Popes managed to keep themselves powerful as temporal princes. Since, however, their energy was consumed in this way, all great designs were impossible and the papacy descended little by little to the position of a principality, and saw its universal character weakened.

Rise of national churches

Absorbed in temporal affairs, it was not able to resist an even greater danger to its authority than the church councils, the rising secular governments which frequently came between Rome and its clergy scattered throughout Christian lands. When European states became powerful the Popes could no longer deal freely with Church affairs except as they were permitted to do so by the sovereigns. Causes of friction such as appointments to bishoprics, the raising of taxes, the convocation of Church councils, citations of legal cases to the curia at Rome, even the sending of papal briefs or of legates, were made subjects of negotiation between the papacy and the sovereigns.

In England moreover, as early as the thirteenth century the alienation to the Church of further land was forbidden, and during the fourteenth century the Statute of Provisors forbade the Pope to appoint to English benefices, while the Statute of Praemunire prohibited appeals from English courts to Rome. Although these statutes, especially the two latter, were not always observed, they mark prog-

ress towards the formation of a national church. In France by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, together with a later agreement, almost the entire power of appointment, of jurisdiction, and of taxation was entrusted to the king. Even in Spain, where religious fervor was intense, the Spanish sovereigns secured the right to appoint the high Church officials and to tax the clergy. In Italy and Germany, where national unity was still lacking, the sovereigns of the various states such as Bavaria, Saxony, Venice, and Milan sought control of the Church within their lands. As will be seen later, this unsuccessful attempt to nationalize the Church in Germany was one of the main causes for the break with Rome which occurred there; while the fact that the French and Spanish churches were to a considerable extent under royal control proved to be one of the chief reasons why these countries remained Catholic.

Through these means was destroyed the international control which former Popes had exercised, and ecclesiastical discipline was weakened by the many concessions which had to be made. The lack of direct contact with church-members opened the way for misunderstandings. While sovereigns limited the power of the papacy within their domains, they were always eager to use it in their political intrigues and took good care to keep their agents at Rome, and in case compulsion was required, the specter of a general council and a religious revolution might be invoked.

Anarchic tendencies within Church

Not only was the Pope's control of the Church declining, but, although conditions varied throughout Europe, within its organization existed conflicting powers which caused confusion and the failure to cope with rising abuses. The bishops had difficulty in governing their dioceses. One of the main causes for this was patronage. Founders of churches usually became patrons, appointing and controlling their priests and sharing in the return from church dues. Out of 469 church positions in the diocese of Paris, 254 were conferred in this way. The patron was usually some religious organization such as an abbey, monastery, or chapter. Many of the appointees were canons or monks, often unfamiliar with and indifferent to the needs and traditions of their parish and recognizing only their patron's supervision. In this way whole groups of parishes were separated from the bishop's control. This proved an ever-present source of bitter quarrels.

Still another encroachment upon the bishop's power were the many religious communities such as monasteries, colleges, chapters, brotherhoods of wandering friars, and military orders like those which had fought the Moors in Spain. All these possessed property, often controlled much patronage, and recognized no control except that of Rome.

The number of those exempt from the bishop's authority was constantly increasing, since even simple communities of priests secured from the Pope exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. The bishops sometimes sought to check this tendency by getting themselves or

their friends elected as abbots of monasteries, not always with the best results, since as secular clergy they were no more able to sympathize with monastic aims than were the monks with those of the parish clergy.

Even worse was the rivalry with the cathedral chapters composed of canons who were supposed to assist the bishop. As a counter-weight to episcopal authority the Popes in some cases had allowed these chapters to obtain their independence from the bishop. In many dioceses continual scandals were created by lawsuits and by the abuse exchanged between the bishop and his faction on the one hand, and the canons on the other.

Under these discouraging circumstances it is no wonder that many bishops gave up in disgust the carrying out of their ecclesiastical duties and turned to the more pleasing prospects of a political rôle and the enjoyment of worldly pleasure. Meanwhile, many abuses in their dioceses which sadly needed control had a chance to develop unchecked.

Monastic discipline was affected by the same dangers as that of the rest of the Church. Individual monasteries refused to obey the mother monastery. Within each of them the offices became benefices and were subject to endless intrigues and the formation of objectives which destroyed the old ideal of equality. The preaching friars were a law unto themselves, and by their attacks upon the manners of other churchmen and their zeal in assuming the work of ordinary priests, were an uncontrolled element with possibilities of great good or great evil.

Evils Within the Church

Worldly character of clergy

Even more than lack of discipline, the character of the clergy affected the future of the Church. The Popes, themselves chosen in the midst of intrigues between rival factions, proved to be wordly princes absorbed in politics and in the more laudable design of making Rome a great intellectual and art center. The solemn splendor, the pomp, the empty etiquette, the banquets, the carnivals, and the receptions of artists, orators, and poets which characterized the papal court of the Renaissance period; the greed and self-seeking, the luxurious and frequently immoral living of its six or eight hundred officials fell far short of the spiritual ideal which it was supposed to represent. The bishops and abbots, taken from the feudal aristocracy, too often were "courtiers rather than priests," sovereigns of towns and whole territories who assumed the tastes and manners of their time. They lived luxurious lives as great lords in splendid palaces surrounded by many valets and pages to do their will. Leaving to assistants the administration of the sacraments, they served the king in council or on the battlefield, frequently engaging in the fighting, or enjoying the noble pastime of hunting.

Evils of benefice system

Since worldly conditions existed among the higher clergy, it was inevitable that much of the same spirit should reach the lower ranks. Here the situation was seriously affected by the abuses of the benefice system. A benefice was a church position conferred by the Pope, bishop, monastery, or secular ruler. These were often granted as favors or rewards regardless of the fitness of the recipient. Even children were sometimes given responsible positions. A common evil connected with the system was pluralism, or the holding of so many benefices at the same time that there was no possibility, even if there had been the desire, properly to fulfill the duties. This evil was prevalent among both the higher and lower clergy. An excellent example is afforded by the son of the Duke of Lorraine who held nine bishoprics, three archbishoprics, a cardinalate, and nine abbeys.

Under these circumstances, aided by general indifference, the evil of absenteeism developed, and by the end of the fifteenth century it was said that often a third part of the clergy did not reside in their benefices. Instead, subordinates were engaged to perform their duties for a portion of the income from the benefice. This practice had so far degenerated that even the substitute's position was often awarded to the one who could pay the most.

Situation in parishes

Under such conditions it was inevitable that the parishioners should suffer. Both training and an adequate means of livelihood were frequently denied to the priest who actually resided in the parish. Those from the upper and middle classes who entered the Church were educated in monastery schools and universities, and either followed careers as high church officials or as monks and canons, or, obtaining country benefices, provided substitutes to perform their duties for them. These subordinates came from the artisan or villein class and usually managed to acquire from some preceding parish priest only enough Latin and theology to get through the sacraments. Thus, except for the contribution of wandering friars, the mass of people was to a large degree deprived of the sacred learning of the Church.

Even worse, so little income was frequently left by the beneficeholder to his substitute that in the latter's struggle to live many quarrels arose with his superior, and his attempts to wring a living from the people by raising the taxes and fees frequently resulted in his being regarded by them as an extortioner. Failing of support from the Church, he often turned to other occupations, such as keeping the landlord's accounts and superintending his estate, or keeping a shop or an inn to supplement his revenue. Naturally this detracted from the performance of religious duties, and tended to secularize the parish clergy. Their character was coarsened by this as well as by their isolation, lack of education, and poverty. Imitating their betters, they engaged in many of the popular diversions of the time, not always harmless and even at times immoral. A common vice which affected the whole church system from the highest officials to the humblest priest was the disregard of the church law commanding celibacy for the clergy.

Conditions in monasteries

The evils of the benefice system not only affected the welfare of the parishes, but even the monasteries suffered from it. Bishops were sometimes placed over them in place of regular abbots. Unaccustomed to monastic rule, these frequently cared only to enrich themselves, allowing the buildings to deteriorate and the monks to suffer. Other monastic positions came to be controlled by the nobility, who chose their occupants rather for noble blood than for their dignity and wisdom, even at times selecting children. Secular clergy were sometimes given monastic positions. In the monasteries was likewise found the evil of absenteeism, a certain number of friars or abbots preferring to reside at some nobleman's or sovereign's court. Here, like many of the bishops, they lived worldly lives, dressing extravagantly, hiring many squires and lackeys, and entertaining lavishly.

In France monastic secularization was carried so far that it was a common royal practice to quarter upon the monasteries old and disabled soldiers. On the other hand, monks deserted their orders and went about begging and trafficking in masses. Thus monastic ideals, and the efficiency in performing the functions which society had been accustomed to expect, were much interfered with. How far monastic discipline was destroyed, and to just what extent monasteries became centers in which corruption, wastefulness, and immorality existed, is a disputed point, but the general condemnation by both ecclesiastical and secular contemporaries leads to the belief that laxity must have been considerable and that at no time in its history had the monastic life been more abased than at the end of the fifteenth century.

Papal finance as source of conflict

As will be recalled, the church councils of the fifteenth century sought to create a representative control of church affairs. Like other representative systems this plan had been intended to establish taxation by consent. If this could have been accomplished, one of the main causes of the Reformation might have been removed. Unfortunately the papacy continued, insofar as it was not limited by the rising power of nations and their sovereigns, to administer in an arbitrary fashion the general church budget. Moreover, at this very time when the national spirit was aroused to resist all foreign encroachments, the papal demands appeared to be increasing. The luxurious life at the papal court, the large sums lavished upon cardinals and other church functionaries to keep them loyal and contented, the great liberality in rewarding authors and artists, the expenses incurred in establishing the temporal power, and in dealing with the menace of Turkish invasion, all caused ever-increasing financial demands.

Coupled with these facts was the circumstance that because of the dishonesty of church officials, the hard terms exacted by financiers employed in the collection of papal revenues, and the amounts demanded by princes for permission to levy taxes in their territories, the Pope received only a small portion of the money collected for him, and was chronically in pecuniary difficulties. As in the case of many European monarchs, the Pope could secure ready money only

by borrowing from bankers, who constantly raised their rates as the papal deficit increased. In return for financial favors, the capitalists kept demanding privileges until the money power was in evidence everywhere in religious affairs, materializing and stifling spiritual life.

Financial abuses

The Pope's constantly increasing needs led to more frequent levies of tithes upon all ecclesiastical revenues under the plea that means were required for a crusade against the Turks. When once this money was obtained, no scruple was felt in devoting it to other purposes. The sale of indulgences was constantly resorted to not only to replenish papal resources, but also for such church purposes as the restoration of religious edifices, roads, bridges, and the ransoming of captives from the Turks. Frequently the revenues raised in this way came near to equalling in many bishoprics their total income for that year from the regular ecclesiastical sources. The whole operation became a soulless traffic, frequently entrusted to the agents of financial houses. To make the matter worse, culprits upon purchase of a papal pardon sometimes claimed release from civil punishment for their offenses, and encouragement was given to many sellers of false indulgences and relics. The country was plagued with numerous beggars for supposedly religious or charitable purposes.

Closely allied to the indulgences, which were releases from the penalties of sin, were dispensations, which exempted the purchaser from some church law which he wished to disregard. As may readily be surmised, they formed a most renumerative source of papal revenue.

Above all, the abuses connected with papal appointments and the practices of the office-holders themselves drew the censure of reformers. Large sums of money were annually wrung from European countries in the form of papal commissions or annates for the investiture of bishops. These were equal to at least half the first year's salary, and, due to frequent changes and to the fact that the newly appointed candidate always sought to recoup at the people's expense, were a heavy burden. Moreover, the Popes went so far as to claim the right to dispose of all benefices. While in some countries, as in England and France, they were finally kept by national regulation from the excessive exercise of that right, in others, as in Germany, papal appointments to benefices were showered upon cardinals and other officials as favors, or were put up for sale to the highest bidder. Still further burdens were imposed in the form of pensions drawn upon the resources of benefices and monasteries. As a result of these exactions the funds of local churches and other religious establishments were frequently depleted.

As the need for resources became more pressing, the Popes turned to profit all that they or their officials did. It came to be said that everything at Rome was for sale. New cardinalates were created, and the positions offered to the highest bidders; even the papacy itself on a number of occasions was secured by the use of promises and bribes.

The large number of new offices and sinecures which were sold, although the purchase of office was a common practice of the century, debased the papal government and left the way open for dishonesty and extortion which discredited it with European peoples. Since the papal officials secured their remuneration from fees and commissions instead of from salaries, the exaction of the utmost for every service became the usual practice. The many hands through which every document was made to pass were multiplied, and each person levied his portion, sometimes causing an expense of forty or fifty times the established rate. Even worse, papal secretaries sold false documents which they had forged. Fully as shocking abuses existed in connection with the immense judicial business coming to the curia. The prevailing policy appeared to be to prolong cases and render them as costly as possible to the pleaders, who frequently were reduced to poverty, while justice was set aside for favor or money.

Defects in devotional practices

In addition to these defects in the administration and conduct of the Church, the attention of reformers was called to the exaggerated use of and undue emphasis upon certain devotional practices such as pilgrimages and the collection and veneration of relics. Largely responsible for this condition was the popular belief in Christ as a stern judge, requiring the intercession of the Virgin and the saints to listen to human pleas for mercy. Vast throngs of penitents yearly flocked to Rome and other holy places, such as Compostella in Spain, bearing rich offerings. So numerous were these pilgrims that guide books were issued for their benefit. There were even professional pilgrims who continually made the journey for the benefit of the souls of others. So great was the demand for sacred relics that many frauds were perpetrated by unscrupulous priests. All this, as well as the extreme formalism of the Church, seemed to many earnest Christians, whose minds had been awakened by the sixteenth-century intellectual revival, to be obscuring real religion. These men wished to modify or destroy an over-developed institution and reach back to the earlier centuries of Christianity for a more natural, simpler, and more spiritual religion.

Failure of Church to reform itself

With such conditions existing within the Church, it was only natural that many protests should be raised by national governments and criticisms made by reformers and intellectual leaders. Within the ranks of the Church's servants themselves, an ardent desire for reform was felt. During the fourteenth century, two religious reformers, John Wycliffe in England and John Huss in Bohemia, both of whom the Church regarded as heretics, had condemned the worldliness and immorality then existing among the clergy, and had insisted upon an emphasis being laid upon the Bible as a guide to religious life. In the following century, a number of great preachers had arisen, particularly Savonarola, who for a time had centered the attention of Christian Europe upon his efforts to bring about a great moral reformation at Florence, which, if it had continued to prevail, might have been extended elsewhere throughout the Church.

The Pope himself, led by the pressure from European sovereigns, called the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1516) to reform the Church. All these efforts had failed but had been instrumental in calling the attention of many Europeans to the need of reform. Savonarola had suffered a martyr's death, and the Lateran Council proved to be a gesture on the papacy's part to satisfy European statesmen, rather than a sincere effort to reform, and its motions either never got beyond the discussion stage, or were later made useless by papal dispensations. No reforms, then, might be expected from the papacy, absorbed as it was in worldly interests and blind to the impending danger of a break within the Church. The traditional medieval method of reform through the employment of monastic orders was impossible since some of the very worst abuses in the Church were in the monasteries themselves. Even though much valuable work was accomplished following the Protestant Revolt by such religious orders as the Jesuits,[1] monasticism was out of harmony with the spirit of the newly rising modern world and totally incapable by itself of meeting this greatest crisis within the history of the Church.

Rôle of humanists in prelude to reform

Meanwhile, humanist critics such as Erasmus were laying bare through their writings the weaknesses and abuses to be found in the old church system, and through their textual studies were making possible a critical analysis of the Bible. This work, like that later performed by the French philosophers in preparing the way for the French Revolution, was a necessary prelude to the Protestant Revolt, since it showed the evils to be corrected and made more available the Bible, the source from which the new inspiration was to come. Erasmus in the sixteenth century, like Voltaire in the eighteenth, believed that an orderly reform could be wrought by convincing the world of the inconsistencies and evil to be found in existing institutions and by enlisting the aid of enlightened authority. Erasmus had such confidence in the good will of sovereigns and ecclesiastical rulers who had shown themselves favorable to Humanism that he believed if they could be convinced of the urgent necessity of reform, all would be well, that wars and political and social injustices would come to an end, and that better church conditions would be created. In the same way he believed that if the cloud of artificiality and of superstition which obscured the light of true religion were removed and the beauty of early Christianity, in all its simplicity and moral earnestness, were revealed to the people, a Christian revival, far-reaching, but with no break from the Church, would be wrought. Likewise, an adjustment of the Church to changing conditions would be accomplished without revolution. Erasmus was blinded by the sincerity of his beliefs, just as much as Popes and sovereigns were by their material interest, to the seriousness of the approaching storm

[1] However the Jesuits were quite different from the usual order of monks adapting themselves to worldly conditions in dress and modes of living.

which was to rend Europe into opposing religious groups and destroy all possibility of a gradual and peaceful reform.

Reasons Why the Protestant Revolt First Occurred in Germany

Popular fear as cause of religious zeal

It now became evident that a break was inevitable. That it occurred first in Germany was due to a number of causes. In no other land, unless it was Spain, was religious zeal more prevalent than in Germany. To a considerable extent this was the result of fear. During the later years of the fifteenth century, and the opening years of the sixteenth, there occurred several periods of famine and three years of plague. Syphilis, a new and dreadful disease contracted by explorers in the New World, after appearing in other lands came to add to Germany's distress. The shadow of a possible Turkish invasion, which it was feared could not be resisted, constantly brooded over the land and led to daily prayers in the churches for deliverance. A feverish anxiety was shown by Germans in seeking aid of the Church. Indulgences were eagerly purchased; vast pilgrimages to shrines were organized in which all participated from the high nobility to large bands of children. The Saints and the Virgin were appealed to more earnestly than ever before against the seeming evidences of God's wrath. Pious bequests were made, and innumerable churches and monasteries constructed.

Revival of conscience

Simultaneously there appeared a reviving conscience, an aroused intellect, which profoundly influenced religious life and prepared the way for the Reformation. Germany and the Netherlands were the lands where printing was first developed, and many devotional books and editions of the Bible were published there. No less than fifteen editions of the Bible in German were in circulation before the Reformation. These were read and discussed throughout the land and had much to do with forming a religious opinion distinct from that prevailing in the Church. Still further aids to popular religious knowledge were contributed by societies of earnest Christians of mystical tendencies called the Brethren of the Common Life. Repudiating the Roman Church system, these people sought to follow a simple evangelical creed. They educated their children in their own schools, read German translations of the Scriptures, and conducted religious services in that language. To gatherings where the Sacred Word was expounded, they made it a business to invite their neighbors, and by the end of the fifteenth century they had extended this work all over Germany, thus exerting a large influence toward promoting a personal religion. They corresponded with similar societies in other European countries, and received much encouragement from the remnants of the Hussites in Bohemia. The Catholic Church itself recognized the need of a more intelligent priesthood to satisfy those who read for themselves the Bible and other religious books, and accordingly gave a larger place to preaching in German churches than ever before.

Infringement upon Church activities

Meanwhile, other societies of a semi-religious fraternal nature, not under the control of the Church, were started, and charitable functions formerly entrusted to the Church began to be carried on by the town governments, who forbade promiscuous begging, which the Church had encouraged. The princes of a number of German states, such as Saxony and Brandenburg, took upon themselves not only the prohibition of any interference with their subjects by church courts, and the forbidding of appeals to Rome, but also the regulation of church affairs such as the observance of Sunday, the visiting and reforming of monasteries, and the removal of unworthy church dignitaries. Thus, before the Protestant Revolt occurred, there was evident in Germany a steady movement toward lay control of religion.

Humanist opposition

The way for a break with the Church was prepared among the German intellectual classes by the religious aspect which Humanism assumed in that country, and by the many literary academies, established by humanists, which encouraged tendencies opposed to dogma. It was likewise in Germany that there arose a controversy between the humanists and schoolmen which drew the attention of all European scholars, and divided those in Germany into two hostile camps. Suspected of heretical tendencies because of his interest in Jewish literature, John Reuchlin, the most famous Hebrew scholar of the time, was required by the Church to express an opinion whether all Hebrew books with the exception of the Old Testament ought not to be burned. He replied that only a few Hebrew books deserved to be so condemned. He was then accused of heresy by the Dominicans of Cologne. The trial was appealed from Germany to Rome, and, lasting for six years, it aroused general European interest. In Germany, innumerable pamphlets were written by each side. Finally a satire, "The Letters of Obscure Men" appeared. This was composed by the humanist Crotus Rubianus and published anonymously. It so cleverly ridiculed the monks that it aroused much amusement and led to contempt for church institutions.

Political causes for German revolt

The Germans, having failed to develop a stable government, were in a ferment of unrest at this time, an unrest which touched every institution and which seemed to distinguish Germany from the other states of Europe. The Germans realized that, while other peoples had secured strongly united states and profited accordingly, they had failed, and they thought that the perpetual quarrel between the Holy Roman Emperors and the Popes, based on the ambitious projects of the former in Italy and on the papal policy of constantly interfering in German politics to check the Emperor's power, had much to do with this failure.

Economic causes for German revolt

The Germans also realized that while the governments of many other lands had succeeded in at least partially restraining the Pope in collecting revenue and appointing to rich church benefices, Germany in its disorganized condition was helpless before him, and that, taking advantage of this situation, he had made up for losses elsewhere by

imposing extra heavy burdens upon Germany. So common a practice had this become, that it was said that Germany was the Pope's "milch cow," and "that thousands of tricks were devised by the Roman See which enabled it to extract money from pockets very neatly, as if (Germans) were barbarians." Here, more than anywhere else, the papacy controlled appointments to high church positions, and so frequent were the changes made, and so high were the annates exacted at each appointment, that it was looked upon as the most oppressive tax in the Empire. Here too there was less democracy in church appointments, more political favoritism, than in other countries. Rome likewise reaped a rich harvest from court fees and from vacant benefices whose revenues, until a new occupant was appointed, lapsed to the Pope. It seemed as if indulgences upon one pretext or another were perpetually being sold. The commonest excuse for raising extraordinary amounts was a war against the Turks, and although the money was paid much of it never went for the purpose designated. Many Germans complained that Christian Europe was constantly losing ground to the Turks, and that if Germany were to keep the sums paid the Pope it would be able so to equip its armies that it could successfully meet the foe.

Government's failure in face of papal exactions

German Diet after German Diet from the fifteenth century until long after Luther had revolted from Rome, protested against the many injustices inflicted at the hands of the Church, and demanded reform, but always without avail. The Emperors, who frequently sympathized with the German demands, were either too weak or too much involved in their own political ambitions to compel the Popes to alter their methods. So exasperated did the German princes become during the reign of Frederick III with his failure to take any determined stand against the papacy, that leagues were formed to replace him and to adopt as laws of the land some of the decisions of the Church Council of Basle which had abolished annates. They further sought to get joint action with France in their resistance to the papacy. The plans failed, however, thus encouraging the Pope in further exactions. Although the next Emperor, Maximilian, considered the possibility of introducing into Germany a pragmatic sanction similar to that which had been so effective in limiting the Pope's power in France, and although he went so far as to secure a convocation at Pisa of a church council for reforms, nothing definite was accomplished towards restricting papal activity.

Germany ready for revolt from Church

Not only the ire of the government and nobility, but that of the whole people was aroused to fever heat at the sense of general wrong suffered by the nation. When once a strong leader appeared in the person of Martin Luther, who not only was above selfish motives, but who dared, as others had not, to oppose the Pope, German patriotic zeal knew no bounds and furnished a protection for him before which both Pope and Emperor were helpless. Even such princes as were utterly selfish, and were moved by no patriotic motives, rejoiced

at the outbreak of trouble, hoping thereby to force the Pope to grant greater concessions to their own interests. As the revolt developed, they realized what a tempting opportunity was afforded for enriching themselves by seizures of church property and at the same time for increasing their own power at the expense of both Emperor and Pope. Accordingly they became zealous Protestants.

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CHAPTER IX

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE PROTESTANT REVOLT

The Beginnings of Lutheranism

As has been seen, patriotic Germans had long been looking for a leader in their efforts to free themselves from papal interference, to achieve nationhood, and to bring about moral and social reform. Despairing of finding a national savior in their emperors, who one after another disappointed them, they thought they had discovered in the strong personality of a man who had risen from the people, Martin Luther, one who would help them to accomplish their desires. *Luther*

Luther was born at Eisleben in 1483, of peasant parentage. His father, a miner who had risen to some means, desired a better career for his son. He sent young Luther to the University of Urfurt where, after a liberal arts course, he had just started to study law when he suddenly abandoned his studies and entered an Augustinian monastery. Here he early exhibited those qualities of fiery zeal, impulsiveness, determination, frankness, revolt, and humanity which, while they made a career of quiet submissiveness as a monk difficult, marked him as a leader. He could never satisfy himself that he had attained the monastic ideal of perfection. While in utter despair of ever obtaining salvation he was directed to St. Paul's writings where faith or reliance in God's mercy was emphasized. Upon this he eagerly seized, and it later became the center of his teachings in contrast to the prevailing dependence upon the sacraments or good works performed by the Church.

Sent as a professor, first of philosophy, and later of theology, to the new university which the Elector Frederick of Saxony was founding at Wittenberg, he became a most popular and prominent member of the faculty. He soon won attention as a reformer by moral reforms which he promoted among the students, and by a sermon which so impressed a convention of his order that he was made district vicar. Meanwhile, in lectures to his students and in sermons preached at the town church, he began to expound his discoveries concerning faith in God, and to criticize the abuses connected with such practices as the excessive worship of the saints, the making of pilgrimages, and the granting of indulgences, and to paint dark pictures of the low moral conditions existing within the Church and the society of the time. His fame as a theological lecturer became so great that students, much to the gratification of the Elector Frederick, flocked from all parts of Germany to Wittenberg to hear him.

The occasion for the beginning of Luther's dispute with the

Occasion for dispute

Church arose over the sale of indulgences. In 1517, Pope Leo X, anxious to raise funds for the rebuilding of St. Peter's church in Rome, issued a "plenary indulgence." In this same year, Albert Hohenzollern of Brandenburg, a young man who already was Archbishop of Magdeburg and held an additional important Church position, managed through political influence to secure also the archbishopric of Mayence. Albert found his new see heavily in debt, and unable to furnish him the money, amounting to several hundred thousand dollars, necessary to pay the Pope for his new position, and for dispensation to retain his old ones. He finally borrowed it from the Fuggers, the rich Augsburg bankers. The Pope, to help him secure this loan, allowed him to handle the receipts from the sale of indulgences on a commission of half the profits.

John Tetzel, a Dominican preacher of great eloquence and proved ability in raising money, together with many assistants and the financial agents of the Fuggers, was entrusted with the task of selling the indulgence. A systematic campaign was arranged in coöperation with the parish priests, who prepared the way by sermons and the use of the confessional. Upon Tetzel's arrival, nearly all the important personages—priests, monks, city councilors, teachers—followed by many of the people, escorted him into town in an impressive procession, carrying the papal bull in state upon a velvet or golden cushion, and setting up a red cross in the church with the Pope's arms above it. Vigorous sermons pointed out that this was an unusual opportunity for people not only to secure release from the punishment of their own sins, but also to reduce the punishment of their departed relatives. Thus Tetzel in one of his sermons appealed to his auditors after this fashion: "Do you not hear your dead parents crying out, 'Have mercy upon us! We are in sore pain and you can set us free for a mere pittance. We have borne you, we have trained and educated you, we have left you all our property, and you are so hard-hearted and cruel, that you leave us to roast in the flames when you could so easily release us.' "

It was the careless and mercenary manner in which the sale of indulgences was conducted and the misrepresentation concerning them, not the theory of the indulgence, which was condemned by most of those who disapproved. As a rule, the masses of the people were eager to obtain them. The Elector of Saxony forbade Tetzel to come into his territories, but many of Luther's parishioners went elsewhere and bought indulgences, and upon coming to Luther for confession, offered them to him as penance for their sins. He not only refused to accept them, but, greatly distressed, began to consider what he could do to check the evil.

Ninety-Five Theses

Urged by many to express his opinion, he refrained for six months until he could make a careful study of the whole theory of indulgences, over which there was much difference of opinion within the Church.

Then, not being entirely certain of the conclusions he had formed, he issued a statement in the form of proposals for a debate. In this way, while calling attention to what he believed to be mistaken theories, he might at the same time avoid seeming to question the Church's authority and secure the opinions of other theologians upon his views, which would thus have greater authority if correct and could be changed if mistaken. On the evening of October 31, 1517, just preceding the great annual church festival when people from all Saxony gathered at Wittenberg to venerate the many relics, for this pious act to receive an indulgence for their sins, Luther posted on the church door his famous Ninety-Five Theses, or conclusions upon which he invited debate. In these, he voiced the opinion that the Christian who had truly repented had already received pardon from God, and did not need an indulgence which could remit only earthly penalties, not those which God had imposed, and which was powerless to remove spiritual guilt. It would be better, Luther pointed out, for a Christian to give to the poor than to buy pardons. The Popes through the abuse of indulgences lost much of the reverence due them and were subject to such questionings of the laity as, "Why does not the Pope empty purgatory for the sake of his most holy charity . . . ; why does not the Pope, whose riches are at this day more ample than those of Croesus, build the basilica of St. Peter's with his own money rather than that of poor believers?"

Results

Luther had ventured to call the Church to account at a time when even high churchmen had feared to express their real opinions openly. Within two weeks, printed copies of his theses were being read and applauded by all classes in Germany, who had long resented the extortion of greedy ecclesiastics; within a month they were known throughout Europe. The sale of indulgences declined, and Tetzel had to hide from the mob.

Tetzel and other Dominicans were thoroughly aroused over the check which Luther had administered, and as traditional defenders of the Church against heresy, they launched against him a number of pamphlets to which he replied defending his position.

Papal policy

The Pope, because of extravagant expenditures, was badly in need of money. When he came to realize how seriously the Theses had affected the sale of indulgences, he summoned Luther to Rome, where, if he had been obliged to go, he would probably have been condemned and executed as a heretic. Fortunately the Elector Frederick, who realized Luther's value to his university, and who was impatient with papal interference in German affairs, intervened; the Pope, not desiring to offend him at a time when he wished his support in German politics, consented that Luther be examined instead at Augsburg by the papal legate, Cardinal Cajetan. Here Luther was ordered to recant his heresies. Refusing, he retorted by appealing both to the Pope and to a general council, and by publishing an account of the hearing which aroused popular sympathy. The Pope, still un-

willing to offend the Elector Frederick, decided to send a Saxon nobleman, Charles von Miltitz, to Germany as his envoy to study the situation and either to prevail upon Luther to recant, or get the Elector to hand him over. Miltitz, as soon as he reached Germany, found the whole country aroused over Luther's case; he estimated that not more than one German out of every four was on the Pope's side. Realizing the serious danger of a break from Rome, he so influenced Luther, who did not yet realize that separation from Rome was inevitable, that he promised to refrain from discussing indulgences if his enemies would do likewise. He even agreed to write the Pope a conciliatory letter, and to advise the people to reverence him.

Leipzig debate

All of Miltitz's diplomatic successes were soon spoilt, Luther forced from the Church, and Germany led towards revolt, by the Leipzig debate. The usual argument of those who defended indulgences had been to assert the supreme power of the Pope, as God's divinely ordained representative to grant them. Luther had been led, by the attacks which continued to be delivered against his contentions, to make a careful study of church law, and much to his own amazement, came to the conclusion that the papal supremacy which he had hitherto accepted without question, and had considered sacred, was to a considerable extent based upon false decretals, and had not been generally recognized by the Church during the first eleven hundred years of the Christian era. It was of worldly instead of divine origin. At this very time, much disturbed by his discoveries, he was challenged by John Eck, a debater of international renown, to debate with him whether the papacy was established by God, or instituted by man.

Consequences

The consequences of this debate, which occurred at Leipzig, in June, 1519, were momentous. Luther was forced to admit that his views were like those of Wycliffe and Huss, and that, since the latter had been condemned by the Council of Constance for these very opinions, general councils were not infalliable, but might err. He was forced at last to realize where his attack upon indulgences led. He had at first sincerely hoped to secure reform by an appeal to the Pope, and when that failed, to petition a general church council. Now he was compelled to reject even this ultimate authority recognized by centuries of Christians. He had come to the point where he must turn from all ecclesiastical authority to the Scriptures as interpreted by his own conscience. No hope remained that the Church might accept his views concerning faith and the sacraments, or without recantation that he might escape condemnation as a heretic. In place of depression, now that the break had come with the church authorities, he felt a new freedom, and so thoroughly was he convinced of the justice of his cause, that more than ever before he believed himself inspired by God to perform a great work.

Winning of popular support

The year following the Leipzig Debate, probably more than any other, marks the time when two distinct parties began to form in Germany for and against the new tendencies. It was then that the

younger German humanists came to the support of Luther as the champion of freedom of thought against scholastic oppression; the burghers came to look upon him as a leader against priestly tyranny; and a group of German knights and nobles, interested in economic and political reform, who believed a real German nation might be created by throwing off the Roman yoke, came to recognize in him the most formidable opponent the papacy had yet met. Simultaneously, because of his realization of the importance of the national movement as an ally of church reform, Luther's outlook was widened, and his plans for reformation extended to include other than purely religious or moral aims. He was greatly encouraged by the promises of protection and support which came to him from many important knights of the nationalist party.

Address to Nobility of German Nation

In 1520, he issued a stirring address in which he appealed to the Emperor, princes, and nobility to take in hand the reformation of German religious, ethical, social, and economic affairs. This he asserted they had a perfect right to do since the Church refused to undertake it. He maintained the incorrectness of the long-established theory that the clergy possessed a sacred and inviolable character which made it a sin for any layman to meddle with religious affairs, and that the clergy alone might interpret the Bible and draw from it inspiration for reform. Vigorously and clearly summing up the German grievances against Rome, he proposed measures which would lead to the creation of a national Church, to the suppression of celibacy and monasticism among the clergy, and of begging, and to the freeing of the country from annates, foreign benefice holders, appeals to Rome, useless holy days, and pilgrimages. Education was to be reformed, sumptuary laws passed, and usurers and great monopolists curbed.

Babylonian Captivity of Church

The same year as his "Address to the Nobility of the German Nation," Luther wrote another pamphlet in Latin, "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," which he intended primarily as an appeal to German theologians. He had already denied the sacred and indelible character of the clergy and their sole control of scriptural interpretation. Now, he attacked the sacramental system itself, the very heart of the Church's power, since by its claim to dispense salvation through its rites, which might be administered only by its ordained priests, it had imposed its yoke on men, that yoke from which Luther now urged that Christendom must be freed before a needed reformation could be accomplished. To Luther, every Christian was a priest in God's sight, and needed to depend on no sacrament or person to receive divine grace. He now insisted that the sacraments were nothing but symbols of God's love, and that only three of them, baptism, penance, and the holy eucharist, might be considered sacraments. He denounced the doctrine of transubstantiation, and denied that either a miracle or a sacrifice was performed, although he held that the actual body and blood of Christ were present in the bread and

wine. No work that Luther had yet written excited so much hostility from Catholic theologians, or drew from them so many replies. Even Henry VIII of England tried his hand at answering it, and was given by the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith."

Freedom of Christian Man

Still a third great reformation work, "On the Freedom of a Christian Man," was composed shortly after the other two. Urged by Miltitz, who still had hope of a peaceful settlement, Luther wrote this small book which embodied perhaps more simply and clearly than any other of his writings his view of the Christian life; he sent it, together with a letter, to the Pope. The main respect in which Luther's idea of the Christian life, as here expressed, differed from the traditional Catholic view, was that while admitting that man was naturally sinful, he did not, like the Old Church, believe that one must constantly fear eternal punishment, and live this life as far as possible as a period of probation for the next. Rather, the very first requisite for living a real Christian life was to be freed from concern for oneself. This might be accomplished by simply having faith in God's mercy. Then only might be accomplished the spiritual life, which was not to be that of monastic seclusion from the world in search of the development of one's own character and in atonement for one's sin, as the medieval ideal had held, but rather a life of unselfish labor for others' good through the zealous performance of common everyday tasks, since this world was God's as much as was heaven. Unselfish service would be impossible so long as one was striving to win one's salvation by the performing of good works. It was only possible when one, in the assurance of divine mercy, forgot self, and, like Christ, was filled with care for one's neighbor.

Papal bull and Luther's reply

Meanwhile, a papal bull was published condemning Luther's writings and threatening him with excommunication if he did not recant within sixty days. Instead of recanting, Luther on December 10, 1520, as an indication of his permanent break with Rome, burnt both the bull and a book of the canon law before a large gathering of Wittenberg professors and students. Excommunicated, and in April, 1521, summoned before the Diet of the Empire sitting at Worms, Luther refused to recant, thereby becoming a national hero. Outlawed by an edict passed by the Diet, but at first kept from seizure by a safe-conduct, and then concealed for nearly a year by his friends in the castle of the Wartburg belonging to the Elector of Saxony, he busied himself with preparing a German translation of the Bible until called from his retreat to restrain a radical revolution which occurred among the reformers at Wittenberg.

Growth of Lutheranism and Dissension Within Its Ranks

Spread of Lutheranism

The Edict of Worms placing a ban upon Luther remained everywhere a dead letter. The princes, whether disposed or not to attempt the suppression of the Lutheran movement, hesitated for fear of popular revolts. Within the next few years Luther's teachings were

accepted throughout northern and central Germany. Even in 1523, the Archduke Ferdinand in a letter to the Emperor, said that within the Empire there was hardly one in a thousand not infected with the new doctrines. They appealed alike to noble, peasant, and burgher, to the pious-minded who desired a simpler religion, to the worldly minded who coveted the church property and greater freedom in economic enterprise, and above all to the nationalist who desired freedom from foreign interference.

Defections in ranks of Luther's followers

At first, almost all the liberals in Germany were behind Luther, but gradually his forces were weakened by the falling away of many humanists, many peasants, and many radicals such as the Anabaptists, and finally by a great schism in the ranks of the Evangelicals led by the Swiss reformer, Zwingli. These losses were counter-balanced by better organization within the new church and by increased support from the middle and governing classes.

Break with Humanism

Many of the leading humanists, at first among Luther's warmest admirers and supporters, as soon as his aggressive attacks resulted in an open break with the Old Church fell away from him. Like the great humanist leader, Erasmus, they believed that true reform could only be accomplished through educational methods. Such a gradual revival of Christian piety and sound learning, Erasmus contended, had already begun when a great tumult was raised by Luther's boisterous attack, and both these gains had been lost sight of in angry contentions. Moreover, it was soon realized that the emphasis which Luther laid upon man's powerlessness and lack of freedom before God, and his rejection of all dependence upon human reason were in direct conflict with the humanists' belief in the moral and intellectual ability of man. Advanced scholars were repelled by Luther's condemnation of the Copernican system.

Peasants' revolt

While the lot of many people in Germany was bettered by the economic changes of the early sixteenth century, that of others seemed much worse. Rising prices, monopolies, new laws based upon the Roman Code, which appeared to take away many of the customary benefits enjoyed by the peasant, the increasing cost of government, which imposed greater burdens, the growing class-consciousness of the people, the irksomeness of serfdom, and the many arbitrary and oppressive actions on the part of the nobility led to unrest among large sections of the peasantry and townspeople. At this very time, many preachers and writers advocating social change arose who directed popular antagonism against the Jews, rich monopolists, lords, lawyers, clergy, and the Pope.

On a number of occasions during the preceding century, risings had occurred among the peasants inspired by combined social and economic aims. The revolt which came in 1525 was, therefore, a repetition on a larger scale of many previous attempts, but it was due to Luther that it assumed the magnitude it did. By attacking many features of the existing order, and criticising the growing luxury of

the wealthy, the rapacity and greed of the great merchants, and the tyranny and corruption of both civil and ecclesiastical rulers, he aroused impatience and discontent. His insistence upon spiritual freedom made many believe that there should also be freedom from political oppression, from social injustice, and from economic burdens. The confusion into which Germany had been thrown by the Reformation and the great weakening of respect for traditional authority which had resulted, together with the new emphasis laid by the Reformation upon the virtues of the humblest Christian and upon the brotherhood of man, seemed to open the way for the peasants to make good their claims.

The rising began in June, 1524, near the Swiss frontier, and rapidly spread northward until much of Germany was affected with revolution. Since most of the regular troops were away in Italy, or on the Turkish frontier, it met at first with little opposition. The peasants early in 1525 issued a series of twelve articles as a statement of their demands which, temperate and reasonable in character, may be regarded as giving expression to the whole movement while it remained in its moderate stage. These included the right of choosing their own pastors, the abolition of serfdom, freedom to hunt and fish and get fuel from the forest, reduction of exorbitant rents, extra payment for extra labor, mitigation of feudal services, abolition of small tithes and death duties, security against illegal punishment, and a return to the old laws.

At first, the movement was a peaceful gathering to present grievances, and to impress the government with the need of reform. Instead of hearing patiently the peasants' complaints, some of the princes set upon them and killed them without mercy. This led the peasants to a desire for retaliation, and to more extreme and unreasonable demands. Promoted by Thomas Munzer and other fanatical religious leaders, communistic ideas advocating overthrow of the whole structure of society, and destruction of all inequalities of property, employment, and rank, gained headway. The new régime was to be ushered in with bloodshed and destruction. Under this stimulus, castles were pillaged, towns seized, and atrocities committed.

Luther's attitude toward revolt

Luther had at first urged the peasants to avoid violence whatever the cost, and submit their demands to settlement by the authorities; at the same time he had warned the princes that unless they ceased exploiting their subjects, they would suffer divine punishment. However, he made it evident that he approved only two of the peasants' demands, and was not in favor of any change from their position as serfs. If the authorities refused their demands, they were to accept it as God's will. Upon the outbreak of violence, and the insurgents' claim to divine sanction for their deeds, he lost all the sympathy he had ever had for them. Recognizing that both orderly government and the progress of religious reform were endangered by this violence, although he knew that by his action he would lose much popular

sympathy, he did not hesitate to urge the wavering authorities to crush the insurrection by employing stern measures. "It is better," he said, "that all the peasants be killed than that the princes and magistrates perish, because the rustics took the sword without divine authority. The only possible consequence of their Satanic wickedness would be the diabolic devastation of the Kingdom of God." The princes did not further delay, but suppressed the rebellion with great cruelty. Almost a hundred thousand peasants were killed, thousands were made homeless, and large districts of the country were devastated. All reform among the peasants was retarded for many years to come.

Result of revolt for Lutheranism

Many among the peasants and the lower classes in the towns now turned from Lutheranism to the more radical sects, included under the term Anabaptism; while many conservatives, seeing in the revolt the destructive effects of Luther's work, returned to Catholicism. Lutheranism from now on became almost exclusively identified with the interests of the middle and upper classes. Luther, no longer the popular hero, actually hated in the south and west, lost confidence in the people. Recognizing the dangers of radicalism, he inclined more and more towards the restrictions of dogmatism. His church accordingly lost much of its spiritual purpose, and suffered from the dictation of the sovereigns. Lutheranism changed from a popular movement and became largely political. Thenceforth the princes, led by the possibility of securing church property for themselves, sought to control the reform; while the Reformers, in their desire to prevent the ruination of their movement by noisy heretics and social agitators, were only too glad to turn to the authorities for support.

Anabaptists

Another movement which affected the fortunes of Lutheranism and profited from the Peasants' Revolt was Anabaptism. Long before Luther's break with the Catholic Church there had existed many scattered communities of simple folk who sought to dispense with the rites and sacraments of the established Church, and, like the primitive Christians, to live a devout life with frequent Bible readings, prayers, and deeds of charity. At about the time of the Peasants' Revolt many of these people resolved definitely to separate from the Catholic Church and form self-governing congregations independent of all state or episcopal control. These people came to be known as Anabaptists. Many of the peasants and townspeople who after the suppression of the Peasants' Revolt turned from Lutheranism now became followers of the Anabaptists. Still others in this group came from among those who took Luther's advocacy of Bible reading and direct communion with God literally, and refused all theological guidance other than the Scriptures as interpreted by themselves. The movement came to be greatly influenced in its point of view and program by the fact that its membership was largely drawn from the poor and disinherited classes.

Anabaptist beliefs

The name Anabaptist was given this sect by their enemies because the Anabaptists believed that baptism should be administered when the Christian had reached the years of discretion, and could definitely resolve to live a Christian life; they refused to perform that ceremony in infancy, as both the Catholic and the Reformed Churches were accustomed to do. Still more fundamental was their belief that the completion of the New Testament did not bring revelation to an end, but the word of God was continually revealed to man as a guide to his daily conduct. With such dependence upon revelation, it is not surprising that many strange radical fancies, many varied and conflicting views, should have been indulged in. Some, since they had direct communion with God, considered that learning was unnecessary. For the same reason, civil government might be dispensed with by true believers, and accordingly oath taking and office holding were sinful, and warfare was utterly to be condemned. Many held that the possession of private property was wrong, and advocated communism. The importance of the movement lies not merely in its effect upon the religious history of the time, as an attempt to revert to primitive Christianity, but in the fact that among the Anabaptists were to be found ideas which were later adopted in varying proportions by Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Disciples, and Mennonites.

Growth of Anabaptist movement

The chief centers of the Anabaptist movement were at first to be found in northern Switzerland and along the Upper Rhine. They were persecuted in the most horrible fashion by the authorities. Many of their leaders were drowned or burned at the stake. They wandered through Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands, seeking refuge and spreading their beliefs wherever they went. Many peasants and artisans joined them. In those parts of the Empire which were still Catholic, Anabaptist propaganda for a time superseded that of the Lutherans.

Suppression of Anabaptism

Anabaptist denial of the need of political organization made both Lutheran and Catholic authorities firmly resolved to suppress this movement. An additional motive was soon afforded by the fact that due to the variety of radicals found among the Anabaptists, and to the persecution with which they were afflicted, some listened to fanatical leaders and were led to accept fanciful schemes for the overthrow of society and the ushering in of the end of the world, which they were told was imminent. It was only natural that the authorities should censure the whole group for what the radicals did, and greater energy was thus given to efforts at suppression.

The final blow came with the capture under the leadership of two Dutch Anabaptists, John Matthys and Jan Beukelssen, of the episcopal city of Münster and the attempt to set up the New Jerusalem there by inaugurating communism and polygamy. Münster was recaptured by its bishop and terrible punishment inflicted on the Anabaptists. This tragic episode brought the accusation of fanaticism

upon Anabaptism in Germany and ended its influence in that country, but in the Netherlands the movement was reorganized under the wise, anti-fanatical leadership of Menno Simons—whence the term "Mennonite"—whose work did much towards laying the foundations of the modern Baptist Church.

Effect upon Lutheranism

The Anabaptist movement had, like the Peasants' Revolt, been regarded by the Catholics as one of the evil consequences of revolt from Rome. Once more the Lutherans were convinced that they had reason to rely upon the conception of prince-and-magistrate-ruled churches as the only assurance of good order and of effective opposition to Rome, and Lutheranism became, even more positively than before, a party of princely and middle-class sympathies.

Swiss Reformation under Zwingli

An even more important divergence in the ranks of the reformers was the Swiss reform movement led by Ulrich Zwingli. Zwingli became a reformer because of his patriotic zeal. Ambitious to become a famous preacher, he realized his aspirations at the great minster of Zurich. Here, like Luther at Wittenberg, he drew attention by his vigorous sermons, in some of which he opposed the belief in purgatory, indulgences, adoration of the saints, compulsory tithes, and monasticism. Above all, his patriotic ire was aroused by the evils resulting from the Swiss practice of supplying great numbers of mercenary soldiers to France and to the Pope.

After a long public debate held under the direction of the Zurich city council, it was decided to adopt Zwingli's ideas. Soon other Swiss cities and some parts of southern Germany followed Zurich's example. They were opposed, however, by the five Mountain Cantons of Unterwalden, Uri, Schwyz, Lucerne, and Zug, which in 1524 formed a league for the suppression of heresy. An armed conflict resulted, in which Zwingli, although at first successful, was finally defeated and lost his life, while accompanying the Zurich forces as chaplain.

Comparison of Zwingli's and Luther's beliefs

Zwingli's ideas, while in many respects resembling Luther's, were more liberal. He was inclined to interpret the Bible by reason, rather than to subject reason to Biblical direction as Luther had done. He had the broader attitude of the humanist, rather than the mystical and dogmatic attitude which characterized Luther. He went further than Luther in simplifying and changing the form of church worship, and favored subordinating the State to the Church. Aside from these fundamental differences between the two men, it was their divergent interpretations of the sacrament of Communion which made all union between them impossible. To Zwingli, the bread and the wine were not Christ's body and blood, but simply a symbol offered in commemoration of him. To Luther on the contrary, Christ's real body and blood were present, but no miracle was performed as the Catholics believed. During Zwingli's lifetime, it was found impossible for the two reformers to coöperate with one another, even when they were threatened with extinction by the Catholic party. However, after

Zwingli's death, many of his followers in southern Germany managed to come to an agreement with Luther, but those in Switzerland remained distinct and formed a basis for the later Calvinistic movement there.

Imperial and Papal failure to check Lutheranism

During the course of the events just narrated, neither the Pope nor the Emperor was successful in suppressing the Lutheran movement. From 1522 to 1530 the Emperor was so occupied with his great war with France for the control of Italy that he was able neither to be present in Germany, nor to concern himself directly with German affairs. Papal attempts at securing action from the German Diets which assembled at Nuremberg in 1522 and in 1524 met with declarations of inability to enforce the Edict of Worms against Luther, and with demands for a council for church reform to meet in Germany. Since the real power lay in the hands of the princes, the only prospect of papal success appeared to be in enlisting them in its cause. Accordingly, the clever papal legate, Campeggio, by promising certain church reforms and a share in church revenues, succeeded in creating at Ratisbon in southern Germany (1524), a league to support the Roman cause made up of the Emperor's brother Ferdinand, the Duke of Bavaria, and several bishops. Next year another Catholic league, that of Dessau, was formed in northern Germany, by Duke George of Saxony. Meanwhile, the Lutheran cause came to be supported by many important noblemen and the rich burghers of important German cities. These, under the leadership of Philip of Hesse and Elector John of Saxony, formed a Lutheran league (1525) at Torgau, to counteract the Catholic league.

Although Germany was so divided between the two factions that the Lutheran cause appeared in no immediate danger, it had reason in 1526 for momentary alarm because of the international situation. Upon the defeat of Francis I by Charles V in 1525, both sovereigns agreed to join their efforts to suppress heresy. At this critical moment Lutheranism, strangely enough, was saved by the Pope Clement VII, who, alarmed at the increase of Charles' power in Italy, and more interested in politics than in religion, formed an Italian league against the Emperor which was soon joined by the French King. Since the Italian war had to be fought all over again, the Emperor was too busy to interfere in German religious affairs.

First Diet of Speyer

Because of this inability of the Emperor to take action, because of the division between the two faiths of the German people and of the members who composed the Diet, and because of the recognized need for the union of all German strength to check the rapid Turkish advance, the Diet which met at Speyer in 1526 decided that it was at that time impossible for it to settle the religious issue or to carry out the Emperor's orders for enforcing the Edict of Worms against the Lutherans. Instead, until a "council or a national assembly" could meet to deal with religious affairs, it entrusted to each sovereign

of a German state the decision as to which religion should prevail in his territories, provided he kept always in mind his responsibility to God and the Emperor. Many sovereigns who from conviction or policy had accepted the Reformation now openly ventured to establish Lutheran churches under their control.

Organization of Lutheran Church

Luther had up to this time refrained from organizing a separate church since, in spite of his defiance of the Pope, he had intended only to purify the Catholic Church and to bring it into conformity with Biblical teachings. To the universal Catholic Church he believed that he and his followers still belonged. However, when the church officials everywhere failed to assist the Reformation, and it became evident that some authority must attend to the proper functioning of the Church, as well as of the schools and charitable institutions, he turned naturally to the rulers of the state and urged them to undertake the task.

Before making any definite arrangements, an extensive visitation of all the parishes in Luther's home state, Saxony, was undertaken by a commission composed of clergy and lawyers appointed by the Elector. These examined financial, moral, and spiritual conditions, visiting many parishes and making a report which formed the basis for reform. Negligent towns and villages were made to support their schools and churches properly, and money from the confiscation of church property was employed in needy cases. As soon as they could be found, better educated clergy were appointed. The country was divided into districts over which superintendents responsible to the government were appointed to supervise the clergy. Courts called consistories, composed of theologians and lawyers likewise appointed by the government, tried many cases that had formerly been dealt with in church courts. Consistories and superintendents formed assemblies or synods, which deliberated on church affairs. This system, which was everywhere under the supervision of the secular rulers, was adopted by the Lutheran churches in other states.

Lutheran church services

Long before a definite organization had been created, many alterations were made in church services and the religious life of the people. In place of the sacrament of the mass, sermons and Scripture reading were given the central place in the church service, supplemented with a liturgy and hymns in the German tongue, both of which, as well as a catechism to instruct the people in religious truths, were prepared under Luther's direction. Church images, invocation of the saints, relics, shrines, and pilgrimages were abolished, and church festivals were reduced in number and lost most of their significance. Monasteries were closed, the monks and nuns were released from their vows, and many of the clergy married. Yet Luther was conservative in making changes, taking as his maxim that "Whatever is not against Scripture is for Scripture, and Scripture for it." Liking the form and ceremony of the Catholic worship, and realizing that the people were accustomed to it, he preserved parts of it. In one other respect he did

not allow his zeal to carry him to extremes; he purposely kept the church services short so as not to weary the people.

Second Diet of Speyer

Alarmed at the rapid formation of Lutheran churches, the Catholic majority of the Diet which met in 1529 at Speyer repealed the decision of the preceding one, ordered the Catholic states to execute the Edict of Worms, and forbade Lutheran states to abolish the mass, or to allow any further innovations in their doctrines and practices, or to harbor refugees from Catholic states. Thereupon the Lutheran members of the Diet published a protest and an appeal to the Emperor, claiming that the decision made by the previous Diet in 1526 had been in the form of a treaty between the states, which could not be lawfully annulled except by the consent of both parties. Those who signed the protest were soon called "the Protesting Estates" and from this the name Protestant came to be applied to all those who left the Roman Church.

Confession of Augsburg

The Emperor, for the moment not engaged in war, adopted a conciliatory attitude, inviting both Lutherans and Zwinglians to present their views to him next year (1530), at a Diet to be convened at Augsburg. An account of their beliefs was prepared by the Lutherans, and this account, later termed the Confession of Augsburg, forms the basis of the creed of the present Lutheran Church. Although they were under the influence of Melancthon, the leading Lutheran scholar, the Lutherans made concessions to the Roman viewpoint. The Emperor made efforts to secure some agreement by having the differences discussed in committee, but this was found to be impossible. The Lutherans were then given until April 15, 1531, to conform to the Catholic Church, and the Zwinglians and Anabaptists were to be at once suppressed.

Schmalkaldic League

To meet the situation, the Lutheran princes created the Schmalkaldic League. Due to the strength thus secured, and to the fact that the Turks were besieging Vienna, Charles was obliged to agree to a truce with the Protestants until a general council could assemble. Protestantism, instead of being checked, constantly secured new adherents.

Charles' policy towards Protestantism

Having failed thus far to restrain the growth of Protestantism, Charles redoubled his efforts to settle the religious quarrel through a general church council. Thanks to a new war with Francis I, and to Protestant reluctance to attend, or to negotiate with any council meeting in Italy, where the Pope insisted it should be held, he was unsuccessful. Then the experiment was tried of holding reunion discussions in which both Protestants and Catholics were invited to participate. Finally realizing that conciliation was hopeless until the political strength of the Protestants was broken, Charles planned so to divide their leaders and crush their armies that they would consent to accept the arbitration of a church council, which he intended meanwhile to persuade the Pope to call.

Charles was at first successful in dividing the Schmalkaldic League, in defeating its armies, and in preventing it from securing foreign alliances. The Pope was prevailed upon to call a council which finally met at Trent in December, 1545. Far from assuming a conciliatory attitude, however, it reaffirmed the Church's dogmas with renewed emphasis. Fearing that the council might seek to assert its power, instead of delaying as Charles desired until the Protestants could be induced to attend, Paul III hastened its sessions, and finally in March, 1547, adjourned it to Bologna where no Protestant might be expected to go. Under a new Pope, Julius III, it was recalled to Trent, and although there was no intention of reconciliation on either side, Protestant theologians had just appeared before it when an alliance was formed between the Lutheran princes and Henry II of France, who was promised the border cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The blow came so swiftly that Charles was nearly captured. Completely discouraged and conscientiously unwilling to tolerate Protestantism, which now seemed to be inevitable, Charles referred the matter to the next Diet by the Treaty of Passau, August 2, 1552, and commissioned his brother Ferdinand to treat with the Protestants there.

Charles' failure

By the compromise which was later agreed upon at Augsburg in 1555, each prince was to decide whether Catholicism or Lutheranism should be professed in his territories, no choice being allowed his subjects, and only one faith being permitted in a given territory. If the common man was dissatisfied with the faith of the territory where he resided he might freely emigrate to a state whose religion suited him. In the second place, no other Protestants except Lutherans were recognized. Thirdly, all Church property in Lutheran possession in 1552, the year of the Treaty of Passau, was to continue in the same ownership. Finally, any Catholic bishop or other spiritual ruler who thereafter became a Lutheran was to surrender both his position and property. By this agreement Lutheranism was legally established as one of the religions of Germany on the famous principle: *cujus regio ejus religio*, meaning that the ruling prince should determine the religion of his territory.

Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555

Outside Germany, the Scandinavian peoples were the most important gains for Lutheranism. In the Scandinavian countries, as in Germany, the bishops and other great clergymen had become unpopular because of their oppression, their rivalry with the nobility, and the fact that they were often foreign-born. In all three Scandinavian countries, however, the government and not the people was the chief actor in the revolt from Rome, which was almost entirely a political affair.

Lutheranism in Scandinavia

In Denmark, Christian II, in his struggle to strengthen his monarchical power and curb that of the great spiritual and temporal lords, believed that he could use the Reformation as a weapon against the prelates. Accordingly, he sent to Wittenberg for religious leaders to

Danish revolt

assist him. Although Christian was soon afterwards dethroned, his efforts resulted in the beginnings of a religious revival in Denmark, led by Christian humanists, who translated the Scriptures and some of Luther's works into Danish. A number of Danish students went to Wittenberg and returned full of enthusiasm.

The next King, Frederick I, chose the greatest Danish Lutheran preacher, Tausen, as his chaplain, took into his own hands the confirmation of bishops, and secured a statute tolerating Lutherans and permitting marriage of priests. A civil war in which the bishops were opposed to him gave his successor, Christian III, the excuse for abolishing their authority altogether, and for confiscating the church property, and dividing it between the nobility and himself. He further turned to Wittenberg for aid, and under the direction of Johann Bugenhagen, Luther's associate, the Danish Church was reorganized (1537) in Lutheran fashion.

The Lutheran Church was likewise introduced by the Danish King into Norway and Iceland, which at the time were under his rule. In all of these countries Lutheranism was slow in gaining popular approval and met with considerable opposition from peasants as well as clergy.

Reformation in Sweden

Although a Swedish Reformation was assisted by Lutheran preachers, here, too, the break from the Roman Church was a matter of political expediency rather than of conscience. In 1523, Sweden under the leadership of Gustavus Vasa won its independence from Danish control, to which it had been subject ever since the Union of Kalmar, 1397. In his efforts to free Sweden Vasa had been opposed by the Archbishop of Upsala; accordingly he demanded his recall by the Pope and the appointment of a successor in sympathy with the nationalist cause. As a result of the Pope's refusal and the pressing needs of the new government for funds, Vasa decided to assume control of the Church and take as much of its property as was needed by the government.

By the Diet of Westeras (1527), the necessary laws were passed. The Swedish Church retained the Catholic system of bishops and archbishops subject to royal supremacy, and the Swedish type of Lutheranism both in doctrine and practice was very conservative. A change in religion thus imposed by royal authority was slow in gaining popular approval. A futile attempt was made by a later King, John III (1569–1592), to return to Catholicism. Finland as a Swedish dependency likewise became a Lutheran country.

Lutheranism in eastern Europe

The grandmasters of two crusading orders of knights, the "Teutonic Knights" and the "Knights of the Sword," were responsible for the establishment of Lutheranism in Prussia, Livonia, and Esthonia. These profited by this opportunity to become dukes and appropriate the ecclesiastical revenues within their territories.

Quite different was the case of Poland, where the people, of a restless disposition, had always been susceptible to the influence of

foreign culture. Here, prepared by the earlier Hussite influences and by dissatisfaction with a degenerate church, the Reformation was adopted by the nobility and spread very rapidly among the important cities, where many Germans were living. Despite the efforts of the king to stem the tide, the lords obtained control of the government, and secured absolute liberty for all new sects.

Poland affords an example of a country in which too free a religious toleration resulted in the overthrow of Protestantism. Anabaptists, Moravians, Calvinists, and Anti-Trinitarians[1] all vied with Lutherans for the establishment of reform. So weakened and confused were the Protestants with their dissensions among themselves that the Polish sovereigns, assisted by the Jesuits, were able almost completely to win back Poland to the Catholic Church.

Similar conditions obtained in Hungary, where Protestantism had a considerable hold upon the nobles, and in Transylvania, where the Saxon colonists welcomed Lutheranism. In both countries the dissension caused by the Anti-Trinitarian movement resulted in their almost complete return to the Catholic Church.

Many people in Bohemia, the land of Huss, at first welcomed Lutheranism, and then turned to Calvinism. In 1567 toleration was granted to the three principal religions, but the whole land was won back during the next generation to the Catholic Church.

Lutheran reform in Netherlands

The Netherlands, due to their central location, so open to all currents of European thought, to the many pre-Reformation mystics who had lived there, to the great printing industry which was early established there, to the German commercial colony at Antwerp, and to the influence of the many travelers who visited this region, were peculiarly susceptible to the Lutheran movement. Although so many favoring conditions appeared to promote Lutheranism, from the start it met with vigorous opposition from the Dominicans. Representing the Emperor in his own homeland, the government was active in seizing heretics and burning Lutheran books. The Anabaptists also were active and suffered persecution in the Netherlands.

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[1] The Anti-Trinitarians or Unitarians, then frequently called Socinians, came from southern Europe, particularly Italy, whence they were driven by persecution to take refuge in eastern Europe. Their greatest leaders, Lelio Socini (1525–1562) and Fauste Socini (1539–1604), instead of the doctrine of the Trinity taught the "Unity of God and the simple humanity of Christ." A further difference concerned salvation, which it was contended was brought about by the example of Christ's life, by his love, and by the influence of his spirit, rather than through his atonement for our sins on the cross.

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CHAPTER X

THE LATER REFORMERS

Calvinism

Although Lutheranism took root in a number of countries outside of Germany, "Luther was too national—too German a reformer, to admit of his becoming the universal prophet of Protestantism all over the world." A further reform movement was needed which should erect upon the creative work of Luther and Zwingli a system of Protestant theology so organized that it might be used by Protestants everywhere in their growing struggle with Rome. This great work was accomplished by a Frenchman, John Calvin, who, as Beard remarks, is "the only one of the great reformers who can justly be called international."

Importance of Calvinism in reform movement

Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy on July 10, 1509. He was twenty-five years younger than Luther and was still a child when the first reform movements began in Germany and Switzerland. His father was the bishop's secretary and an attorney for the cathedral chapter. At a very early age young Calvin went to live with the noble family of de Montmor and to receive with the de Montmor children training as a polished French gentleman. Soon afterwards two church benefices were obtained for him, and he was sent to Paris to be trained for the priesthood. After Calvin had been in Paris about five years the plans for the young man's ecclesiastical career were interrupted by a quarrel which his father had with the Church. Believing that the law now offered better prospects, young Calvin was sent to Orleans, and then to Bourges where the best legal faculties were to be found. Upon his father's death, Calvin gave up this career, and returned to Paris to take up humanistic studies. Here he fell under the influence of a group of French Protestants and accepted their beliefs.

John Calvin

The way for French Protestantism was first prepared by a group of humanists and mystical reformers, although it did not actually come into being until the importation into the country of many Lutheran books. Even before Luther's break with Rome, a noted humanistic professor of the University of Paris, Lefévre of Etaples, clearly stated his belief in the exclusive authority of the Bible and in justification by faith alone. He was eagerly followed by a group of ardent young scholars, many of whom were influenced also by Luther's writings. These as well as Lefévre were soon invited by the Bishop of Meaux to come and assist him in reviving the Christian zeal in his diocese by simple Bible readings and explanations. Lefévre coöperated by preparing a French Bible. This movement was patronized by the King's sister, Margaret of Angoulême, who had liberal religious

Origin of French Protestantism

leanings, and it was for a while favorably regarded by King Francis himself.

Growth and persecution of French Protestantism

No break with the Catholic Church had been intended by the Bishop of Meaux, but some of the new preachers he had invited to his diocese began to express heretical views. Disliking Lutheranism, which he believed was unfavorable to royal power, and desiring an alliance with the Pope against Charles V, and at the same time being promised by the French clergy a large sum of money for his war expenses if he would suppress heresy, Francis turned energetically against the French Protestants. In spite of a persecution which resulted in the burning of almost four hundred of them in one year, their numbers continued to increase until Protestantism was found, although in unorganized form, among the middle class in the towns and cities in every part of France.

In 1535, once more led by policy, the King sought an alliance with the German Protestants against Charles V. To facilitate matters he issued an apology to the Protestant world for his previous conduct, "charging French Protestantism with anarchistic aims such as no government could bear," but at the same time issuing orders for the persecution to stop.

Institutes of Christian Religion

At this point, Calvin, who, together with other Protestant leaders, had been obliged to leave France and had taken refuge in the Swiss city of Basle, felt called upon to defend his fellow believers from the King's slanders. Rapidly completing his great work, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, and prefacing it with a letter to the French King in which he defended the Protestant position, he published it in 1536.

Although then only twenty-six years of age, his studies had led him to a mastery of an amazing number of Biblical and classical authorities and of the doctrines of the Reformers; his legal training had taught him system and brevity; he had the native French ability for forceful, lucid expression. These factors make this work "the most orderly and systematic presentation of doctrine and of the Christian life that the Reformation produced" and "one of the greatest books on theology ever written." It offered a statement of the Protestant views, clear and comprehensive and capable of meeting on equal terms the logic of Catholic theologians. A new edition of Calvin's *Institutes* was published it has been said, every ten weeks for more than a hundred years.

Calvinistic theology

The main emphasis in this, as in Calvin's other works, was placed on the omnipotence and glory of God to which all things were to contribute. Everything that happens is natural; human history has been willed by Him for the carrying out of a purpose which has been in His mind from all eternity. The eternal fate of individuals, like everything else, has been decided before their creation. Some are the elect; others are predestined to damnation. In either case, since his

actions have been foreordained, and he is powerless before God's will, the individual may do nothing in life to alter God's decree concerning him. This, instead of a discouraging doctrine, was to the true Calvinist a great inspiration, since he invariably believed himself to be numbered among the elect and therefore to be an instrument in God's hand for carrying out His purpose in the world.

In the matter of the sacrament of the "Lord's Supper," Calvin stood halfway between Luther's position and Zwingli's, although inclining toward the former's in the emphasis he laid upon Christ's spiritual presence.

Calvin at Geneva

Following the publication of his great work, Calvin was regarded by French Protestants as a natural leader, but the opportunity for establishing a religious community according to his ideas was first offered him by the French Swiss. Stopping over-night while on his way to take up his residence at Strassburg, he was persuaded by the great missionary, Farel, to stay and help him organize the church in Geneva, a Swiss city which had recently adopted Protestantism. Here, except for several years' banishment, he remained as chief pastor for the rest of his life.

In many ways Geneva presented a unique opportunity. It had long been ruled by a bishop who had been assisted in political affairs by the Duke of Savoy. With the aid of Bern it had recently won its independence and had established an independent government consisting of several legislative councils and a number of magistrates as executive officers. Through the efforts of such vigorous preachers as Farel, and even more from policy, it had decided to separate from the Roman Church, but its form of church organization was still undetermined. Both because of its independence and because its reformation was still in process, it presented a unique opportunity for the establishment of a new church patterned according to Calvin's ideas; while its convenient location along European routes of travel made it an ideal center for propaganda.

Church organization

Calvin, although at first meeting with opposition from both people and magistrates, was successful in creating a Christian community modeled in its strict simplicity after the early Christian churches. Services were simplified by removing all form and ceremony, all that might appeal to the artistic or emotional nature, such as candles, pictures, and stained glass windows; while plain white walls offered no distraction from the long sermons, the prayers, and the psalm singing which characterized Calvinistic worship.

Censorship of morals

Daily life was regarded with the same seriousness. The morale of the clergy was maintained by weekly conferences. A consistory composed of the ministers and of lay elders chosen by the civil council of Geneva kept a careful watch over the morals and conduct of the citizens, while teachers approved by the clergy and civil authorities ministered to their intellectual needs, and deacons looked after the poor, sick, and unfortunate.

Especially active was the consistory which, by its assiduity in inquiring into the moral and spiritual welfare of all church members, and its imposition of ecclesiastical penalties even to the extent of excommunication, succeeded in instituting a control of human affairs resembling in many respects the restraint which the Catholic Church imposed by means of the confessional. The resemblance is still more marked when it is noted that elders annually visited and examined the conduct of each family.

While Luther adopted the more liberal view that what was not forbidden by Scripture might be allowed, and that the New Testament altered the application of the Old, Calvin "took the Bible much more as a whole," holding that all parts were written under the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and that only such things in religion were permitted as were there sanctioned or as might be deduced from Biblical statements. He took the Scriptures as a law book which must be consulted for "precedents and instructions."

Every effort was made to promote the highest moral conduct. The Sabbath was strictly observed. Neither unnecessary work nor any recreation was allowed. Two sermons, often two hours each in duration, were preached; and the children were catechized in the afternoon. Morning prayers as in the Catholic Church were held each weekday, and sermons were delivered on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. On these occasions all work was to cease and special officers saw to it that everyone, even household servants, was present.

Many amusements such as the theater, dancing, and card-playing were prohibited; cursing, singing obscene songs, and drunkenness were regarded as crimes. Strict sumptuary laws regulated all luxuries in clothing and all feasting. Equally severe was the enforcement of orthodoxy, offenders frequently being handed over to the civil authorities for punishment by fine, imprisonment, torture, or death. Within sixty years as many as one hundred and fifty persons were burnt for witchcraft at Geneva. In 1553 Calvin burned at the stake the Spanish refugee, Michael Servetus, who differed from him in the interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity.

Calvin's motives

In all these regulations Calvin was moved by a number of motives. First, he desired to produce a type of Christian who, filled with religious and moral zeal, should have no inclination or time for the frivolities of life, and, as God's elect, should look on life as a post of duty. Second, it was his desire to make Geneva an example for the whole Christian world to follow. Third, he realized that with the rapid changes of the time and the release from the restrictions of the old church system, the new-found liberty was frequently abused and as a result the success of the whole reform movement was endangered. Much of the regulation of morals was a continuation of the earlier interference of the medieval town and ecclesiastical authorities in the conduct of individuals, although its severity was greatly intensified through Calvin's influence.

For carrying out his plans Calvin held no official position except that of chief pastor and preacher, but so great was his influence that he dominated the conduct of both secular and clerical affairs. Unlike the other reformers he did not believe in placing the Church under the state government, but clung to the Catholic theory of separate control of church affairs, with the exception that not only clergy but the laymen of the congregation should participate in their management. State and Church should coöperate, each permeated with the other.

Church government

Under Calvin's leadership, Geneva became a great center for the expansion of Protestantism whose fame was known over all Europe. From France, Germany, England, Scotland, the Netherlands, and even from Spain and Italy came many refugees from persecution, and many others who wished to learn Protestant truths directly from Calvin's lips. Led by the need of satisfying the craving for Christian knowledge, as well as by the constant demand made upon him to provide ministers and missionaries for other parts of Europe, Calvin collected many prominent Protestant scholars around him and established an academy which later became a university. Calvinism was soon distinguished by its educated ministry.

Geneva as Protestant center

Calvin did more than any other man to organize and prepare Protestantism for its struggle with Catholicism. By his *Institutes* he provided a weapon of sufficient strength to match the arguments of Catholic dogmatists. His creed inspired his followers with the belief that as God's elect they were sure of victory, for nothing could defeat His unchanging purpose. Their severe moral training prepared sturdy leaders with "lofty, dauntless spirits" ready to make sacrifices for an ideal. The aggressive spirit of Calvinism was better suited than Luther's milder creed and his doctrine of submission to authority for the struggle in which Protestantism had to engage against the vigorous efforts of the Catholic Church and Catholic sovereigns to suppress it.

Importance of Calvin for Protestant movement

Calvinism assumed some slight variations in form in the countries it entered. Calvinists were known in England and New England as Puritans, in Scotland as Presbyterians, in Holland as the Dutch Reformed Church, in France as Huguenots, and in Germany as the German Reformed Church. In these countries it played a leading rôle in the conflicts for civil and religious liberty.

Calvin was looked upon by most of the Swiss as Zwingli's successor, and with the exception of the five Catholic forest cantons and several others, Switzerland accepted his Church. Likewise in southern Germany where Zwinglianism had made some headway, and Lutheranism had lost because of Luther's attitude towards the Peasants' Revolt, Calvinism gained a considerable hold, which it strengthened by converts from the middle class.

Spread of Calvinism in Switzerland and Germany

The earlier reform movement in France, although led by Christian humanists, had a large appeal to the poor and humble, especially to artisans. Their social wrongs predisposed them toward a religion

Calvinism in France

which made an appeal to individual reason and stood for the equality of all Christians. But although, prior to 1536, French Protestantism had made considerable progress, it was not until Calvin furnished it with a definite organization and program that it made a wide appeal. Isolated groups were gradually replaced by organized churches. A small but energetic band of leaders was recruited from converted Catholic clergymen and teachers and was so successful in arousing interest by means of sermons and pamphlets that it is estimated one-sixth of the population was won for Protestantism. Until about 1560, it was a religion of the poor folk, but about that date many of the moneyed interests, many gentleman-farmers and their tenants, and numbers of great nobles adopted it.[1] From that time, the movement, somewhat after the fashion of Protestantism in Germany, came under the leadership of great nobles, and was turned into a political party in opposition to a strong Catholic group led by the Guise family, Princes of Lorraine. This resulted in long civil wars. Impelled by horrible persecution under Henry II, many Protestant artisans fled to Geneva, the Netherlands, England, and Germany, carrying many valuable industrial secrets with them.

Calvinism in Netherlands

It has already been noted that both Lutheranism and Anabaptism had exerted considerable influence in the Netherlands, but had been checked by the severe measures taken by the government and church authorities. Calvinism was introduced by French exiles, and also as a result of the relations existing with English Protestantism. Whereas Lutheranism had been unfitted by its doctrine of passive obedience, and Anabaptism by its communistic principles, to win the country for Protestantism, Calvinism inspired the enthusiasm, the endurance, and the will forcibly to resist tyranny. Calvin himself advocated passive obedience as strongly as did Luther, but his followers were not consistent with his doctrines on this point. Further, Calvin's doctrines were far more favorable than were Luther's to the new spirit of capitalism and business enterprise. Making its strongest appeal to the rich merchants in the towns, who in many cases converted their employees, Calvinism was also soon found among some of the nobles. Many of the poor deserted the Anabaptist ranks for Calvinism in the hope of securing social betterment. The greatest weakness of the Protestant situation in the Netherlands was the variety of beliefs which were opposed to each other. There were Lutherans, Ana-

[1] It has sometimes been stated that the French Protestant movement was mostly confined to the middle class and almost from the beginning acquired a political significance. The author is of the opinion instead that the views expressed by H. Hauser in his "The French Reformation and the French People in the Sixteenth Century" in *The American Historical Review*, January, 1899, and in his chapter in *Modern France*, edited by Arthur Tilley, 1922, are correct. He holds that the movement was first a popular one among artisans, and to some extent among peasants, and about 1560 it assumed a political character under the nobility and upper middle class. The estimate given by Preserved Smith of about one-sixth of the population as the extent of the movement has been accepted, although the exact number is more or less uncertain.

baptists, and Calvinists, and the latter were divided into two opposing groups. Besides, there existed various shades of opinion such as those of the Erasmians, who believed in religious toleration.

Calvinism in Scotland

The Catholic Church in Scotland was one of the most oppressive and corrupt in Europe; it had succeeded in securing about one-half of the land of the country. The revolt in Scotland, as in other countries, was both religious and political. It started under the leadership of humanists and its adherents were first to be found among the younger branches of noble families, the middle class of the towns, and some of the more earnest clergy. Lutheranism was brought to Scotland by Scotch preachers and scholars who journeyed to Wittenberg and other German centers of Protestantism, as well as by the Lutheran books and English Bibles smuggled in by Scotch merchants.

Under George Wishart the Scottish Protestant movement began to assume a Calvinistic form. The government, which was under the regency of Mary of Lorraine during the minority of her daughter, Mary Stuart, was sternly opposed to the new movement. The primate of the Scotch Church, David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, succeeded in having Wishart burned at the stake and believed he had practically exterminated Protestantism, when he was killed by an assassin inspired by Wishart's execution. At about this time, the hero of the Scotch revolt, John Knox, appeared upon the scene.

John Knox, a Scotch peasant by birth and a clergyman by profession, has been surpassed by none of the Reformers in strenuous fighting ability and devotion to his religion. Harsh and intolerant, he was thoroughly convinced of the justice of his cause and the utter evil of his opponents, whom he denounced in the most vigorous language. He participated in the Protestant reforms in England, and spent years of exile as pastor in Frankfort, and at Geneva, where he absorbed Calvin's teachings.

The Scotch religious situation was complicated by the marriage of the Queen of Scots, then fifteen, to the Dauphin of France, and by the action of the Regent in secretly conveying Scotland to the King of France. To many Scots it seemed as if they were in danger of losing their nationality, and a band of Protestant noblemen, called "Lords of the Congregation," who also realized that the French alliance would result in the destruction of their religion, on December 3, 1557, drew up the "First Scottish Covenant," agreeing to join their forces to maintain the reformed faith. Knox soon took charge of the movement and civil war was threatened. England, then Protestant, allied with the Reformed party. This, together with the strong support of the middle and part of the upper class, and the weakness and vacillation of the government, turned the course of events in their favor. A Parliament controlled by a majority of smaller barons and burgesses adopted an extremely Calvinistic confession of faith which was drawn up by Knox. It forbade the celebration of the mass, and abolished the authority of the Pope and that of the Catholic prelates.

A Presbyterian system of church government, inspired by Calvin's at Geneva, furnishing the model for modern Presbyterian churches, was instituted. In each parish a minister and elders chosen by the congregation constituted a governing and disciplinary board. In the larger towns were held meetings for discussion, called presbyteries, whose membership was made up of delegates from the congregations. Over larger divisions of ministers and congregations were synods, and over the entire Church was the general assembly. So powerful did the new Church become that it exercised a large control over the national government, interfering with and directing its policies in the interests of Presbyterianism. A most rigid Calvinistic system of moral control was likewise imposed over the daily life of the people.

Calvinism in England

In England, as will be seen in the next few pages, Calvinism influenced the doctrines adopted by the Anglican Church, and resulted in the formation of Puritanism and of the Separatist Churches.

Anglicanism

Nature of English revolt

The Reformation in England, unlike that in other countries, was accomplished without civil war between hostile religious parties. This was due to the fact that England possessed a strong central government which had succeeded in carefully subordinating the lords, who in Germany and France made use of the Reformation to advance political ambitions. In England it was the King and Parliament who took the initiative in severing relations with Rome.

Preparation of England for Reformation

Although it was the government which took action in separating from Rome, the way had been prepared by a popular movement toward church reform. Otherwise, difficulty might have been experienced in making the change. Ever since John Wycliffe in the later fourteenth century had denounced the papal supremacy as an infringement on the national rights of Englishmen, and had criticized the immorality, laziness, and undue wealth of the English Church and advocated a poor preaching clergy and the use of the Bible in English, there had been Englishmen who desired reform. A strong nationalist feeling at variance with papal interference in English affairs had for centuries existed in Parliament, and had resulted in greatly curtailing the Pope's control over the English Church, and yet the Church still maintained sufficient privileged independence to make it appear the one obstacle left in the way of the realization of the royal absolutism which the strong Tudor dynasty had been successful in imposing upon the state. The Christian humanists, such as Colet, More, and Erasmus, although they had never desired a separation from the Roman Church, had by their criticisms of clerical abuses and inconsistencies, and their advocacy of a simpler, more genuine Christianity, led intelligent people to regard the existing system as undesirable.

And yet, perhaps more in England than in many lands, the Reformation may be regarded as having been imported. Luther's writings

soon after their publication found their way to England. Both Oxford University and Cambridge were infected with Lutheranism. The government and ecclesiastical authorities early took energetic measures to burn Lutheran books, but in spite of everything they might do, some of the middle classes, especially merchants, were won to Lutheranism. Their interest was further kept alive by the English Bibles which were translated by William Tyndale and smuggled into England. It is, however, quite certain that neither this movement nor any discontent which the people felt with the Church would have led to a break with the papacy if it had not been for the affair of Henry VIII's divorce.

Question of Henry VIII's divorce

In order to preserve an alliance with Spain Henry VIII had married his brother Arthur's widow, Catherine of Aragon. Since marriage with a brother's widow was forbidden both in the Old Testament and by canon law, a special papal dispensation was secured. This the Pope had granted only after considerable hesitation as to his power in the matter, since it was held that dispensations could not offset divine or Biblical law.

It is doubtful whether Henry would ever have sought separation from his wife if the matter of an heir to the English throne had not been involved. The only survivor of the six children borne him by Catherine was Princess Mary. It was remembered that the only female heir, Princess Matilda, to whom the English crown had ever been left had failed to maintain her claims and a period of anarchy had resulted. Furthermore, if Mary were married, as would be necessary to maintain the succession, still further complications were likely to result. Marriage with a foreign prince was unpopular and was likely to subject England to foreign rule, while marriage to an English nobleman would in all probability lead to another internecine struggle like the Wars of the Roses. The Tudor dynasty was young and Henry had reason to suspect the designs of certain nobles and foreign powers to supplant it.

All this misfortune Henry, now in the eighteenth year of his married life, professed to be a result of his marriage with Catherine. Whether he was sincere in this belief or not, at least it furnished a convenient ground for separation from Catherine, now that he had become convinced that the only means of securing his dynasty was marriage to a second wife. He sought the Pope's consent to the separation. By this time or soon afterwards, Henry had become infatuated with Anne Boleyn, one of his wife's ladies-in-waiting. He resolved to marry her as soon as he was free to do so.

He might well have expected that his affair would receive favorable consideration from the Pope, since there were many precedents for such action, and since Henry had not long before written a defense of the sacraments against Luther's attacks, being rewarded by the Pope for his zeal with the title of "Defender of the Faith," a title

which the English Kings still bear. Unfortunately for Henry, Pope Clement VII felt unable to decide in his favor. In the first place, Italy was in the possession of Charles V's armies, and that sovereign, who was Catherine's nephew, naturally opposed Henry's plans and insisted that the Pope refuse his consent. In the second place, if he granted Henry's plea he would have to reverse the dispensation which had been granted for Henry's and Catherine's marriage, and to reverse a decision of one of his predecessors would be a most dangerous precedent.

Separation from Rome

Unable to secure from a papal court a decision in favor of the divorce, the chagrined and wrathful King decided at length upon the bold move either of separating the English Church from Rome and himself assuming direction of it, or of so threatening papal control as to secure his wishes. Henry's first move was to have his attorney-general file a charge in the Court of King's Bench against all the clergy of the realm for having violated an obsolete statute forbidding them to receive papal legates without the King's consent. By means of this threat he secured, in 1531, both a huge sum of money from the clergy, who hastened to make terms with him, and also the recognition that he was their "supreme lord and, as far as the law of Christ allows, even Supreme Head."

Meanwhile Parliament had been persuaded to pass a law forbidding the payment of annates to Rome, but suspending its enforcement as long as the King desired. Using this as persuasion, he secured papal confirmation of the appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury, of Thomas Cranmer, a Lutheran by conviction, who he knew would meet his wishes. Cranmer was not slow to hold a court whose decisions Henry had taken care to safeguard by parliamentary statute forbidding all appeals from English courts to Rome. Henry's marriage to Catherine was declared null and void, and Anne Boleyn, whom Henry had meanwhile secretly married, was declared his lawful wife. Later that same year, a child, the Princess Elizabeth, was born to the newly married couple.

The separation from Rome was completed in 1534 by a series of parliamentary statutes depriving the papacy of all control over the selection of English church officials, forbidding the payment of annates and other dues to Rome, making legal the submission of the clergy to the King and declaring him "the Supreme Head of the English Church." Anyone who refused to accept the King's ecclesiastical supremacy was to be regarded as guilty of treason.

Attitude of people

Although some opposition to these changes was shown by the higher clergy, monks, and a few leading Englishmen such as Sir Thomas More, they were accepted by the majority without complaint. This was due not only to the severity of the law and the vigor with which it was enforced, but also to the fact that the Church remained Catholic in its services and creed, merely transferring its control to the King. With the exception of the Pope and of the

monasteries, which were dissolved, it even retained the same church organization.

Reasons why Henry retained Catholic doctrines

A number of reasons for this conservatism may be cited. First, Henry remained in everything except his allegiance to the Pope a sincere Catholic at heart, and believed that Protestant doctrines were not suitable to strong monarchy. He had control of the government and resources of the Church in England and that was all he desired. Second, he realized that the English were unprepared for such great changes in worship as Protestantism would introduce. Third, as long as he retained Catholic doctrines, there would be less danger of the interference of Catholic sovereigns to restore the papal control, and greater opportunities to maintain necessary alliances with foreign monarchs who were Catholic.

Six Articles Act

In 1539, to settle all controversy, he persuaded Parliament to pass the Six Articles Act, which affirmed the Catholic position concerning the sacraments, and threatened with death at the stake all who refused to accept transubstantiation. Auricular confession and clerical celibacy were likewise upheld.

Maintenance of government settlement

To prevent any deviation from the middle course thus arranged, a veritable reign of terror was inaugurated. Those like Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher who refused to abandon papal supremacy were beheaded, while Protestants who would not accept the miracle of the mass were burned.

Introduction of some changes in church practices

Although the government was opposed to all doctrinal change, under Cranmer's influence certain reforms in church services and religious customs were instituted. An English translation of the Bible, based largely on Tyndale's, was sold in the shops, and by government orders a large copy was placed in each church, where it might be consulted. The Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Litany were to be read in English in church services. Reverence of images and pilgrimages to shrines were discouraged. Many relics were destroyed and the frauds connected with them disclosed.

Dissolution of monasteries

The monasteries likewise met the fate of similar institutions in the countries where the revolt from Rome had occurred. To his resources, already swollen with the dues which had formerly been paid the Pope, Henry added the plunder of monastic treasures and lands. Of the monastery lands in every part of England many, however, were given or sold at low prices to nobles, officials, and people of lower rank. Thus Henry formed a new class of landed gentry, interested in upholding the separation from Rome, and at the same time he destroyed that portion of the Church which had opposed separation.

Religious divisions in England at end of Henry VIII's reign

By the end of Henry VIII's reign, the people of England were divided into three religious groups. The majority upheld him in wishing for no considerable alteration in doctrine or worship, while rejecting foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction. One small minority group wished a complete restoration of the papal control, and the

others, comprising such able men as Archbishop Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, desired the introduction of a thorough-going Protestant reform.

Church during Edward VI's reign

With the accession of Edward VI it was this latter minority group which secured control of the government. Since the new King, Edward VI, was only nine years old upon his father's death, Henry left the government in charge of a council of regency. To make sure that the changes he had inaugurated should be preserved, he appointed many of its members from among the Reformers. This group soon introduced many changes, such as the alteration of the mass into the communion service, the emphasis laid upon preaching, the destruction of images and stained glass windows and the whitewashing of church walls, and the preparation by Cranmer of a Book of Common Prayer, which popularized the Anglican worship just as the Bible had done in the case of the Lutheran and Calvinistic revolts. The creed of this Church contained elements of Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism, and it was later so revised as to become more definitely Protestant. The beliefs of the Church were further affirmed in Forty-two Articles, likewise drawn up by Cranmer, which, while containing Roman and Calvinistic elements, were mostly Lutheran in their assertions.

Establishment of Church under Elizabeth

The Anglican Church retained its new Protestant form for the six years of Edward's lifetime, and then from 1553 to 1558 under Queen Mary, the daughter of Catherine, Henry VIII's first wife, England was restored to the papacy. With the coming to the throne in 1558 of Queen Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter, it was only natural that it should once more become Protestant. Under her direction the Anglican Church assumed its final form. Like the Lutheran Church it retained much more of the Catholic ritual than other Protestant Churches, and was more markedly national, a strong ally of the government, with which Calvinism was inclined to conflict. Its creed while Protestant occupied middle ground among the beliefs of the reformed sects, and also made concessions to Catholicism.

Elizabeth's policy toward dissenters from Established Church

At the time of Elizabeth's accession, the mass of the people were Catholics, but the more intelligent, progressive, and influential classes were Protestants. Because the church services still retained much Catholic ritual, because patriotism was aroused by Spanish attempts to restore Catholicism, and because the government discriminated against Catholics, this Catholic majority was changed into a small minority during Elizabeth's reign. The Queen's policy was one of conciliation and comprehension of divergent religious opinions within the Anglican Church. Dissention from the Established Church whether by Catholics or radical Protestants was, however, severely dealt with by the government. Since foreign and internal Catholic plots were formed against the Queen, and Parliament favored severe measures against Catholics, and moderate

treatment of Puritans, Catholic dissenters suffered most. It is said that as many as several hundred Catholics were executed during Elizabeth's reign. Others were imprisoned, lost their property, or were banished from the realm.[1]

Puritans

While not wishing to separate from the Anglican Church, the Puritans were a group of that communion which wished to "purify" or simplify its services. They objected to wearing the Anglican vestments which reminded them of those used in the Catholic Church, and wished to omit such practices as using the cross at baptism, the ring in the marriage ceremony, kneeling at communion, and the keeping of saints' days. To their way of thinking, nothing should be in the prayer book except what was warranted by Scripture, and some of them began secretly to use the German instead of the Anglican litany. They possessed the general characteristics of Calvinism as already described.

Although many of the bishops sympathized with them or, for the sake of unity, were willing to make concessions to their objections, the Queen desired no further change, and by the use of the newly created Court of High Commission drove large numbers of Puritan divines, many of them intellectual leaders of the clergy, from their posts, to the great detriment of the spirituality of the Church. Although many illegal Puritan conventicles were ruthlessly suppressed, the movement, which had the sympathy of Parliament, continued to grow. It was greatly aided by the Calvinist refugees from the Netherlands, who settled in large numbers in eastern and southern England, and who, because of the religious toleration which they were granted by the government, were able to serve as centers for Puritan propaganda.

Thomas Cartwright and Presbyterianism

While some of the Puritans continued to believe in the episcopal system of church government, others followed the leadership of a Cambridge professor, Thomas Cartwright, who, about 1570, began to urge that the whole system should be remodeled on the Calvinistic Presbyterian plan recently adopted by the Scotch Protestants. Although attempts were made to establish such a church organization, they never met with success in England.

Independents

Another Anglican clergyman, Robert Browne, held still more advanced views of church government than Cartwright. Probably influenced by Anabaptist teachings, he believed that the state Church was contrary to the Scriptures and that only a government by the local church community was justified. His followers, the Brownists or Separatists, wished to abandon the existing Church organization and form themselves into independent congregations. Similar ideas concerning Church government were later developed by English Congregationalists and Baptists when they came to form separate denominations.

[1] During the first twelve years of the reign the laws against the Catholics were laxly enforced. Afterwards more rigorous measures were taken.

The Result of the Protestant Revolt

Religious effects

In part at least the Protestant revolt was a return to earlier forms of Christianity and the abandonment of the traditional Christianity of the later medieval church. Both Luther and Calvin renewed old Catholic dogma which during the later Middle Ages had been largely supplanted by the emphasis placed upon good works. Casting aside all such external aids to salvation as the sacraments, reverence of relics, and intercession of the Virgin Mary and the saints, the Protestant reformers made a direct appeal to the Deity, whom they recognized as a personal God. Individual man faced an individual God.

The dreadful responsibility which each person thus incurred, made doubly severe by the emphasis placed by the reformers upon man's sinful nature, was relieved in the case of Luther by faith that the repentant would be pardoned by the mere trust in God's mercy, and in the case of Calvin by the belief that the Christian's fate had been foreordained before birth and was completely in God's hands. Their views were at variance with the classical humanistic tendencies of the Renaissance, which emphasized the virtue of human nature and its ability to rise of itself to great heights of attainment.

By the Protestant Revolt religion was made "less a thing of the clergy and more a thing of the people." Such changes as the introduction of religious services in the native tongue and the making available of the Scriptures led men to think for themselves instead of passively accepting religious truths from the hands of authority. By the strengthening of individual conviction thus secured, a beginning was made toward freedom of thought. While at first among many of the worshippers the old sense of reverence was weakened and some became disputatious and arrogant, the earnest sermons now preached, the hymns, and the greater part the congregation now took in the services aroused a more zealous religious enthusiasm.[1]

Religious tolerance

Although the religious strife raised by the Reformation had the immediate effect of producing greater intolerance both among Protestants and Catholics than had existed, and although Luther and Calvin and other great religious leaders were so thoroughly convinced of the sole truth of their views that they became very intolerant of other opinions and did little or nothing for the immediate realization of religious toleration, nevertheless the principles they expressed led towards toleration, since those who favored religious liberty, by resting their claims upon these principles, were able later under more favorable circumstances to establish it. The Reformation had broken the force of the Universal Church, which, while attempting to influence or control all thought and institutions, would tolerate no difference with itself. The fact that numbers of religious

[1] By arousing interest in religious controversy and by causing a period of confusion, the Reformation diverted, at least among the Protestant sects, attention from missionary activity. The Catholic Church in its desire to make up for losses in Europe carried on extensive missionary activities overseas.

sects existed, even though each was intolerant of the others, introduced an element of discussion into the religious world which prepared the way for toleration. The machinery for enforcing unity of belief disintegrated. It was among the lesser religious sects, such as the Anabaptists, that the spirit of tolerance first existed in denominationalism. The introduction of Humanism into religious thought, as in the case of Zwingli, likewise modified intolerance. However, tolerance, as will be seen later, was to have its real fruition under the influence of eighteenth-century rationalism; the contributions which Protestantism made to intellectual emancipation were chiefly indirect and incidental.

Protestant conservatism

In many respects, certainly, Protestantism was a continuation of later medieval theology. It still believed the Church should be upheld by the authority of the State; that only one type of worship should be permitted in each land; and that religion should dominate educational and cultural life. It retained belief in original sin and man's natural worthlessness. It continued to hold much of the other-worldly outlook of medieval Christianity. It remained intolerant of reason. Although monasticism was rejected, the ascetic view of life continued to play a large part, especially in Calvin's theology.

Moral effects

In the Reformed Churches as a result of the Protestant Revolt, and in the Catholic Church as a result of the Counter-Reformation, moral abuses among the clergy were suppressed, loftier standards of morality introduced, and an energetic, dutiful clergy secured. However, with the exception of the Calvinists, neither the Old Church nor the new denominations were able immediately to meet the serious moral problem presented by the rapidly changing social, economic, and intellectual conditions, with their attendant results of materialism, worldliness, extravagance, and an individualism which would tolerate no restraint.

Because Protestantism had broken away from and disapproved of long-established authority and had to create anew the means of imposing moral restraints, and because of the social changes introduced by the reformers, the way was thrown open to greater moral abuses until adjustments could be made. As a result likewise of a misconception of the emphasis laid by Luther upon faith as a sole means of salvation, many people refused any longer to practice good works. In reaction against former clerical oppression they now refused to contribute to the support of religion, education, and charity. Freed from the restraint of confession and penance, some failed in their new-found liberty to recognize their responsibility to God. No longer constrained to fasting and prayer, others gave way to their passions. Encouraged by criticism and opposition to entertain a lack of respect for the priesthood, many refused likewise to pay due reverence to the reformed clergy or listen to their admonitions.

Although at first the moral results of the Reformation, except for the clergy, appeared to be negative, "a practical morality, homely

rather than ascetic," was eventually evolved by Lutheranism. A married Protestant clergy served as examples for domestic morality. The family instead of the monastery became the ideal unit of Christian life.

Profiting from the experiences of the first reformers, Calvin, as has been seen, introduced a rigid censorship of morals which did much toward correcting social laxness. Of still greater importance was the affirmative influence furnished by the Calvinistic belief in election and predestination. Upon the elect was imposed the high ideal of proving to his neighbors his election and fulfilling God's purposes in the world. Every action must be carefully considered with these ends in view. At the same time, it can scarcely be doubted that the Reformers lessened human happiness by needless severity toward harmless pleasures and by the attitude of solemnity which they inculcated.

Economic effects

A number of economists and social scientists have attributed to the influences exerted by Calvinism a great impulse to the growth of capitalism and modern business life. Whereas the Old Church fathered the business morality of the Middle Ages, the religion of the Reformation was more adapted to the growing energies of the modern world. In place of special acts of piety, everyday labor was glorified. While the medieval Christian ideal was a monastic asceticism of seclusion and endeavor to escape the world, that of the Calvinist was on the contrary the unremitting, indefatigable pursuit of his worldly vocation in order to realize a divine purpose concerning his own destiny and that of the world. Many of the virtues, such as self-denial and self-discipline, demanded of Calvinists, were likewise those required for modern business. Typical of Calvinist teaching are Richard Baxter's admonitions that "we put forth all our strength and run as for our lives, and whatever our hand shall find to do, do it with our might."

It has been further argued that since Calvinism turned to the Old Testament for part of its moral precepts, it absorbed Jewish principles favorable to the acquisition of worldly gain, while frugal habits and the belief that extravagance and worldly pleasures were sins were suitable to the accumulation of capital. At the same time no objection was held by Calvinists to the unequal distribution of property, since some must be favored as God's elect.

Preaching largely to city congregations composed for the most part of the commercial and industrial class, Calvin and his followers frankly recognized the need of capital and the institutions of a modern business life. By so doing they broke with the ecclesiastical ideals of the medieval Church which regarded as evil interest in economic affairs "beyond what is necessary for subsistence." The Calvinists placed the profits of trade and finance on the same plane of respectability as the wages of labor or the landlord's rents. They no longer regarded economic motives as contrary to spiritual life or looked

upon the capitalist as one who had become wealthy by taking advantage of his neighbors' misfortunes. Neither did they consider poverty "as in itself meritorious." The evil to be met, according to the Calvinist, was not "the accumulation of riches," but the "self-indulgence or ostentation" which might result from them. "If God," preached the great Puritan divine, Richard Baxter, "shows you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way, if you refuse this and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's steward."

While Calvinism was of assistance in promoting the new economic order, the leaders of the other Protestant denominations were more or less opposed to it. A very different attitude from Calvin's was adopted by Luther, and to a certain degree by Zwingli and the Anglican theologians. With all the feelings "of a peasant and a monk," Luther regarded the new economic developments such as international trade, speculation, banking, and capitalist industry as evil. German society to him seemed to be afflicted by an unscrupulous "money-power," and the German Church drained of its resources by Rome. To him, the ideal Christian life was that of the peasant who remained little affected by the evil "spirit of commercial calculation." He was unwilling to accept even the concessions to business life made by the latter Canonists. "The greatest misfortune of the German nation," he said, "is easily the traffic in interest. . . . . The devil invented it, and the Pope, by giving his sanction to it, has done untold evil throughout the world."

There were ways, however, by which the Reformation as a whole tended to promote the growth of capitalism. The wealth and influence of the bourgeoisie were considerably increased by the confiscation of church lands. In England, the squirearchy together with the merchants came ultimately to control Parliament and shape its laws in their favor. The secularization of church property had the further result of creating more fluidity in property-holding. Land was transferred to those who were inclined to introduce new methods of cultivation. Secularization at the same time doubtless weakened respect for property rights. The destruction of the ecclesiastical system, which through its monasteries and innumerable church positions had removed many people from gainful occupations, as well as the abolition of many Church holidays[1] on which no work might be done, were likewise of great assistance to industry. In the end the Calvinistic and Puritan approval of the acquisitive spirit and of business enterprise triumphed over the Lutheran position in Protestant lands.

Social effects

In Protestant countries social relief, formerly to a large extent an ecclesiastical function, was secularized and brought under governmental control. As has been seen in an earlier chapter, the breaking down of the existing system of relief—as a result of the destruction

[1] This gain may have been partly counterbalanced by the lengthy and numerous church services demanded in Calvinist countries.

of the monasteries and the turning of many monks, nuns, and religious dependents from their usual livelihoods, and of the forcing of many tenants from the land through the enclosure of monastic estates or the altered conditions which new masters imposed—caused much immediate suffering which the governments failed to relieve. Nevertheless, methods of public relief better adapted to the needs of the time were ultimately evolved for the support of the poor and the sick, and the education of the illiterate.

A considerable stimulus was given to the increase of population, so important for the development of modern states, by the abolition of the monastic clerical ideal and the removal of a celibate priesthood and celibate religious orders. Upon the disappearance of the sacramental character of marriage, divorce and remarriage were possible, and freer action was thus given to the individual.

Intellectual effects

Whereas the Renaissance, with its thought couched in Greek and Latin, appealed to the cultured minority, the Reformation was a popular movement passing on to the people ideas which had hithero been possessed by the few. Luther's appeals to the people and his German Bible and hymns, Tyndale's English *New Testament*, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, all had much to do with promoting native language and literature. To the reformers likewise we must to a large extent give the credit for the establishment of free compulsory education. Luther urged upon the civil authorities the necessity both of providing primary education in every town and village and of compelling the people to send their children to school just as the government compelled men to perform military service.[1] Calvinist Geneva became an intellectual center, and every Scotch parish maintained compulsory education. In Catholic countries the impetus to popular education resulted in the founding of many Jesuit schools where instruction was given free of charge. A part at least of the confiscated church property was employed in endowing universities. Education was secularized by the transference of educational institutions to the control of governmental boards, thus making it possible for the State to model learning after its own interests. With the Protestant reformers the primary purpose of education was to enable as many people as possible to read the Scriptures and participate directly in church services.

Although the Reformation was instrumental in breaking the strangle-hold which the medieval Church held on learning and in opening the way to greater freedom of speculation, it was not favorable to the immediate advancement of scientific truth. Both Lutheranism and Calvinism were in agreement with Catholicism in denounc-

[1] It should not be overlooked, however, that the Renaissance likewise caused a new interest in education. In Germany it centered in the universities and was instrumental in creating nine new ones. Likewise many elementary schools were established by the humanists to act as feeders to the universities. It is doubtless true, nevertheless, that they paid far more attention to higher education than to elementary, which the reformers were inclined to emphasize.

ing the new scientific discoveries such as the Copernican theory. Their attempt to regulate life by strict Scriptural interpretation offered at first little opportunity for broad or exact scholarship, although their church systems proved weaker in resisting change than the Old Church and were sooner reconciled to the new science. The immediate effect, however, was that the wide secular interests of the humanistic revival were thrust into the background and frequently forgotten in the eagerness for dogmatic theological disputation. The classics were neglected for the pursuit of theological studies. The bitter sectarian quarrels and long years of religious war in Germany, the Netherlands, and France were detrimental to intellectual progress.

Effect upon art

Art, which had hitherto been largely religious, and had been zealously encouraged by the Catholic Church, was dealt a severe blow in Protestant countries by the abolition of church imagery and adornment. Moreover, the general spirit of Calvinism was opposed to artistic development and the prejudices which it favored had to be overcome before æsthetic growth could be resumed.[1]

Political results: nationalism

The Protestant Revolt was politically chiefly a reaction of nationalities against the internationalism of the Church. Where it was successful, as in Scandinavia, England, and Scotland, it helped to promote nationalism; where only partly successful, as in Germany, it led to civil war and prevented national unification; where it completely failed, as in Spain, it led to reaction and the imposition of despotic monarchical and ecclesiastical control. The governments of Protestant states were greatly strengthened by their control over religious affairs and by the social functions they now exercised, such as care of the poor and the sick, and the supervision of education and morals. They were lent authority by the recognition as divine agents accorded them by the reformers. Ecclesiastics in Protestant countries no longer held high civil posts, and lost influence in the popular assemblies. Government resources were greatly enlarged by the confiscation of church property and by the taxes which now might be collected. In England and Scandinavia, this new wealth was employed to establish royal absolutism. By and large, the net effect of Protestantism was enormously to strengthen the development of nationalism in Europe. So marked was this tendency that certain authorities, such as F. W. Maitland and James Harvey Robinson, regard the Protestant Revolt as fundamentally more a political than a religious movement.

Paradoxical as it is, it is true that the Reformation at one and the same time led toward absolute monarchy and paved the way for democracy. The greater control which the monarch secured over the State and its resources, the moral support rendered him by the State Church, the doctrine of submission to authority inculcated by

[1] In the Lutheran and Anglican communions part of the artistic adornments were retained.

Lutheranism and Anglicanism, favored absolutism. On the other hand, the original principles of the Reformation, which encouraged the substitution of private judgment for established authority, the individualism which was thus developed, and the representative system of church government developed by Calvinism, led toward democratic development. The zeal imparted by this faith to the Dutch War of Independence and to the English Revolution of the seventeenth century had much to do in each case with the securing of civil liberty.

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CHAPTER XI

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

Reform in the Spanish Church

Progress of Protestantism and rise of Catholic Reformation

The Protestant Revolt from the Catholic Church had been both rapid and far reaching. Within fifty years after Luther's break with Rome, the Scandinavian countries including Iceland, most of Germany and Austria, part of Hungary and Poland, most of Switzerland, as well as England and Scotland had been won to Protestantism, while in France and the Netherlands strong Protestant parties were vigorously holding their ground. Even in Italy itself, a considerable number of Protestants were to be found among the upper and middle classes, although the movement there never became a popular one. Thus, throughout most of Europe, Catholicism was losing its worldly possessions and spiritual influence, and it appeared that it might be doomed to ultimate destruction. That this did not happen is due both to the divisions among the Protestant denominations and to the Catholic Reformation. It is a most remarkable fact that within a single generation the Catholic Church succeeded in checking the progress of the Protestant Revolt, in winning back large parts of Germany and Poland, and in making secure its hold on all the Latin countries of Europe.

Difference of opinion among Catholic leaders

Upon the outbreak of the Protestant Revolt, the Catholic leaders, though generally agreeing upon the necessity of reform within the Church if they were to save what was left of it, differed as to the methods to be followed. They may be divided into two main groups; one desired to conciliate the Protestants and adjust the old ideas to the new conditions; the other, while desiring a thorough moral reformation, wished to make no concessions, and to preserve intact all the medieval dogmas the Church had evolved.

Liberal Catholics

The first of these opinions was represented by a number of humanists such as Erasmus and by a group of earnest liberal Catholics such as Gasparo Contarini, Jacopo Sadoleto, and Reginald Pole, an Englishman of noble blood, many of whom belonged to the "Oratory of Divine Love," a society founded at Rome for prayer and meditation. They, while continuing to believe in Catholic dogma, somewhat as Luther had done, reacted against the over-emphasis placed by the later medieval Church upon good works, and desired a more spiritual religion based upon Augustine's teachings concerning justification by faith. They believed the new humanistic thought might be reconciled with Scholasticism, and that a common ground might be discovered between Catholic dogma and Protestant doctrine through concessions on both sides. It seemed for a while that their ideas were

to be followed, and a progressive reformation of the Church attempted, for Paul III created Contarini, Sadoleto, and Pole cardinals, and appointed them with others to a commission for church reform. Contarini, as leader of the liberal Catholics, was sent by the Pope to confer with the Protestants at the reunion conference held at Regensburg.[1]

Spain as land of Catholic reform

It was, however, the second of the groups mentioned above whose views were followed in the Catholic Reformation, and from Spain it received its chief inspiration. Here, during the later fifteenth century, was developed a conception of reform which was to rival the revolutionary movement started by Luther in Germany, and was able at length to stop the course of the Protestant Revolt and hold the allegiance of half of Europe to a purified Catholic Church. In Spain as nowhere else in Europe, the conditions were suitable to a Catholic Reformation. Whereas in Germany the Church was regarded as oppressive and exacting, an obstacle in the way of national unity and freedom, in Spain it was associated "with liberty, victory, dominion, wealth, and glory." For the cause of Christianity and their own liberties, Spaniards had striven with the aid of the Church for many centuries against the Mohammedan Moors. No sooner was victory finally secured, than, under the authority of a papal bull, they won in America new dominions, treasures for themselves, and many converts for the Church. It is, therefore, not strange that nothing could weaken their loyalty to the traditions of Catholicism. In Spain, also, more than in any other land could be found a tendency to asceticism and mystical raptures, combined with a stern aggressive piety.

Spanish Reformation

Ferdinand and Isabella, like many other sovereigns throughout Europe, contested with the Pope the right to control religious affairs, and to reform ecclesiastical abuses to which Church authorities were indifferent, or which they were powerless to check. However, no royal motives were so devoutly religious as were those of the Catholic sovereigns of Spain. In 1482 the Pope was forced to grant them control over the nomination to the higher ecclesiastical posts in Spain, and the right to dismiss those church officials whose conduct was unsatisfactory. The influence of harmful papal bulls was checked by the requirement of royal sanction before their publication. Church courts were supervised, and the clergy were taxed for the benefit of the state.

Queen Isabella appointed her confessor, Ximenes de Cisneros, a Franciscan friar, to the Archbishopric of Toledo, the highest ecclesiastical position in Spain, and entrusted to him the reformation of the Church. Ximenes after his promotion continued to practice the

[1] It is said that Paul III's inclination toward the plans of the Liberal Catholics was checked by the persuasion of Francis I, who pointed out that the securing of German religious unity would result in strengthening Charles V's political position to a dangerous degree.

self-denial, devotion, and asceticism of an earnest Franciscan friar and made these the ideals of the Spanish clergy. Monasteries were visited and discipline of the strictest kind reëstablished, a devoted and moral secular clergy was secured, and ignorant priests were removed. In every chapter, money was set aside for the education of two students, one in canon law and the other as an expert theologian. Three new universities—those of Alcalá, Seville, and Toledo—were created. The Complutensian Polyglot Bible, presenting the Old Testament in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the New Testament in Greek and Latin was prepared, and all priests were urged to study it. The sole aim of this reformation was to restore religious life to the best medieval standards. Unlike the Protestant Reformation, this movement provided no room for new religious experience. This Spanish position of orthodoxy was strenuously enforced, and all dissenters from it were dealt with by the use of the Inquisition, a special and very severe ecclesiastical court.

Spain, model for Catholic Europe

Upon the completion of its reformation Spain not only furnished the model for a counter-reformation in answer to the Protestant Revolt, but it likewise provided in the new order of the Jesuits, in the Spanish Inquisition, and in the political power of its Catholic King, Philip II, the agencies for carrying it out. It succeeded in winning the papacy to most of its policies, and with its ideals largely determined the decisions of the Council of Trent.

The Council of Trent

Dangers in general church council

Before any progress could be made toward restoring Catholicism, it was necessary to summon a general church council to pass reforming decrees and either to affirm or alter those church dogmas and practices questioned by the Protestants. Although a council had been long desired by earnest Catholics, and constantly demanded by the Emperor, the Popes, not knowing where its action would stop, had displayed a natural hesitation to summon one. Previous councils at Basle and Constance had attempted to limit papal authority; a new council might possibly fall under the Emperor's control; it might succeed in radically changing the constitution of the Church to the detriment of papal power, as many reformers desired; or the Liberal Catholics might, to propitiate the Protestants, make too many concessions.

A further difficulty lay in the fact that the Pope's idea of the object to be accomplished by a council differed considerably from the ideas of many of the church officials. Whereas the Catholic sovereigns and many of the bishops wished a council to reform the Church completely, wiping away all ecclesiastical abuses, the Pope, recognizing that some of the worst irregularities existed in the papal curia itself, and fearing that a council might go too far in its reforms and gain too much prestige, preferred to keep for himself, as supreme judge, the reformation of the Church, limiting the work of the council

to a solemn affirmation of Catholic and a hearty condemnation of Protestant dogmas. The Emperor continued to believe that if decided reforms were made at once, and a conciliatory attitude displayed, the Protestants might be reconciled to the Mother-Church. Unfortunately for these hopes, both Catholics and Protestants desired a council which they could be sure to control, and France feared one in which imperial influence might prevail. Even the Pope had been persuaded by Francis I that Charles V's power might become too great if he succeeded in reuniting the German Church. Finally, suspecting that, if he delayed any longer, Charles might himself venture to take the initiative, Paul III summoned a church council to meet at Trent in northern Italy on March 15, 1545.

Council of Trent

The sessions of this council, so important for the history of Christianity, were spread over a period of eighteen years with long lapses between them, and were held under the auspices of three different Popes. Its business was divided between consideration of questions of dogma and those of moral and disciplinary reform. It soon became apparent that, however much the Emperor and liberal Catholics like Cardinal Pole had hoped to employ it as a means of winning back the Protestants to the Catholic fold, the opposite were to be its effects. Packed as it was with Italian prelates and under the presidency of papal legates ably assisted by Jesuit theologians, it granted no concessions to divergent dogmatic opinion. Where before some lee-way had existed within the Church, now a decided stand was taken in narrowly defining those beliefs attacked by the reformers. While the Protestants acknowledged the Bible alone as a source of authority, the council declared that the Church was constantly inspired by the Holy Ghost to receive divine revelation, and therefore its traditions were of equal authority with the Scriptures, and it alone had authority to interpret the Bible. The Latin Vulgate of St. Jerome, which differed from the Protestant Bible by its inclusion of the Apocrypha, was declared to be the only authorized version. Salvation by faith alone, the very center of Protestant thought, was rejected, and while the council recognized faith as a necessary aid, it reaffirmed that man worked out his salvation through good works. All seven sacraments were declared to be indispensable, since in that way only could the Holy Spirit residing in the Church be imparted to the laity. The doctrine of transsubstantiation was reasserted.

Equally conservative were the decisions of the council concerning church administration and practices. Proposals made by the imperial and the French envoys toward meeting the wishes of the Protestant reformers—such proposals as to have the mass said in the vernacular, the use of popular hymns, communion in both kinds, permission for the clergy to marry, the abolition of the papal prerogative of granting dispensations and exemptions from the laws of the Church, and limitation of papal power of excommunication—were rejected. Similarly, attempts to limit the papal power by increasing the

council's authority and the independence of the bishops were blocked by the Italian majority, and the matter was settled by the affirmation of the supreme spiritual authority of the Pope over the mundane Church.

The actual reform legislation, like that of the Spanish Catholic Reformation, was an attempt to restore without serious alteration the purity and religious zeal of the existing Church. Bishops as well as the lower clergy were directed to reside in their charges and devote themselves entirely to spiritual pursuits. Plurality of benefices and sale of church offices were forbidden. No charges in future should be made for performing the sacraments, or granting indulgences. To ensure an educated clergy, theological seminaries were to be created in every diocese; frequent sermons were to be preached to enlighten the laity.

Consequences of measures taken at Trent

The work of the Council of Trent completed the break between Catholics and Protestants; it made impossible any hope of union unless through persuasion or force Protestants were made to desert their beliefs. Through the settlement of doctrinal divergences which had greatly assisted the growth of Protestantism, however, it did enable what remained of the Church to present a united front. On the other hand, the "static character" imparted to Catholic doctrine made it as time went on less able to meet the rapidly changing conditions of the modern world than was Protestantism, or than Catholicism might have been if the liberal Catholic reformers had had their way. Consequently, the Catholic Church as a conservative force has come into frequent conflict in almost every Catholic country with the political and other forces of modern life. The Council of Trent marks the conclusion of the attempt by non-Italian nations to limit the Pope's power and to reform the church administration on more representative lines. Through papal success in controlling the policies of the council, the Pope's real power and influence were greatly enlarged. His authority was for all practical purposes acknowledged as superior to that of the council. Sweeping decrees for much-needed reforms had been passed, and the way prepared for the correction of the anarchy existing in the Church and the restoration of its efficiency.

Reception of Council's decrees

Instead of seriously attempting to conciliate the Protestants, the council had made conciliation impossible, and instead of limiting papal power, the council had increased it. These actions some European sovereigns resented, especially those, such as the rulers of France or Spain, who had previously secured direction of their countries' religious affairs. As a result, the application of the Tridentine reformatory decrees was in many instances modified; and the only states immediately to accept all the council's canons without reservation were the Italian states, Poland, Portugal, and Savoy. In France, where Catherine de Medici was much displeased with the Pope for not employing the council to come to terms with the Prot-

estants, and where its decisions were unpopular with Catholics and Protestants alike, there was unusual delay in applying the reforms advocated by the council, although there existed special need for their application.[1] By the end of the century, however, a sincere moral and spiritual revival, partly due to the council's action, was experienced throughout Catholic Europe.

Other Forces in the Catholic Reformation

Reforming Popes

The work of the Council of Trent was supplemented and assisted in its execution by a succession of reforming Popes, among whom were numbered such illustrious persons as Paul IV, Pius V, and Gregory XIII. These men, moral and spiritually earnest in their own lives, inspired with a new spirit the papal curia, which had been the very center of the worst evils of the Church. Cardinals and other high officials were no longer chosen through financial or political influence, but according to merit and interest in reform.[2] Simony, nepotism, the sale of indulgences and dispensations, the unjust court fees, the heavy charges upon the investiture of bishops, abuses of the benefice system, such as reservations, expectancies, pluralism, and non-residence, were swept away. The immorality and luxury at Rome, which had been a blot upon the whole church organization, was stamped out. Attention was then devoted to enforcing the decrees of the Council of Trent against non-residence of bishops and clergy, and toward the reformation of monastic life and the promotion of ecclesiastical education. Gregory XIII founded with his own resources no less than twenty colleges. Equal attention was paid to enforcement of orthodoxy and the promotion of the war upon Protestantism.

Forces of Catholic revival

In accomplishing the reformation of Catholic Europe the forces of both spiritual revival and repression were at work. The former was represented by the numerous new monastic and lay associations, the latter by the Inquisition, the Index, and the repressive power of Philip II of Spain.

Part taken by religious orders in Catholic Reformation

It had been customary in the Catholic Church to look to the religious orders to lead the movements for spiritual and moral reform, and the Catholic Reformation of the sixteenth century proved no exception to the rule. From 1524 to 1641 more than fifteen new orders were founded. Many of these were offshoots from older ones, as in the case of the Capuchins and Recollets which arose from the Franciscans. These orders zealously devoted themselves to education, preaching, and care of the sick and the poor. This movement was likewise characterized by the organization of many associations made up of

[1] The gravest abuses existed in the appointments by the King of France to the high church benefices. These continued to be used to pay royal debts and gratify lords. As late as 1579, the Bishopric of Lisieux was accorded to the keeper of the hounds who had not been to church for seven years. Non-residence was rampant.

[2] One exception to this statement has to be made in the case of the appointment by Paul IV of his unworthy nephews to the cardinalate. He sincerely repented of this action, and refused to listen to influence in the case of any of his other appointments.

priests and pious laymen which at first only partially adopted the monastic form of life, devoting themselves to the accomplishment of practical aims. Reform and education of the priesthood were promoted by such organizations as the Theatines in Italy and the Oratory of Jesus in France.[1] The former, largely recruited from men of noble descent, became a veritable "nursery of bishops." Like the Lazarists, organized in France by Vincent de Paul, as revivalists under the direction of the bishops they coöperated with the parish priests in winning back the people in country and city. By their earnest sermons delivered in the churches, on the streets, or in the fields, they revived an art which had sadly declined. Prayer and earnest study of reform were promoted by the Italian Oratorians at the papal court itself. Typical of the charitable spirit with which Catholicism was inspired were the Barnabites, the Brothers of Mercy, the Ursulines, and the Somascans, who cared for the sick and the poor, and, in the case of the last mentioned, undertook the care of the many orphans resulting from the numerous Italian wars.

Loyola and Jesuits

The organization which above all others was useful to the Catholic Church in its task of recovering its hold in Europe and in winning new converts in overseas lands was the Society of Jesus whose members were commonly known as Jesuits. This order was founded by a Spanish soldier and mystic, Ignatius Loyola. Just as Luther and Calvin were the heroes of the Protestant Revolt, so Loyola was the hero of the Catholic Reformation. Typical of Spanish genius, a member of one of the noblest families in Spain, a gallant cavalier, fond of romance, and eager for knightly fame, he first entered upon a military career, which was cut short by a serious wound. It was then that he turned to the service of the Church, that other field of activity always open to the Spanish gentry, and, nothing daunted, resolved to become as renowned for saintliness as St. Francis or St. Dominic. Oppressed, as was Luther, with a sense of sin, he differed from the German friar in obtaining relief through mystical raptures and visions. In these visions he believed he saw the Virgin, the Holy Ghost, and the person of Christ passing, upon the performance of the miracle of the mass, like a streak of light into the elements. Unlike Luther, he was filled with renewed confidence in the sacraments of the Church as a source of grace, and with the utmost reverence for church authority, which he believed to be divinely inspired.

Knight as he was, he dedicated his arms to the service of the Virgin and resolved to become a missionary to the Saracens in Palestine. Dashing into his new undertaking with impetuous ardor, at last he arrived as a pilgrim at Jerusalem. Here the authorities persuaded him of the impossibility of realizing his plans. Convinced of the need of a theological training before he could successfully

[1] The French order of Oratorians was founded on the model of the original Italian order.

serve the Church, upon his return to Spain he prepared himself for the university by learning Latin. He was then some thirty years old. After spending several years of study at a Spanish university, he went to the great school of theology at the University of Paris. Here he interested seven fellow-students in his plans, and after graduation the little band journeyed to Italy on their way to Palestine. Stopped from going further by a war between Venice and the Turks, they abandoned their original plan to serve as missionaries and spent several years in preaching and doing charitable work among the towns in northern Italy.

Organization of Jesuits

Finally, in 1538, Loyola resolved to give his followers a more definite organization. At Rome, after experiencing much difficulty, he at last succeeded in securing a bull of incorporation from the Pope. While taking the usual monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the Jesuits differed from other orders in devoting all their attention to the practical service of the Church. They were to be at the Pope's absolute disposal and were bound by a special oath to go without question wherever he wished to send them and to perform whatever service he desired. Everything that might hamper their effectiveness was discarded. They wore no distinctive dress. They were careful to avoid undue fasting, scourging, or vigils which might weaken their physical strength. The contemplative life was only resorted to for four weeks when they first decided to join the order, and afterwards only at such intervals as when they felt their resolution weakening. For these occasions, Loyola had prepared "Spiritual Exercises," modeled upon his own experiences, which were intended to discipline the mind as the soldier was trained for war by military drill.

The government of the order was organized on a military basis, being headed by a general who resided at Rome and whose slightest command must be instantly obeyed. Once a Jesuit a man must utterly surrender his will and his whole personality to the service of the order. Like "a corpse," or like "a staff" in the traveler's hand he must subject himself to be moved this way or that, even when he believed his superior to be wrong, for so completely were his own opinions to be surrendered that if he were told by his superior that black was white he must so believe.

The members of this holy army were carefully selected. Men full of vigorous health, of attractive appearance, energetic, intelligent, calm and self-controlled, skilled in dealing with the world, and capable of eloquent speech were sought. Men of position and wealth were especially desired.

Their accomplishments

As Calvin's disciplined followers had gone forth from Geneva to conquer for Protestantism, so the Jesuits sought to bring Catholicism to the entire world and all Christians to absolute obedience to the decrees of the Council of Trent. They were soon recognized as Protestantism's most dreaded foes. By the time of Loyola's death in 1556,

his order numbered 1500 members found in almost every European country and in such distant regions of the world as Japan, Abyssinia, the Congo, Brazil, and, later, North America. Their activity and their adaptability to whatever task presented itself were so great that they seemed several times as numerous as they actually were.

In the fierce battle waged for the advancement of Catholicism, they made use of all agencies for influencing the public mind—the pulpit, the press, the confessional, the school, and even politics. They were the Pope's staunchest and ablest assistants at the Council of Trent, and probably more than anyone else brought about the conservatism of its decisions. Assigned the task of converting the irreligious masses of Italy, many of whom, it was said, "had not confessed for thirty or forty years," they accomplished their end by teaching the elements of faith to the children, by serving as confessors, and by preaching simple sermons whose appeal was so great that the churches frequently could not hold all that came to hear. They also organized charitable institutions. Later devoting most of their attention to the upper classes, they gained great influence as tutors, confessors, and religious and political advisors of princes and other important personages, and were able to shape policies in the interest of Catholicism. Their many seminaries and colleges in which free education was given were established throughout Catholic Europe. These were regarded so highly that even Protestants were known to send their children to them. They were conducted on the principle of the importance of mastering a few things well. As the guardians of medieval tradition, the Jesuits were not in favor of independent thought, and in this way hampered intellectual development.

Work of the utmost importance for Catholicism was accomplished by the Jesuits through their assistance in recovering large portions of Europe which had fallen away from the Catholic fold. Using the German College which they founded at Rome as a training school for the enterprise, they obtained firm footholds in the universities of Ingolstadt, Vienna, and Cologne, and made these institutions centers for the recovery of Austria, Hungary, Poland, southern Germany, and Belgium. Although the rulers of these countries had not broken with Catholicism, the Protestants were numerous and active. In Poland they controlled the Diet, filled the chief offices, and in the larger towns had possession of the principal churches. In Transylvania, the church property had been confiscated by the Diet. In Austria itself, it was rumored that only about one-thirteenth of the population could be relied upon as good Catholics. In Bavaria, the Protestants had a majority in the Estates-General, and even in Belgium there were many thousands of non-Catholics. Largely as a result of Jesuit activity, these were all won back to the Catholic Church.

The Jesuits not only turned their energies to the securing of European territory for Catholicism; they also extended their activi-

ties to most of the lands which the great maritime discoveries had opened to European enterprise. In many places they were not the first in the field, for other friars had preceded them, but wherever there was a difficult or dangerous task to perform which might daunt other missionaries, a Jesuit was found to undertake it. As Macaulay so euphoniously expresses it: "They made converts in regions which neither avarice nor curiosity had tempted any of their countrymen to enter; and preached and disputed in tongues of which no other native of the West understood a word." On the mission field, their great ability as organizers was apparent. As agents of expansion they were invaluable. As historians and geographers of the new lands they produced many works, such as the well-known *Jesuit Relations*, which were most useful. Judged by the standards of modern missions, however, many of the methods employed by such great Jesuit missionaries as Francis Xavier, the vicar over all the mission lands of the Far East, would be regarded as superficial. Portuguese officials were compelled by the home government to assist him by the use of force, in his efforts to convert the natives. Xavier himself never completely learned any of the languages of the people to whom he ministered. Instead, he mastered a few sentences which he used in his work. The ceremony of baptism rather than the conversion of heart or understanding was too apt to be regarded as the completion of his task. Thus, thousands were baptized who did not understand the import of the action.

Decline and abolition of Jesuits

The Jesuits were regarded by the Protestants as their worst enemies, and finally even in Catholic countries the order came into disfavor. They were accused of sometimes accomplishing their aims by the employment of unscrupulous means, even to the indulgence of an easy morality, and of believing that the end would justify the means. Their interference in secular affairs, their close relations with the papacy, and the political influence which they sought to gain, led sovereigns to suspect them. Persecuted in Protestant countries, they were expelled by governmental action from Portugal (1759), France (1764), and Spain (1767). Finally in 1773, the Pope, Clement XIV, decided to abolish the order, but in 1814 it was reëstablished by Pius VII, and gained admittance once more to most European countries.

Employment of coercion against heresy

Not only by persuasion, but by coercion did the Catholic Church succeed in regaining its hold upon European peoples. Both Protestants and Catholics showed themselves intolerant persecutors of all who differed from their views; but the Protestants never possessed agencies so efficient as the Inquisition and the Index employed by Catholicism to extirpate heresy and crush all freedom of religious thought.

Spanish Inquisition

The Inquisition was not a new institution, for it had been in existence in rudimentary form as early as when the first Christian Roman Emperors sought to force Christianity upon all their subjects, and had been employed whenever the Church had been threatened

with heresy during the Middle Ages. It was, however, with the Spanish Catholic Reformation of the fifteenth century that it assumed its severest form. Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain were authorized by Sixtus IV in 1478 to establish an inquisition in their territories. Inquisitors were sent throughout the land to discover and try cases of heresy, as well as such offenses against the church laws as blasphemy, bigamy, and various vices. Later, regular tribunals were erected in the principal cities. Aimed first at securing complete orthodoxy by stamping out from Spain the last vestiges of Judaism and Mohammedanism, the Inquisition was later applied to all differences from the accepted Catholic creed.

Llorente, chief secretary of the Spanish Inquisition, estimated, in 1817, that 300,000 persons, of whom more than 30,000 were burned alive, had been sentenced by that institution in Spain. Various punishments were inflicted—mere censures by the Inquisitor; spiritual penances such as prayers, fasts and pilgrimages; public scourgings; humiliation through exposure to popular ridicule; commitment to the galleys; imprisonment for life; and the extreme penalty of death at the stake, which was imposed on all who refused to recant before sentence was pronounced. *Auto-da-fes*, or burnings at the stake, were held on Sundays, saints' days, or gala occasions such as royal weddings. Not only living heretics suffered, but the bones of those long dead were exhumed and burnt together with effigies of the departed.

Not only was the Spanish Inquisition in operation in Spain, but traveling courts accompanied the army and navy, and inquisitors were established in the Spanish colonies, the Netherlands, and Sardinia. Seeing how successful the Spanish Inquisition had been in crushing all heresy, Cardinal Caraffa and Loyola persuaded the Pope to establish a Roman Inquisition, whose activity was extended to most Italian states. In France, the Parlement of Paris and the university took the place of the Inquisition. As a result of these extensions of the Inquisition throughout the Catholic world, whatever tendency towards Protestantism or divergence of religious viewpoint existed was severely suppressed.

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In its endeavor to bind the thought of Europe in Catholic channels the Church recognized the need not only of suppressing heretics and innovators, but all books which differed from the Church's viewpoint. At first, the task of censorship was entrusted to the archbishops and bishops; most national governments undertook the licensing of approved books and the prohibition of those thought to be undesirable. After a number of lists or indices of prohibited books had been drawn up by the universities of Louvain and Paris, by the Roman Inquisition, and by the Council of Trent, Pius V established a special Congregation of the Index, an institution which has lasted until the present day and has prepared more than forty indices of books which Catholics are forbidden to read. Its duty has likewise been to expurgate books by deleting objectionable passages. The books listed by

the Index have included books printed anonymously, other versions of the Bible than the Vulgate, all works by authors considered heretics, obscene books, and those dealing with witch-craft and necromancy. Although the Index had small effect north of the Alps, and was unable to suppress the circulation of prohibited books in France and Catholic Germany, in Italy and Spain its work was so thoroughly done that many books entirely or largely disappeared. Bookshops and libraries were searched. In Spain, officials were stationed at the ports to board the incoming ships and examine the cargo, and even the water casks, chests, and sailors' berths for heretical literature, and should anyone be discovered attempting to bring in forbidden books, he was promptly imprisoned by the Inquisition. It is doubtless true that this agency had much to do with maintaining the established creed uncontaminated and with preserving morals, but at the same time it discouraged originality and crushed the Italian Renaissance spirit. To its success, at least to a considerable extent, is due the passing of intellectual leadership to those countries of western Europe where greater freedom existed.

Survey of the causes for Catholic success in checking Protestantism

Having reached the point in our narrative where the Catholic Reformation and Protestant Revolt clash in a long series of religious and political wars for the control of the Netherlands, Germany, France, and England, it is well to pause and examine the causes for the Catholic recovery of much of Europe.

(1) While the Catholics through the energy of reforming Popes, religious orders, and political leaders were filled with a new zeal, Protestantism after the death of its first great leaders lost much of its earlier enthusiasm.

(2) While the whole effort of the Catholic Church was directed in united action against Protestantism, the Protestant denominations frequently failed to join their forces, and wasted at least part of their energies in oppressing or disputing with each other.

(3) Catholicism had a much stronger organization and more efficient agencies such as the Inquisition, the Index, and the Jesuits. While Protestant Churches were national, and were therefore inclined to devote their attention to local issues, the Catholic Church operated throughout the world. Only the activity of Calvinist leaders can at all be compared to the international scope of the Jesuits' work as teachers, preachers, and missionaries.

(4) The Catholic Reformation, in conformity to that Church's emphasis upon good works, devoted through its many religious orders more attention to charitable and missionary activity than did Protestantism. This doubtless was frequently an aid in winning popular support.

(5) Economic motives played a large part in holding many people to the Catholic Church as well as in separating other people from it. Spain and Portugal were gratified by papal support of their claim to the riches of the Indies; Italians were pleased with the

wealth which flowed to Rome. In southern Germany the great capitalists as creditors of the papacy exerted considerable influence towards maintaining Catholicism. Furthermore, southern Europe appeared to have less cause than northern Europe to complain of ecclesiastical abuses.

(6) The close association between Catholicism and patriotism, as in Spain and Portugal against the Moors, in Austria against the Turks, in Poland against Russians and Turks, and in Ireland in opposition to attempts at English domination, were likewise strong factors.

(7) Another circumstance which must not be overlooked was the difference between popular temperaments and ideals. To many people of non-aggressive natures, to those who, like the humanists, desired reform but wished for no break with existing institutions and who feared the violence of unrestrained radicalism, or the horrors of religious war, the Catholic Church seemed a much more desirable haven than Protestantism. To others the ideal of mutual helpfulness of the living and the dead, the charity, the beautiful music and art to be found in the Old Church made vastly more appeal than did the discourses of Protestant divines, however logical they might be.

(8) Popular terror had led some people to take an increased interest in religion, and to a belief that the evils with which mankind was threatened were a divine punishment for the sinful state into which both the Church and mankind had fallen, and thus had been of material assistance to the Protestant reformers. The same widespread terror, which continued to grow in intensity, led to the contrary belief that the calamities present and predicted were punishment for the religious innovations and the foresaking of the good old ways of the forefathers. At any rate a splendid opportunity was offered to militant Catholicism to teach that lesson to the multitudes.

(9) Finally, many sovereigns, like those of Spain, Austria, and France, regarded Catholicism as a most valuable ally of absolutism, and looked upon Protestantism as a cloak for the political ambitions of the nobility. Under these circumstances the most important European monarchs rallied to the support of the Church of Rome, especially when they obtained from the papacy virtual control over the Church in their countries, as was the case in France and Spain.

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CHAPTER XII

THE WARS OF RELIGION

Attitude of Reigning Sovereigns Towards Religion

Part played by sovereigns in support of established churches

In both Catholic and Protestant countries the governments played a most important part in maintaining the Established Church of their choice, and in destroying dissent through such means as downright suppression of religious differences, through political, economic and educational favors to those of the accepted faith, and through discrimination against dissenters. Heresy, wherever found, was regarded as a spiritual plague far worse in its effects upon the community than any bodily disease. Not only was it thought that peoples' souls might be lost, but famine, pestilence, and devastating war might result from divine wrath. So intensely did people feel upon religious matters, so frequently were social and political motives combined with religious, that monarchs felt justified in regarding religious difference as a source of national weakness and disorder. The policies pursued in the face of the serious problems which confronted them varied with the sovereign and the immediate circumstances with which he had to deal.

It is a mistake to assume that persecution alone was resorted to, although usually that was the case when the ruler had complete control of the situation. We find Charles V employing energetic suppression in the Netherlands and in Spain, and at the same time making sincere attempts to settle the religious question in Germany through discovery, by means of a church council or conference, of a common ground of understanding between Protestants and Catholics. In England, where the government controlled the situation, Elizabeth followed the policy of supporting a Church so broad that it might include the moderates of both sides, and of sternly suppressing both aggressive Catholics and Puritans. In France, Catherine de Medici and the Politiques likewise sought to steer a middle course.

Philip II as champion of Catholicism

Irresolute and unwarlike by nature, but filled with the intense religious zeal of a Spaniard, which amounted in its singleness of purpose to bigotry, Philip II was led both by conviction and by circumstances to assume the rôle of the great champion of Catholicism. The revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands against religious and political oppression; the assistance rendered them by French Huguenots and the English; the belief that Catholicism was the strongest ally of absolutism; the realization of the great part his father, Charles V, had played in European affairs; and the Spanish Catholic Reformation—all made him ambitious to become the regulator of the world and the head of Christianity. As protector and patron of the papacy,

never its servant, he sought to crush Protestantism, not only in his own territories but everywhere; he resorted with perfect moral indifference to any method which might gain his end, whether political plot, assassination, wholesale execution, or endless war. So strongly did he impress the religious struggle with his personality that he stands forth like the Council of Trent, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition as a leading factor in the Catholic Counter-Reformation.

Nature of religious wars

Utter repression, the policy of Philip II and of the Spanish Catholic Reformation, colored most strongly the politics of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and led to a series of horrible, devastating wars. So intertwined were these religious struggles with political motives that their history is also that of the foundation of the Dutch nation and its commercial empire, of the maintenance of English nationality, of the beginning of British sea power, of the temporary rise of Swedish greatness, of the destruction of the Empire as a European power, of the ruin of all immediate chances of German nationality, of the decay of Spanish greatness, and of the rivalry between Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs on the one side with French Bourbons on the other, which was to continue as a political struggle even into the eighteenth century.

Revolt of the Netherlands

Early causes for discontent in Netherlands

The mingled religious, political, and economic motives which lay back of these struggles are well illustrated by the revolt of the Netherlands. The causes for dissatisfaction with Hapsburg rule there had their beginning while Charles V was still sovereign. Relying upon the great wealth of these provinces, Charles imposed taxes heavier in proportion than in any other of his possessions. The money raised was mostly devoted to imperial projects of little concern to the Netherlands. The quartering of Spanish troops in their cities provided an added cause of friction. As has already been seen, there were considerable numbers of Lutherans, Zwinglians, Anabaptists, and Calvinists among their cosmopolitan, trading population. To deal with these, Charles introduced an inquisition closely modeled upon that of Spain, as well as an index of prohibited books. Edicts, or placards as they were called, were issued against all Protestants, many of whom were executed or severely punished. Instead of stamping out heresy, these measures increased the number of Protestants, and aroused popular sympathy for them.

Charles V's popularity

In spite of an under-current of discontent resulting from the causes just mentioned, Charles' government was popular. Born in the Netherlands, he sympathized with and understood the people. He favored the nobles and other people of importance by entrusting them with positions of power and influence, not only in their own land but throughout his wide domains. The merchants were gratified by his promotion of commercial prosperity. Consequently, in spite of his faults, there was general regret when Charles in 1555 abdicated

and gave the government of the Netherlands to his son, who was soon to ascend the Spanish throne as Philip II.

Philip II's first mistakes

Under the new sovereign's ill-advised and unsympathetic management, the discontent which had remained in the background so long as Charles ruled over the land, fostered now by new grievances, developed into a national protest. From the very beginning Philip was unpopular with his subjects, since he did not understand their language or customs, and lacked his father's geniality, displaying instead the coldness and reserve of a Spanish grandee. In the second place, national pride was hurt by his reluctance to consult with the great nobles upon whom his father had relied. He turned instead to his Spanish retinue for service and advice. Upon his departure for Spain, after a short stay of four years in the Netherlands, the Regent, Margaret of Parma, was directed to be guided in all that she did by the secret advice of three members of the council of state of whose devotion, as parvenues whom he had advanced, Philip felt sure. The most important of these men was a foreigner, Granvelle. Through Granvelle, Philip, though absent, sought to maintain his control. The greatest and wealthiest nobles of the land, William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and Count Egmont, while members of the council, were given so little share in its business that they asked to be allowed to resign. National feeling was still further aroused by the presence of Spanish troops which not only seemed an indication of foreign control and a danger to popular liberties, but also through the outrages they committed proved to be a constant popular grievance.

To cap the climax, Philip directed the rigid enforcement throughout every part of the land of his father's decrees against heresy. He once wrote the Pope, "I would lose all my States and a hundred lives if I had them rather than be lord of heretics." More successfully to carry out his policy, Philip secured from the Pope the creation of fifteen new bishoprics in place of the three unwieldy ones into which the land was divided, and instead of the three foreign archbishops of Cologne, Rheims, and Treves, who had shared control of the Netherland dioceses, were created the three native metropolitans of Mecheln, Utrecht, and Cambrai. Although this reform was clearly in the direction of efficiency and the foundation of a national church, it was generally feared and disliked. Since Philip nominated the occupants of these sees, and was careful, as in his government, to give the important posts to his dependents rather than to the national nobility, and since it was soon apparent that the new bishops were to be assigned the task of extirpating heresy, it was realized that this was just another move on the King's part to fasten upon the Netherlands, as upon Spain, his policy of absolutism and religious oppression.[1] This belief was confirmed by the demand he soon made that

[1] The old bishops were likewise reluctant to lose their power, and the division of monastic endowments to support the new bishops raised universal complaint from the abbots.

the decrees of the Council of Trent should be strictly enforced, although in the neighboring states of Germany they were not being observed.

Protest against Philip's policy

Catholics and Protestants alike were filled with horror by the cruel oppression to which their land was subjected, and saw with indignation the blow this oppression was striking at their prosperity, since it interrupted business and drove many merchants and artisans from the country. They made determined protests to the government, claiming with justice that the King's acts were in violation of their provincial charters and privileges which he had sworn to respect. Before this storm, the government finally bent so far as to remove Granvelle and to recall the Spanish troops, but Philip insisted more firmly than ever upon the enforcement of the Tridentine decrees concerning heresy, declaring in his letters that "he would rather sacrifice a hundred thousand lives than give way on the religious question."

Beggars and their requests

Upon this, the provinces of Holland and Brabant, claiming that the heresy decrees infringed upon their liberties, refused to proclaim them. Magistrates everywhere refused to put them in force, and pamphlets appeared filled with passionate appeals to the people to resist. Under the inspiration of Calvinist leaders, a league was formed in 1565, among the nobles and rich burghers, with the object of preventing the maintenance of the Inquisition; a manifesto which came to be known as the Compromise was drafted and signed by the confederates. It was then resolved to present a petition to the Regent, requesting her to recommend to the King the abolition of the decrees and the Inquisition, and to suspend their operation until his wishes were known; and requesting also that an Estates-General be assembled to consider objectionable ordinances. The imposing array of two hundred young noblemen who marched to the palace amid popular acclaim to present this request, as well as her knowledge that the nobles controlled the militia, alarmed the Regent. She was reassured by one of her councillors who contemptuously designated the petitioners as beggars. From this the new association came to be known as the Beggars, and a beggar's wallet was adopted as a party emblem. The Regent agreed to send the petition to the King, and meanwhile to moderate her enforcement of the heresy laws. Philip at the moment was not prepared to send troops to the Netherlands; to gain time he agreed, although he never intended to keep his promise, to withdraw the Inquisition from the Netherlands, and to grant a measure of religious tolerance.

Calvinist movement and iconoclasm

Meanwhile, greatly encouraged by the apparent success of the Beggars, the Calvinists believed that in future their religion was to be tolerated. To make sure, the rich Calvinist merchants raised the funds necessary for hiring mercenaries so that the new league of nobles might be prepared for any emergency. Large numbers of religious refugees returned from other countries and Reformed missionaries hurried to the Netherlands. Great open air meetings,

protected by armed guards, were held all over the country, and even processions were organized which marched through the streets singing psalms. Unfortunately, the true reformers lost control of the movement, and mobs aroused by fanatical leaders suddenly broke into the great cathedrals and churches throughout the land, breaking images and beautiful glass windows and even destroying books, manuscripts, and valuable pictures.

Results of iconoclastic outbreaks

As was only natural, many liberal Catholics who had favored toleration, and who had resisted Spanish oppression, were filled with exasperation by these outrages and returned to the support of the government. The Regent repealed all the concessions she had granted, expelled the Calvinist preachers, and brought troops from Germany which met some forces hastily raised by the Protestants and defeated them. Philip, who never had meant to tolerate Protestantism, ordered ten thousand Spanish veterans under the Duke of Alva to proceed to the Netherlands.

Repressive measures of Duke of Alva

The stern old duke proceeded with relentless cruelty to execute Philip's orders to make the Netherlands Spanish and Catholic. Taking over the government from Margaret of Parma, he built a fort at the great metropolitan center of Antwerp, and established a garrison at Brussels. Unable to secure William of Orange, who had escaped to Germany, he seized the great patriot leaders Egmont and Horn, and much to the horror of the people had them beheaded. With the assistance of an arbitrary court, the "Council of Troubles," popularly called the "Council of Blood," he inaugurated a veritable reign of terror. Not only heretics, but patriots, and those who had merely advocated tolerance, were executed. From fifty to seventy a day were thus disposed of, and at one time as many as 1500 in one day were executed. Many thousands fled for their lives to other lands, hid in the woods, or took to the sea and became pirates. The land was ruined by the disorder thus caused, and by the heavy confiscations which accompanied the executions. To complete their miseries, the people were exorbitantly taxed to support their oppressors. So ruinous were the imposts which the duke exacted upon the sale of goods, that in many cases business could no longer be conducted, and a terrible financial panic ensued. To complete the picture of gloom, the Prince of Orange, who had hastened to the relief of his country with a good-sized but heterogeneous army, was forced by Alva's skilful strategy to retire to Germany, and another force led by Orange's brother, Louis of Nassau, was defeated.

"Beggars of the Sea"

At this most discouraging time, privateers called "Beggars of the Sea," commissioned by William and his brother to prey upon Spanish commerce, inspired new courage and led to the general revolt of the northern provinces. For some time these refugees, ruined artisans and desperadoes who had taken to the sea, had brought rich prizes into German and English ports and had also plundered the Catholics along the Netherland coast. On April 1, 1572, they attacked and took

the Dutch seaport of Brill. Adopting a flag, which later became that of the Dutch Republic, they took in rapid succession one port after another, until they commanded the coasts; the next year, defeating the Spanish fleet, they interrupted communications between Alva and his master in Spain.

Dutch resistance and Alva's recall

Greatly encouraged, the towns in the northern Netherlands declared for William as Stadtholder of the northern provinces, and raised a large sum for carrying on the war. Alva, however, was at first everywhere successful, wreaking a terrible vengeance on the towns which he captured, not sparing even churches and monasteries, and massacring the inhabitants. In spite of all that he could do, however, the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, which were receiving supplies by sea and were secretly aided by Queen Elizabeth of England, continued to resist. Failing to receive reinforcements, and discouraged by the check with which he had met, Alva asked to be relieved of his command. Even Philip may have realized that repression had gone too far when some months earlier the bishops had protested at Alva's cruelty, saying "war should be made if not in a holy, at least in a Christian manner." He now recalled Alva, and appointed Requesens as governor with orders to abandon the repressive system.

Spanish Fury and Pacification of Ghent

All attempts at negotiation, however, due to Philip's refusal to make concessions were failures. Filled with a stubborn spirit of resistance by the Calvinists, whose numbers were increased by many immigrants of their faith from other provinces, and whose endurance was greatly furthered by the resources coming from a large Dutch commerce, Holland and Zeeland continued to maintain their existence in virtual independence. In the southern provinces, where Requesens had recently died, the Estates-General assumed sovereign powers, and not receiving the King's consent to the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, proceeded with an army of their own to drive them out of the country. Long unpaid, the Spanish veterans besieged in Antwerp proceeded on November 1, 1576, to sack this great emporium of the north, thus completing its economic ruin. At the same time, they massacred six thousand men, women, and children. This horrible event, known as the Spanish Fury, hastened the formation of an alliance between the southern provinces and Holland and Zeeland, known as the Pacification of Ghent, by which it was agreed to unite forces to drive the Spaniards from the country, and then to leave the determination of the religious question to the Estates-General.

Triumph of patriots

The new Spanish governor, Don John of Austria, who succeeded Requesens, was soon forced to content himself with holding Namur. At the time the country was divided between two parties, that of the King which included the clergy, the majority of the nobles, and the higher bourgeoisie, and that which followed the Prince of Orange, composed of the Calvinists, middle and lower classes, and the intellectuals. The latter group secured control of the government,

and invited William to come to Brussels as Regent. To conciliate those still loyal to the Hapsburgs, it was agreed that William, though actually controlling the situation, should acknowledge the authority of Duke Mathias, a brother of the Emperor Rudolph, as Prince of the Netherlands; to secure French aid, the Duke of Anjou, a brother of the French King, was acknowledged as Protector. At this juncture, when everything seemed to be going favorably for the patriots, the national cause, as once before, was halted by the action of religious zealots. A combined movement of the lower classes and the Calvinists secured control of the governments of many of the important cities, such as Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges, and attempted to turn them into theocratic republics after the model of Geneva. Both Catholics and Lutherans were persecuted. Meanwhile, the Estates-General, under the influence of the Prince of Orange, had declared for a policy of toleration which suited the moderate Catholics, but was liked by neither Calvinists nor ultra-Catholics.

Union of Arras

Under the spur of this dissatisfaction and of Calvinist excesses, the Catholics in Artois, Hainault, and part of Flanders, drew up an agreement called the Union of Arras (1579), stating as their aims the preservation of the Catholic faith and of the royal authority. A clever Spanish governor, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, who had succeeded Don John, was able to come to terms with the Union of Arras and also by promises of honors and estates to win the support of the Catholic nobles. After a campaign consisting of sieges of the cities, Parma succeeded in breaking down all opposition and in recovering the whole of the southern Netherlands, which formed the basis of the later Belgian nation. Protestantism was forbidden, but Protestants were allowed a number of years to conform or to emigrate.

Union of Utrecht

The Protestant provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Guelders, Utrecht, Friesland, Zutphen, and the Calvinists in Flanders and Brabant joined their forces in the Union of Utrecht (1579), thus forming the basis of the later Dutch nation. Deposing Philip in 1581, in order to enlist French aid they chose the Duke of Anjou as their prince, but actually they formed a republican constitution in which the peoples' representatives were given executive as well as legislative power. They soon wearied of even nominal princely control and some years later a republic was created based on the supremacy of the Estates-General.

Assassination of William of Orange

Meanwhile, Philip II sought to weaken the resistance of their great leader, William of Orange. Proclaiming him an outlaw, the King offered a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns and a patent of nobility to anyone who would assassinate him. Finally after five attempts had been made, he was assassinated in 1584.

William was characterized by his unselfish devotion, his patient tenacity, and his discretion which won him the appellation of "the Silent." His aims were much in advance of other leaders of his intolerant age in that he consistently stood for civic liberty and religious

toleration, and felt intense hatred of every form of oppression.

Outcome of Dutch struggle for liberty

The Dutch war of independence continued in a desultory fashion for many years longer, although after the breaking of Spanish sea power in 1588, through the defeat by the English of the Spanish Armada, there was not much doubt as to its outcome. It was not until the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, that the Dutch provinces were recognized as an independent nation.

Reasons for Dutch success

Many reasons led to the final success of the Dutch. (1) Philip II was interested in too many affairs to overcome Dutch resistance. In spite of Parma's protests, he diverted the Spanish troops in the Netherlands to coöperate with the Armada in the projected attack on England, and then sent them to France to fight Henry of Navarre. He constantly failed to appreciate and to support with adequate supplies and reinforcements his capable generals. No less than three of them died discouraged and worn out by their exertions. (2) The Dutch were aided by reinforcements and money sent them from France and England, and the attacks upon Spanish colonies and trade by English buccaneers weakened Spanish resources and acted as a diversion. (3) Through the wealth brought to Holland by privateering and commerce, war resources were provided, and the people were encouraged to continue the struggle. Because of the means thus provided, the Dutch were enabled to hire mercenaries, thus saving the population for peaceful industry. At the same time, successful blows were delivered at Spanish power by the capture of treasure ships and by coastal raids. Moreover, due to their high repute for commercial honor the Dutch experienced little difficulty in obtaining money on credit by issuing paper notes, while the King of Spain, by failing to pay interest on loans made by Spanish and Italian bankers, ruined his credit and was unable readily to meet the expenses of the Netherlands campaign. (4) Calvinism added its aggressiveness to the natural perseverance of Dutch character. (5) Due to the many canals, natural lines of defense were provided, and invading armies as a last resource might be defeated by flooding the country. (6) The Dutch pursued cautious tactics, avoiding pitched battles.

Contrasting conditions in northern and southern Netherlands

While the northern Netherlands suffered much from the frequent inundation of the land and the attacks delivered by the enemy, the war had much to do with their becoming the greatest commercial and money power of the seventeenth century. In marked contrast were the southern Netherlands, once the happiest, most industrious, and wealthiest country of Europe. Here robbers and wolves boldly roamed the untilled fields; the towns, whose trade and industry were ruined, had lost a third of their population. What remnants of business were left to Antwerp were lost when the Dutch shut it off from the sea by closing the Scheldt River. The India trade which enriched Holland was forbidden to the Netherlands by Spain until nearly the middle of the seventeenth century. Intellectual decay likewise set in.

England and Scotland and the Counter-Reformation

While in the Netherlands and in France bloody wars were going on as a result of the contest between the Catholic Counter-Reformation and the Protestants, the religious and political fate of England and Scotland, in which Philip II likewise played an important rôle, was at stake. Shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century, both countries were in the hands of Catholic governments, that in England under Mary Tudor (1553–1558), and that in Scotland under the regency of Mary of Lorraine. In spite of the general European drift back to Catholicism, both were destined to become Protestant countries and to exert a vital influence toward saving the cause of Protestantism.

Mary Tudor's restoration of English Catholicism

Mary Tudor, the daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, made it her life work to restore Roman Catholicism in her native land, which her father had separated from the papacy, and to which her brother Edward VI had given a Protestant state Church. That this ambition of the devout Queen met with only temporary success, so that England remained Catholic only for the duration of her five-year reign, was due to political rather than religious developments. To secure the help of the Hapsburgs in accomplishing her purpose, Mary married Philip II of Spain. This, if children had resulted from the union, might have brought England within the Spanish Hapsburg Empire. It had been Charles V's intention in promoting the match that England should take among his son's domains the place of Germany which he had been unable to pass on to Philip because of failure to win for him the election to the Holy Roman Emperorship.

Instead of aiding Mary, her marriage to Philip obstructed the realization of her plans. (1) The English, who had always objected to it for nationalistic reasons, confused with it the introduction of Catholicism. (2) Aid given to Philip in his wars with France led to a great blow to national pride in the loss of Calais, the last territory held by England in France. (3) Mary's alliance with the Hapsburgs, strange to say, caused difficulties even with Pope Paul IV, who for political reasons was an enemy of that family. Failing to appreciate Mary's sincere efforts, he accused her of lack of zeal, and rashly demanded the return of the church lands, whose retention by the nobility had been a condition of English consent to return to the papacy. Together with his mistreatment of the Queen and his arrogant attitude in addressing England, this incited renewed national antipathy to Rome. (4) The restoration of Catholicism in England under Mary was likewise attended by severe persecution of the Protestants, similar to the action of the Inquisition in Spain and the Netherlands. At least three hundred persons, many of them humble inoffensive people, lost their lives at the stake. This, as had been the case in the Netherlands, aroused national opposition.

As has been noted in a preceding chapter, Mary's death resulted in the accession to the throne of Queen Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII, and in the restoration of the Anglican form of Protestantism. England and its Protestant Queen, during her long reign (1558–1603), were threatened by three dangers from the Catholic powers, (1) Spanish aggression, (2) a French-Scotch combination, (3) a joint crusade of Catholicism to crush English heresy.

Foreign dangers to Queen Elizabeth

The Spanish danger appeared soon after Elizabeth had ascended the throne, in the form of a proposal of marriage from Philip II. Realizing the unpopularity into which her sister Mary had fallen as the result of a similar marriage, and preferring rather to depend on the loyal support of her subjects than upon foreign aid, even if it were from the greatest power in the world, the Queen courageously refused the Spanish King.

Spanish danger

The second danger, that of the French-Scotch combination, was the result of the claims of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the English throne. Mary inherited her claims from the marriage consummated during Henry VII's reign between Margaret Tudor and James IV of Scotland. As a Catholic, she was regarded by the Catholics as the rightful heir to the English throne and became the hope of those who wished to restore Catholicism in England. Since Mary had recently married the Dauphin of France, and, through the accession of her husband as Francis II, had become Queen of France, the situation was still further complicated. If Mary could succeed in overthrowing Elizabeth as a heretical and illegitimate Queen, England as well as Scotland might be ruled from France. In Elizabeth's favor was the fact that in the eyes of patriotic Englishmen this would be as objectionable as dependence upon Spain. Moreover, Philip II, as a Hapsburg, was opposed to any such growth of Valois power, and realized that for such a combine to control the English Channel would endanger Spanish dominion in the Netherlands. Therefore, in spite of her refusal of his hand, Elizabeth might count on his support against Mary Stuart so long as the latter was Queen of France. Elizabeth might also look to the strong national party in Scotland, which in 1559 had broken into revolt against French interference and Catholicism. The English supported this party, which had adopted Presbyterianism as its religion and, through the Scotch Parliament, had penalized the mass. An understanding was formed between the Protestant nationalists of both nations which did much to counteract the traditional national hostility between the two countries and to lay the basis for a later union. The sudden death of Francis II, in 1560, removed immediate danger of French coöperation with the Scotch Queen against Elizabeth. Before France could gather its energies for another threat to English Protestantism, its hands were tied by internal wars with the French Huguenots which Elizabeth took good care to aid.

Danger from a Scotch-French union

Mary Stuart

Upon Mary's return to Scotland in 1561, she became the leader of the Catholic party in that country and in England, and through her marriage to the Catholic Lord Darnley, in whose veins was both Tudor and Stuart blood, she once more became a source of danger to Protestant England. Many of the Protestant Scotch lords fled to England, and just when the great Catholic powers in concert with the Pope were contemplating a general suppression of heresy, Mary tried to persuade the French and Spanish to join in a common war for the destruction of English Protestantism. Fortunately for Elizabeth, all Mary's plans were ruined by the violent death of Darnley under circumstances which led to suspicions of Mary's implication, and by her hasty and scandalous marriage to the Earl of Bothwell, a reckless Protestant nobleman. The Queen not only was dethroned (1567) by her subjects in favor of her infant son, James, and imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, but through her actions she had become, at least for the time being, impossible as the Catholic candidate for the English throne. An unfortunate uprising in her favor, which she had joined after escaping from Lochleven, was defeated by government forces, and Mary resolved to throw herself upon Elizabeth's mercy. She was kept a captive in England for nearly twenty years, but she continued until her execution in 1587 to be the center of plots against Elizabeth.

Catholic plots and revolts

Shortly after Mary's arrival in England, a Catholic nobleman, the Duke of Norfolk, plotted to release and marry her, but was himself imprisoned. Upon this, a large Catholic group in England arose in the northern counties, demanding the immediate return of Catholicism, the release of Norfolk, and the restoration of Mary to her Scottish throne. In Scotland the Regent, Murray, was assassinated. A papal bull of excommunication against Elizabeth and the Ridolfi plot followed in quick succession. Upon the Continent the Huguenots had suffered serious defeat, and Alva appeared to be succeeding in crushing heresy in the Netherlands. It was feared that England might next be absorbed by the onrush of militant Catholicism.

Treason laws

To check the effect of the papal bull, and to prevent further revolts in Mary's favor, laws were passed in 1571 excluding the bull and making it a treasonable offense to call Elizabeth "a heretic, usurper, or schismatic" or to declare that "she was not, or ought not to be Queen." The government, which for the first seventeen years of the Queen's reign had refrained from persecution, now enforced these laws with severity, with the result that over two hundred persons, most of them connected with the priesthood, lost their lives.

Gregory XIII and English Catholicism

Gregory XIII (1572–1584), who ascended the papal throne the following year, decided to devote particular attention to the English question. Jesuits were sent to England to encourage those Englishmen who were still faithful and to convert others, thus preparing the way for a Catholic restoration. A special college at Rome and a seminary at Douay were erected to prepare English Catholics for

work in their native land. A league was planned between the Pope, Philip II, and the Duke of Tuscany to provide troops for an invasion of England. A revolt in Ireland received papal encouragement. Esme Stuart, sent by the Duke of Guise to convert James VI and restore the French alliance, made great progress toward winning the King and gaining control of Scotland before being forced to withdraw. Plots for Elizabeth's assassination, sponsored by the papal curia[1] or by Philip II, were constantly planned.

Parliamentary legislation and the Association

Naturally English statesmen were filled with anxiety at these various attempts to overthrow the government and alter the church settlement. Although many Jesuits were men of noble, self-sacrificing character, their proselytizing was considered dangerous to public safety, since Catholics, if the proper opportunity arose, were expected as a matter of conscience to assist in the Queen's overthrow. Accordingly, Parliament declared it to be high treason to convert Englishmen to Catholicism, or to assist those engaged in this task. A heavy fine was provided for those who said mass or absented themselves from the Established Church services. In 1585, an act banishing all Jesuits from the realm was passed, and in 1593 all Catholics of the poorer class were likewise banished. Richer Catholics might stay, but were not to go more than five miles from their homes. Fearing that some of the attempts against Elizabeth's life might prove successful, as had similar attempts against the Scotch Regent and William of Orange, and that such an outcome might lead to civil war, the members of Elizabeth's council formed a voluntary association for her protection to which Parliament in 1585 gave its approval. Mary was removed to Tutbury Castle where she might be more carefully watched. Mary soon became involved in Babington's plot; Elizabeth's opposition was finally overcome by her council, and Mary was executed in 1587.

Elizabeth's foreign policy

Meanwhile, due to almost constant wars with the Huguenots and the Dutch, and to the renewal of mutual rivalry, France and Spain had been prevented from coöperating for more active intervention to restore English Catholicism. Although, after the Council of Trent, the two sovereigns had come to an agreement for crushing heresy, France soon suspected that Philip sought to utilize the Counter-Reformation to establish in Europe a universal Hapsburg Empire. To offset this design, France made an alliance with Elizabeth, and the Duke of Anjou went to the Netherlands to aid the Protestants in their struggle with Spain. Elizabeth first had followed the policy of lending aid to the Huguenots and indirectly to the Dutch. Later, through marriage negotiations with two royal French suitors, Anjou and Alençon, she not only enlisted their aid for the Dutch and kept France friendly, but also restrained Philip, who feared that overt

[1] Such a proposal received the approval of the papal secretary in 1580. Another plot, somewhat later approved by Philip II, proposed to accompany the assassination by a general rising of English Catholics and a French invasion led by the Duke of Guise.

action might force such an alliance between England and France. At a time when other European countries were suffering from religious struggles, Elizabeth consistently, amid the greatest difficulties, followed the policy of maintaining religious peace at home, and avoiding at any cost short of her crown, involvement in foreign wars.

Reasons for attack of 1588

In 1588, England had for the first time to face a direct attack by Spain. That Philip at length determined to take action against Elizabeth was due to three main causes: (1) Elizabeth's intervention in the Netherlands in 1585; (2) the attacks delivered upon Spanish commerce and colonial empire by Drake and other English buccaneers; (3) the execution of Mary Stuart.

Until 1585, Elizabeth had induced others to assist the Netherlands Protestants, or by allowing English Protestants to enlist in their service had lent them just enough informal aid to keep the revolt alive. The death of William of Orange, Parma's victories, and the fact that France not only would no longer aid the Netherlands but was actually committed to join with Philip in the suppression of Protestantism at home and in the Netherlands, compelled Elizabeth as a matter of self-preservation to involve her country actively in the Netherlands revolt by sending an army there.

As the attacks of English buccaneers became worse, Spain came to realize not only that it was impossible completely to subdue the Netherlands until England was defeated, but that the Spanish overseas empire itself was in great danger, since, because of its size, it was impossible to defend it from a nation which commanded the seas. This was more than ever impressed upon Spanish statesmen when, in 1577–1580, Drake, on his voyage around the world, invaded in Peru the very source of Spanish riches, and brought to England booty worth millions. Again, in 1585 he had even dared to plunder the shipping on the coast of Spain before sailing to further exploits in the West Indies. The bankruptcy of the Bank of Seville, which resulted from the loss of treasure, was a terrible sting to Spanish pride.

Upon the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587, a further inducement to action was furnished Philip in the opportunity to claim the English throne for himself. In this he might hope to have the support of Catholic Europe, which so long as Mary lived had trusted that she would soon succeed to the throne; now James Stuart, a Protestant, was next in succession. Philip might well expect that he would have a papal blessing and the good wishes of all sincere Catholics for his claims to the English throne, which were based on the expressed wishes of Mary Stuart and on a distant connection with English royalty. At the same time, his ambitions soared to the acquisition of France through preventing the Protestant Henry of Navarre from securing the French throne.

Philip's plans contemplated an armed invasion of England with thirty thousand of Parma's seasoned troops. To clear the Channel of

opposing English and to open the Netherlands ports where Parma's army was held blockaded by one hundred and fifty Dutch cruisers, as well as to bring further reinforcements and supplies, a large armada of about one hundred and thirty ships was prepared in Spanish ports. It sailed from Spain bearing, as well as its crews, about twenty thousand soldiers, officers, and gentlemen volunteers, and "three hundred monks, priests, and functionaries of the Inquisition" to "take spiritual charge of the heretic island as soon as it was conquered." It carried supplies to last an army of forty thousand for a six months' campaign. *Spanish Armada*

The English hastily gathered a force of militia at Tilbury on the Thames to prevent, if possible, a landing, and to protect London. Commanded and manned by seamen who had gained valuable lessons of seamanship and sea warfare as buccaneers, or as fishermen on the Newfoundland Banks, or as daring navigators of Arctic seas, a large but heterogeneous fleet was gathered at Plymouth to await the coming of the enemy.

The running sea-battle lasted for nine days of intermittent fighting, until at last the Spanish fleet, without making a junction with Parma's army, was scattered off Calais by the English fire-ships and a rising tempest. By a successful attack of English cruisers at Grevalines it was then driven into a disastrous retreat back to Spain around Scotland. The battle was a struggle between the old and new methods of naval warfare. Exultant from its recent victories over the Turks at Lepanto and over the French at Terceira, Spain trusted to the traditional methods of sea warfare. Its clumsy, towering ships were built for grappling with the enemy, and fighting an infantry battle as on land, and were equipped with small artillery for use at close quarters against the enemy's crew, and not for destruction of his ships. The English, on the contrary, with swifter, more easily handled vessels and heavier guns, held the Spaniards at their mercy, causing much damage, while preventing the enemy from grappling with them. It must likewise be remembered that many of the Spanish ships were transports; that three-fourths of their men, unlike the English, were not sailors but soldiers; that their commander, Medina Sidonia, and many of his officers were totally inexperienced in naval affairs; that Philip's intention was not to have his fleet fight a naval engagement if it could be avoided, but to escort Parma's forces to England.

While it is improbable that England would have been conquered if the English fleet had been defeated and Parma's forces landed, it is likely that such an occurrence would have led to a devastating war, thus destroying the advantages gained by the country's long period of peace. England's success created national unity and a keen sense of national pride, and, as has already been noted in a preceding chapter, it opened the way for English and Dutch overseas enterprise. It was not the end of Spain's greatness, since for many more years she remained "the greatest power in the world," but it marked the be- *Result of defeat of Armada*

ginning of her fall. The prestige of her navy was ruined, as was that of her army half a century later at Rocroi. Likewise, the battle of the Armada marked only the beginning of England's maritime greatness. She had yet many sea battles to fight with the Dutch and the French before she became mistress of the seas. It did not even end the war with Spain, which continued until Philip's death in 1598. Elizabeth reverted to the tactics she had followed before 1588. She assisted Henry IV of France to fight England's battles as well as his own; and she sent maritime expeditions to harry the coast of Spain and to prey upon Spanish commerce. No attempt was made, as many Englishmen wished, to seize Spain's colonial empire.

The Religious Wars in France

Death of Henry II

The death of Henry II, in 1559, marks a turning point in French politics and religion. For over half a century preceding that event, the French kings had been struggling with the Hapsburgs for the mastery of Europe. For the larger part of half a century afterwards the wars of religion absorbed the nation's energy in civil strife and combined with the rule of inefficient kings to keep France from either prospering internally or exerting much influence in foreign affairs. It was only with the accession of the new and more vigorous Bourbon dynasty in the person of Henry IV (1589), who put an end to the civil religious disorders and by employing vigorous economic measures restored the losses of the many years of war, that France was able to assume its career as a great commercial and military nation contesting with the Hapsburgs, and finally winning from them, the position of the leading European power.

France under domination of Guises

In France, as in England, Scotland, and the Netherlands, the Protestant opposition to Catholicism came to be allied with a national sentiment hostile to foreign interference. This was first true in regard to the Guises, and later also of Philip II of Spain. Upon Henry II's death, Francis II, a sickly and irresolute boy of fifteen, the husband of Mary Stuart, succeeded to the throne. He at once fell under the influence of his wife's two uncles, Charles, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Francis, the Duke of Guise. Although their family had its seat in Lorraine, then beyond the French frontiers, the Cardinal became Archbishop of Rheims, and thus the primate of the French church, and held vast French benefices. A man of considerable ability, shrewdness, and oratorical skill, he naturally became the leader of the ardent Catholic party which sought to stamp out heresy. His brother Francis was thought to be the most capable soldier in France. In place of turning to the Bourbons, his nearest blood relatives, and to other great French noblemen, King Francis entrusted his government to the Guises, giving the Duke of Guise charge of the war office, and the Cardinal supervision of financial and domestic state affairs.

In opposition to the Guises were the French Calvinists and many important nobles who supported them for political reasons. By the

middle of the sixteenth century there were probably between three hundred thousand and four hundred thousand Protestants in France. They were scattered throughout the country, but were stronger in the south, particularly among the artisans of the towns. Under Henry II the death penalty had been imposed on all who professed Protestantism, and a special court, the Chambre Ardente, had been organized in connection with the Parlement of Paris to try heretics. Two prisons in that city were constantly filled with Calvinists. The Guises who had before the King's death been most active in furthering this work, now that they were in control of the government redoubled their zeal. Large rewards were offered to all who denounced Calvinists to the government, and priests throughout France were to excommunicate all who failed to do so. Four special courts were created to deal with the many religious cases.

French Calvinists

Such severity, as well as the government's financial mismanagement, which caused heavy taxes, aroused popular dissatisfaction. Many of the lesser nobles had become Protestants, and now some of the greatest nobles of the realm joined the movement as political Huguenots. Disgruntled that those "Lorrainers," the Guises, had taken the place which rightfully belonged to the royal princes and had filled the government offices throughout France with their friends, and believing that much wealth, as in Germany and England, might be obtained from the church lands, and that the power of the nobility would be strengthened by resisting the central government, a strong political group rallied to the support of the persecuted Calvinists. Among the leaders were the two Bourbon princes, Antoine of Navarre[1] and his more capable brother Louis, Prince of Condé, but the moving spirit was Admiral Coligny.

Political Huguenots

Finding that the Guises refused to make any concessions, a plot was arranged, called the Conspiracy of Amboise, to seize the King, expel the Guises, secure the chief government positions, and give toleration to the Protestants. The cruel retaliation inflicted by the Guises, who discovered the plot in time to forestall it, was only halted by the sudden death of the King, and the coming into power of the Queen-Mother, Catherine de Medici, as Regent for her other son, Charles IX, then only nine years of age.

Conspiracy of Amboise

For almost thirty years, this remarkable woman, a member of the famous Florentine Medici family, controlled the political destinies of France. Like Elizabeth of England, she was indifferent to religion and impatient with religious fanatics of either side. By steering a middle course and employing conciliatory methods she hoped to stop religious quarrels and to restore peace and prosperity, and at the same time to strengthen the royal power. She sought to maintain "the equilibrium between the two rival factions, and to neutralise the one by the other." Accordingly, since the Guises had

Catherine de Medici's policy

[1] Antoine of Navarre did not remain faithful to the Protestant cause. Little dependence could be placed on him.

been the strongest factor in the state, she weakened their power, and gave the Bourbons important governmental posts. Thus, Coligny was now able to present in the royal council the grievances of the Protestants. The government's conciliatory policy was clearly marked by the choice of a liberal-minded Catholic, Michel de l'Hôpital, as chancellor, who announced to the Estates-General, "Gentleness will be more profitable than severity. Let us abandon those diabolic words, names of parties, factions and seditions. Lutherans, Huguenots, Papists, let us not change the name of Christians." A group of the moderate Catholics among the nobility and bourgeoisie favored this conciliatory policy, and formed the basis of a middle party which came to be known as the Politiques.

The government, on its part, carried out its policy by granting amnesty to the Protestants and ordering the courts to cease persecuting them. Permission was even granted to print an edition of the Psalms, and Protestant worship was allowed in certain designated places. At the same time, attempts were made to correct abuses in the Catholic Church. To protests from the Pope and remonstrances and offers of assistance in suppressing heresy from Philip II, Catherine replied that it was impossible to reduce the Protestants by law or by force, since their numbers were so large.

Conference at Poissy

The Regent hoped to complete her work of conciliation by holding a great conference between the Catholic and Protestant divines to discover some middle ground upon which both might unite. In opening the sessions of this conference, which was held at Poissy, l'Hôpital once more urged moderation and tolerance. "Conscience," said he, "is of such a nature that it cannot be forced . . . but must be persuaded by true and sufficient reasons." He then pointed out how disastrous a civil war would be, since its issue would be doubtful, and the country would be both impoverished and exposed to foreign intervention.

Instead of bringing peace, the conference embittered both sides. The government was finally forced to close its sessions before anything was accomplished. Edicts were then issued forbidding both sides to insult each other or to maintain armed bands. Catholics were prohibited from interfering with Protestant worship, which might be conducted outside the cities. The Protestants on their part were to restore all property taken from the Catholic Church, and keep from quarreling.

Government's failure to establish religious peace

In spite of these valiant attempts of the government "to pour oil on the troubled waters," it soon became apparent that religious passions were too strong, and personal interest too involved for their success. The highest court in the land, the Parlement of Paris, denied the government's right to grant the privilege of public worship to the Huguenots, citing as proof the King's promise at coronation to extirpate heresy. In the great Catholic center of Paris the mobs terrorized the Protestants, while the Calvinists in other parts

of France pillaged Catholic houses, and at Montpellier sacked the cathedral and killed two hundred persons. It was reported to Calvin that his followers in southern France would only be content when their enemies were exterminated.[1] Throughout the provinces the governors retained the taxes for their own benefit, and the nobles began to use their religious passions as an excuse for the assertion of their feudal privileges.

Beginning of civil-religious wars

The whole country was on the verge of civil war, and was only waiting for a signal to begin it. This was soon furnished by the Guises, who had been gathering the Catholic party around them and had been seeking foreign alliances. Journeying through Vassy on the way to Paris to secure the capital for the Catholic cause, the Duke of Guise with a band of soldiers broke up a Calvinist meeting being held in a barn, killing sixty and wounding many men, women, and children. This, and similar massacres which soon occurred in five other places, aroused the Protestants to the need of defending themselves, and caused the beginning of many years of disastrous religious war.

Critical position of government

Not only had the policy of the government failed, but its very existence was endangered. The Parlements in direct contradiction to government decrees outlawed the Protestants, and the Duke of Guise was received in Paris as if he had been a king, with shouts of "Vive Guise!" and was acclaimed as a second "Moses" who had destroyed the idolaters. French royalty was threatened with the very real danger that the principle of legitimacy would be disregarded and the reigning house, for tolerating heresy, would be overthrown by a strong, intolerant Catholic party.

Difficulty in way of tolerant policy

The failure of the government's conciliatory policy furnishes an excellent example of the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of tolerating several religions in a state during this age when the people were naturally intolerant and civil affairs were not permanently settled. Before true toleration might be an actuality, new interests had to be created and the whole attitude of mind changed. However much we may decry the intolerant policy of such sovereigns as Philip II, it was true and clearly recognized at the time that the nation which secured unity of belief was politically stronger than that in which diversity of religion existed.

Massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day

In 1562 commenced that long series of civil religious wars, eight in number, which were interspersed with short truces, during which a measure of toleration was granted. After the first three of these wars, the government, under the influence of Admiral Coligny, seriously contemplated putting an end to the interminable civil strife by diverting public attention to war with Spain. It was thought

[1] The Protestants sacked many churches and destroyed images. They would not be content with toleration, but wished their religion to replace the Catholic worship as that of the land.

that thus French defeats might be avenged, the Netherlands secured from Alva's cruel clutches, and new territory obtained for France. It was likewise planned to bring about a closer understanding between the two religious parties in France through a marriage between the King's sister, Margaret, and Henry of Navarre, who, following his father's death, had become the head of the Protestant party. For this marriage, which occurred on August 18, 1572, many Huguenot gentlemen had gathered in Paris. Catherine de Medici became alarmed by and jealous of Coligny's growing influence with the King. Accordingly, a plot was arranged for his assassination; but Coligny merely was wounded. Catherine feared her part in the plot would be discovered. At the same time she became aware that Spain had learned the French intentions regarding the Netherlands, and that an alliance with England upon which France had been relying had come to nought. Believing that she might by one bold stroke both placate Spain and remove the danger of Huguenot vengeance for the attack upon Coligny, she plotted with the Guises, and finally won the King's consent to a massacre of the Huguenots in Paris, which occurred before daybreak of St. Bartholomew's day. In this, and the massacres which immediately followed in the provinces, over ten thousand Protestants lost their lives.

Huguenot Confederation

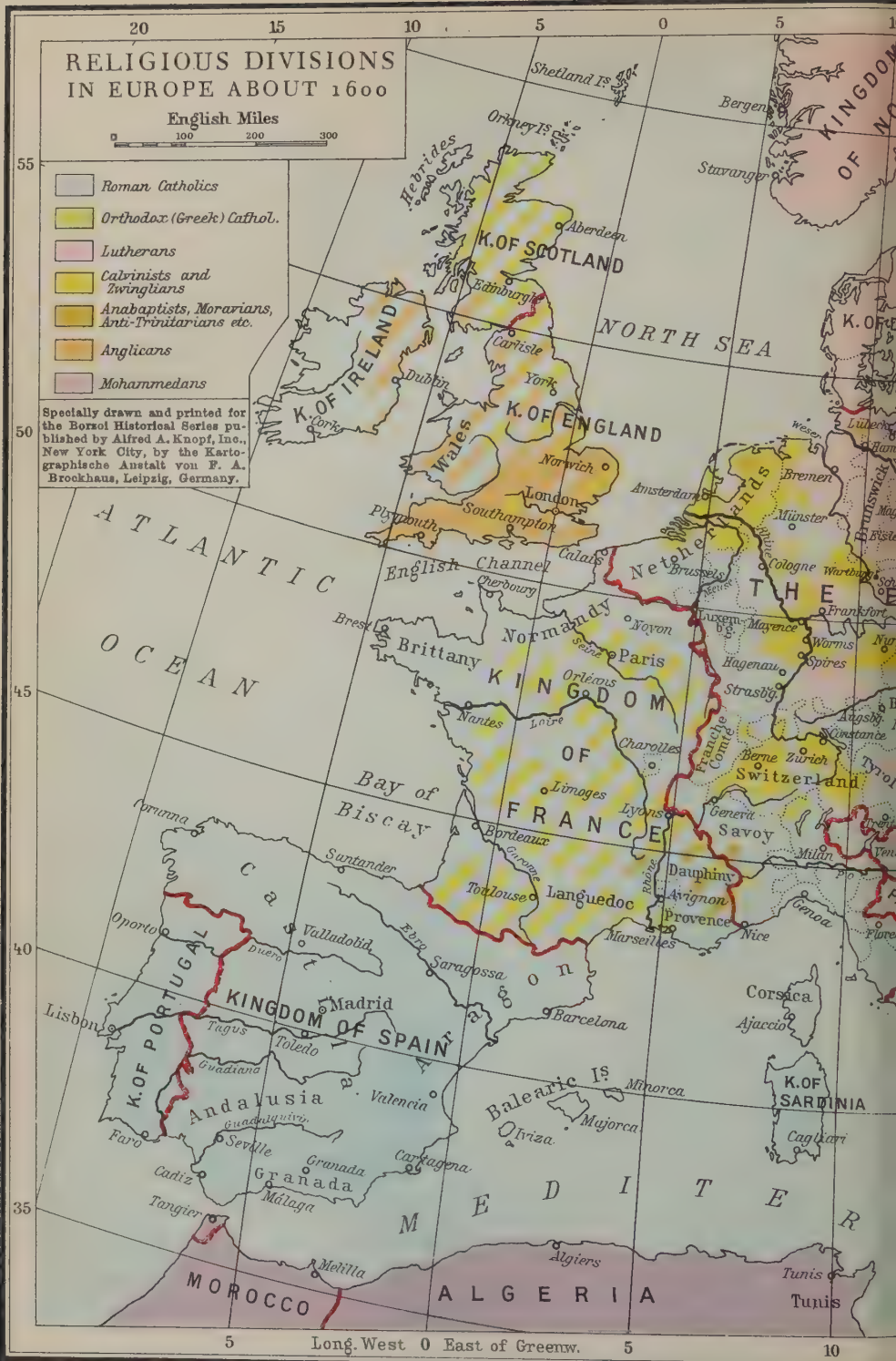
Warfare once more broke out, for the Huguenots, in spite of the loss of many of their leaders, still held the three strongholds of Montauban, Sancerre, and La Rochelle, and in the south, due to a recently formed confederation which, like that of the Dutch in the Netherlands, established a scheme of government and took charge of the war, they were better prepared than ever for waging the struggle.

Politiques

Allied with them were the "Politiques" or moderate Catholics, who, tired of misgovernment and of constant warfare, and realizing their serious effects upon the country, now definitely formed a middle party in favor of peace and political reform. The issue became a "war of public welfare" against the "foreign faction," the Guises, who, having gained control of the King, were, it was said, destroying "the kingdom, the nobles, the princes of the blood, and with them the very institutions and civilization of France."

Catholic League

Upon the conclusion in 1576 of a truce more favorable than yet had been awarded the Huguenots, the indignation of the ardent Catholics resulted in the formation of Catholic leagues throughout France. These were soon united in a general league, which was instrumental in prolonging the war for twenty years longer. A warlike and rebellious spirit was aroused by the question of the succession. Charles IX had died childless, and his brother, who ascended the throne as Henry III, was likewise without children. To make the matter worse, in 1584, Anjou, his only remaining brother, died. Since no other Valois remained, Henry of Bourbon, King of Navarre, now the chief Protestant leader in Europe, was next in line of descent.



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NEAN SEA

The League, led by Henry of Guise, was resolved that Navarre, a heretic, should never ascend the French throne. Philip II of Spain, desirous of crushing French Protestantism, and at the same time hoping to obtain the crown of France for his daughter, supported the League with both troops and money. The Pope was finally prevailed upon to add his influence by excommunicating Henry of Navarre.

Paris League

To complicate the situation, the city of Paris, dissatisfied with the King's failure to suppress Protestantism, as well as with his extravagance, oppressive financial exactions, and interference with their liberties, formed a revolutionary commune. It established a council to supervise municipal affairs, and a committee to watch the King, sought to raise a militia of thirty thousand men, and invited other French cities to follow its example.

Henry III and the League

The kingdom was thus divided between the League, the Paris Commune, and the Huguenot Confederation backed by the Politiques. So weak had the King's government become in its vain endeavor to keep a middle ground between the two strong parties, that it was almost without financial resources, or authority to collect the taxes. Attempts to dissolve both the Protestant and Catholic Associations and to divert attention to a war in the Netherlands failed. The King was virtually a prisoner in Paris "surrounded with plots and assassins." The League proved so strong that the King felt compelled to ally with it in opposing the Protestants or be overthrown, and yet he carried on negotiations with Navarre. This, and his hesitation in accepting all the League's demands, led to charges of weakness and treachery from the Leaguers, and to attacks upon him by priests in their pulpits. The arrest of these critics precipitated a general uprising of the Parisians, soon joined by many Leaguers from the provinces. The Duke of Guise, who came to the city, was loudly acclaimed by the multitude. To save himself the King secretly left Paris.

Henry III had failed in the use of both conciliation and force. The League was in virtual control of the government. The last resource remaining to save the legitimate dynasty was the removal of the Guises. It was impossible to secure their conviction by any court; the King, therefore, had the Duke of Guise assassinated and his brother, the cardinal, seized and executed. Upon this, the League demanded that Henry abdicate, declared the monarchy elective, chose the Cardinal of Bourbon as king, and proceeded to rule France by means of a council. Besides Paris, they held in their possession most of the principal cities in central and southern France. Nothing was left for the King but an alliance with Navarre. The allied army succeeded in taking many towns and was on the point of attacking Paris, when the King was assassinated, and dying August 2, 1589, designated Navarre as his heir.

The war continued for nearly five years longer, when Navarre, realizing that the most effective means of bringing peace to the country

Acceptance of Catholicism by Navarre

was to change his religion, accepted Catholicism, remarking that "Paris was well worth a mass." Upon this, nearly all the members of the League, except for a few bigots and self-seekers, came to his support, and although much opposition had yet to be met, Henry's perseverance was finally rewarded.

Spanish interference in French religious wars

From the early days of the French religious wars Philip II had ceaselessly worked for the victory of the Catholic cause in France. His ambassador was constantly in touch with the leaders of the Catholic party, and on more than one occasion had urged the Regent to suppress Protestantism. Upon the foundation of the League, the Spanish King declared himself its protector, and furnished it a subsidy. Spanish gold was lavished to gain supporters for the Catholic cause, and Spanish troops from the Netherlands and Italy reinforced the League's army, and, after the death of Henry III, garrisoned Paris. Philip's efforts culminated in the attempt to induce the French Estates to proclaim his daughter, Isabel, Queen of France.[1] The conversion of Henry of Navarre to Catholicism brought an end to this ambitious project.

Completion of religious pacification

The religious pacification was completed by the defeat in 1598 of Spain, and by the Edict of Nantes, issued that same year, which assured the Calvinists in France both toleration and protection. They were everywhere allowed freedom of private worship, and were permitted to worship publicly in about two hundred towns, in the castles of Huguenot nobles, and in many places in the country districts. Full civil rights and eligibility to all public offices, the right to hold denominational assemblies, and the possession of about one hundred and fifty towns, fortified and garrisoned at the expense of the state, were likewise granted them.

Philip II's interest in northern Europe

Philip II aspired to reëstablish Catholicism in northern as well as western Europe, and at the same time secure for Spain control over the Baltic Sea. The plot involved an alliance with the King of Poland, and with John III of Sweden, who at the time was endeavoring to restore Sweden to the Roman Church. A war to partition Denmark and reëstablish Catholicism there was contemplated by the allies. If the venture met with success, Spain was to gain Danish territory which would give her control of the sound joining the Baltic with the North Sea. Although Spanish gold was expended on the venture, the enterprise never materialized because of the defection of the Swedish king.

The Thirty Years' War

The political religious struggles which retarded the progress of so many European nations culminated in a great international conflict upon German soil known as the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648. The Peace of Augsburg which, as has been seen, attempted in 1555 to

[1] Philip had married Elizabeth of Valois, which, if the principle of inheritance through a female were admitted, gave his descendants a claim to the French throne.

bring about a permanent religious peace in Germany, failed in a number of important respects. (1) The Calvinists, who obtained a considerable hold in southern Germany, had not been included in its terms of toleration. (2) The treaty had not definitely determined the question of church lands. It had stated that those confiscated by the princes before 1552 should not be returned to the Catholic Church, but there remained a difference of opinion concerning those taken after that date. The Protestant princes continued to secularize them. (3) A still further difficulty arose over the case of bishoprics and abbeys whose lands were held directly from the Empire. It had been provided by the Peace of Augsburg that if a Catholic bishop or abbot turned Lutheran he should surrender his position and lands to the Church. The Protestants contended that this reservation applied only to cases where the bishop or abbot had been elected by a Catholic chapter. If the chapter itself became Protestant and elected a Protestant, it was contended that he had a right to retain both lands and dignity. Although, acting on this theory, eight of the large bishoprics in northern Germany, as well as many abbeys throughout the country, became Protestant and secularized, the legality of these measures had never been sanctioned by the imperial courts or the Diet.

Sources of conflict in Germany following Peace of Augsburg

These sources of conflict came to a crisis when, with the Catholic revival, Rome began to recover ground in Germany. While the Catholics united their forces to regain what they had lost, the Protestants wasted their energies in disputes among themselves. The Calvinists along the Rhine with no support from the Lutherans of northern Germany, who were bitter toward them, felt their very existence as well as the possession of their lands endangered, hemmed in as they were on the west by the Spanish in the Netherlands, and on the east by Catholic Bavaria and the Austrian Hapsburgs. Accordingly, there was organized in 1608 a Protestant Union among the princes and towns of the south, under the nominal headship of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and the real leadership of Christian of Anhalt. Although the Protestant Union had been formed for self-defense, its leaders believed the overthrow of the Austrian Hapsburgs and of the Imperial Diet would be necessary to secure safety for their fellow Calvinists. In response to the Protestant Union, a Catholic League, in which were grouped many bishops and abbots, was formed under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria, with the professed object of protection against the aggression of the princes of the Union.

Formation of Protestant Union and Catholic League

The event which actually precipitated the long struggle between the Catholic and Protestant forces in Germany was the Bohemian revolt. Most of the nobility and people in Bohemia had accepted Protestantism. In 1609, the Bohemian Estates had forced from their King, Rudolph, a charter which granted considerable religious toleration. However, trouble over religious matters continued during the reign of Rudolph and that of his successor Matthias. Conse-

Bohemian revolt

quently, the Bohemian nobles, as Matthias grew old and infirm, hoped upon his death to exercise their traditional right of electing the Bohemian King by choosing a Protestant prince, perhaps the Elector of Saxony or the Elector Palatine. Unfortunately, Matthias had other plans, and convoking the Estates, he forced them to acknowledge his cousin Ferdinand as their next King. Ferdinand, who was already ruler of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and later was elected Emperor, was an ardent Catholic, resolved to stamp out Protestantism in all his territories. The Bohemians were not long in awakening to the danger which confronted them from Ferdinand, who soon showed his intentions by destroying a Protestant church and excluding other Protestants from their places of worship. A protest sent to the Emperor met with an unsatisfactory reply, upon which a band of armed Protestant noblemen visited the council chamber of the two Regents, Martinitz and Slavata, and thinking to precipitate an irrevocable breach with the King, threw them out the window to the moat seventy feet below.

Offer of Bohemian crown to Frederick of Palatinate

The Bohemians, who had thus hastily opened their struggle for freedom, soon had reason to repent. Unlike the Dutch, they failed to enter whole-heartedly into the war for religious and political liberation. No one wished to pay for the expenses of the army, and when they commenced to look for allies, both the Lutheran princes of northern Germany and the Protestant Union of the south held back. In an effort to enlist the support of the chief Protestant prince of southern Germany, they offered the crown to Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, who, as son-in-law of the King of England, James I, seemed to offer chances of European support.

Bohemian disaster

Frederick rashly accepted before assuring himself that he would be supported. No one came to his aid, whereas both Spanish troops and Maximilian of Bavaria with the Catholic League reinforced Ferdinand. Thus the war, which was at first confined to the Hapsburg possessions, came to involve other European powers. Frederick after only one battle was driven from Bohemia, and his own possessions of the Palatinate were seized. The upper Palatinate was given to Maximilian of Bavaria, together with the title of Elector, of which Frederick was deprived. The Protestant Union was dissolved. In Bohemia, many of the Protestant noblemen were executed and their estates confiscated. These were given to German Catholic supporters of Ferdinand, thus establishing in Bohemia German landlords over the Czech peasants.

Policy of James I of England

It was not the cause of the Bohemians which brought about further foreign interference and the renewal of the war. It was rather the misfortunes of the Elector Palatine and the desire of the foreign powers to profit from the difficulties in which the Hapsburgs were involved. King James of England was interested in recovering the Palatinate for his son-in-law, but he tried first to accomplish his aim through negotiation with Spain. At length, realizing that Spain had

been playing with him, he equipped an expedition and dispatched it under the command of a military adventurer, Count Mansfield, for the Palatinate by way of the Netherlands. This expedition never reached its goal, but met with disaster while still in the Netherlands. The great French minister, Richelieu, likewise saw in the war an opportunity for aggrandizing France at the expense of the Hapsburgs, but was kept from taking an active part at this time by a war with the French Huguenots.

Question of church lands

The princes of northern Germany commenced to be alarmed at the prospect of losing monastery lands which they had seized and the Catholic bishoprics which had become Protestant through the election of Protestant bishops. There was danger that through the Emperor's growing power, and the threat of Catholic armies, these might be forced back under the Catholic Church. Since they were scattered throughout North Germany, if they were recovered for the Catholic cause they would furnish the Emperor and his armies with vantage points in the very heart of Protestant territory, and the independence of the Protestant princes, and even of Protestantism itself, might be destroyed.

Danish intervention

In spite of the danger which confronted them, it was not the German princes who made the first move, but the King of Denmark. Both the Scandinavian powers, Denmark and Sweden, had watchfully observed the Catholic successes in Germany. The King of England sent embassies to both Christian IX of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, urging their intervention in German affairs to save Protestantism and recover the Palatinate. The latter, more cautious and better realizing the difficulties of the enterprise than the former, demanded greater assistance from England before taking any action. Consequently, it was with Christian that Charles I of England made an alliance. It was also arranged that the Danish King should be assisted by some German princes.

Denmark was impelled to this course of action largely by political motives. Christian had secured for one of his sons the Protestant bishopric of Verden and the eventual acquisition of that of Bremen. By means of these territories he might control the trade of the Elbe and Weser rivers. If the Emperor Ferdinand completely succeeded in his policies, Christian was likely to lose these highly valued possessions.

Danish defeat and Peace of Lubeck, 1629

At the opening of the war (1625) which soon ensued, the Emperor's forces were greatly outnumbered by the Danes and their allies. At this juncture, the imperial cause was saved by a remarkable adventurer, Wallenstein, who had managed, through the confiscations of Bohemian estates which had followed the Bohemian rebellion, to become the wealthiest landowner in Bohemia. Now he offered to raise an army of twenty thousand men at his own expense, provided the Emperor allowed him to support them by levying upon occupied territory. Due to the failure of England to furnish the promised sub-

sidies to Denmark, as well as to the skill of Wallenstein and the veteran General Tilly, Holstein and Jutland were overrun by the imperial forces, and Christian was forced to retreat to his island possessions. As a result, the Danish period of the Thirty Years' War was brought to an end by the peace of Lubeck (1629), by which Christian, in return for the restoration of his hereditary lands, gave up all claims upon the ecclesiastical lands in Germany.

Edict of Restitution, 1629

During the year preceding the Peace of Lubeck the church property in southern Germany which had come into Protestant possession since the Peace of Passau was restored to the Catholic Church, and the people, who were in many places Protestant, were forced to conform to Catholicism or leave the country. Upon the Danish defeat, the Emperor issued the Edict of Restitution by which the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, twelve bishoprics, and about one hundred and twenty smaller properties which had fallen into Protestant hands since the Peace of Augsburg were restored to the Catholic clergy. Thus Protestantism in northern Germany was threatened and the self-interest of the Lutheran princes seriously affected in such a manner that permanent peace might be maintained, if at all, only by military force.

Reasons for Swedish intervention

At this moment, when German Protestantism seemed on the point of destruction, Sweden, led by her great King, Gustavus Adolphus, came to the rescue. The motives which induced Sweden to enter the war were political, economic, and religious. At the opening of the seventeenth century, that nation had the hostility of Denmark, Poland, and Russia to fear. Shut off from the North Sea by Danish control of the Sound, the only chance for Sweden to develop its commerce, assure its own safety, and become the dominant power of the North was to gain control of the Baltic Sea. Already in possession of Finland, under Charles IX it acquired Esthonia and Livonia, and under Gustavus finally succeeded, after a victorious war with Russia, in obtaining Ingria and Carelia (1617), thus shutting Russia from the Baltic Sea. A war with Poland (1617–1629) failed to accomplish as much, although the Polish part of Livonia and some places in Prussia were surrendered to Sweden upon conclusion of peace. During the Danish period of the Thirty Years' War, the strong German port of Stralsund besieged by imperial forces was relieved and garrisoned by Sweden. Thus a long series of victories had built up Swedish domination of the Baltic. The defeat of Denmark, however, and the conquest of Mecklenburg and Pomerania on the shores of the Baltic endangered all that had been accomplished.

Even more important was the fear that, if the Protestants of northern Germany were crushed, Sweden would next be attacked. "This is a war for the defense of our Fatherland," said Gustavus in his farewell to the Swedish Estates. "Either we must go and find the Emperor at Stralsund, or he will come and find us at Kalmar." "Denmark is used up. The Papists are on the Baltic . . . their whole

aim is to destroy Swedish commerce, and soon to plant a foot on the southern shores of our Fatherland." The Catholic King of Poland, Sigismund, had once been King of Sweden and because of an attempt to restore that country to the Catholic fold had been driven from his throne by Gustavus' father; this fact made Sweden's danger from the Catholic powers even greater. Gustavus himself realized that the maintenance of Protestantism in northern Europe was essential to safeguard his throne against the hereditary claims of the King of Poland. Furthermore, in the struggle which had freed their country from Catholic influences, the Swedish people had come to regard their religion as closely allied to patriotism, and were ready to assist their King in championing the Protestant cause which both self-interest and sincere devotion to his faith led him to espouse.

Gustavus Adolphus

Gustavus Adolphus, "Lion of the North" as he was called by contemporaries, was both the greatest military genius and the chief Protestant leader of his time. His nobility of character, his love of justice, his courage, and his devotion have resulted in his being compared to the great French Crusader King, St. Louis. He is described as possessing "stately largeness," broad shoulders, and the light hair and complexion of his people. He combined slowness in bodily motion with prudence in decision, and yet was energetic in execution. Able to converse in four languages, and acquainted with seven, he was a man of scholarly tastes. From the tender age of ten he had been accustomed by his father to governmental affairs.

Armies and methods of warfare

It was said "that few men have exercised so profound an influence on the progress of military science as Gustavus Adolphus." The armies of his day were composed of the most heterogeneous racial elements, and, since uniforms had not yet come into use, they presented the most diverse appearance. Frequently in battle handkerchiefs were tied to arms or twigs put in hats to distinguish friend from foe. The troops generally had little political or religious interest, merely serving the general who proved most successful and offered the best opportunities for booty. Artillery was scanty and clumsy, the musketeers deficient, and armies lacked mobility. Military tactics were primitive and timid, and usually consisted of sieges of enemy towns or the relief of friendly ones. Pitched battles were avoided unless numerical superiority gave confidence.

Army improvements of Gustavus Adolphus

Many improvements in these conditions were made by Gustavus Adolphus. Through the application of conscription, he made sure that at least a large part of his armies should be composed of Swedes. These were subjected to rigid discipline, and forbidden to plunder the country-side. Their morale was maintained by prayers every morning and evening and just before each battle. Slander, drunkenness, and gambling were subject to heavy penalties. His armies were supplied by a commissary system, and it was due to him that field hospitals were organized.

Lighter, more easily moved, and more accurate artillery was introduced and posted among the troops, instead of on a hill, or on the side lines. Other firearms were improved until they could fire three volleys to the enemy's one. Just as with artillery, so with cavalry and infantry, reliance was placed upon rapidity of movement. Armor was abandoned or greatly reduced in weight. He decreased the size of regiments and mingled pikemen and musketeers, thus gaining flexibility, and departing from the Spanish system of mass formation.

Gustavus Adolphus' campaign in Germany

Landing in 1630 in Germany, Gustavus, though aided by French subsidies, was not at first able to secure the alliance of the two most important Lutheran princes, John George of Saxony and George William of Brandenburg. These princes, slow and irresolute in character, seeing in the enterprise the disruption of the Empire invaded by foreigners, remained in armed neutrality. They were finally forced to active alliance with Sweden by the approach of the Swedish army, as well as by the Emperor Ferdinand's refusal to treat with them, or to withdraw the Edict of Restitution, and by his unwise move in dispatching Tilly to force them to disarm.

Thus reinforced, Gustavus defeated Tilly at Breitenfeld in Saxony, and obliged him to retreat to southern Germany. He then turned south with the object in view of relieving the Protestants in Nuremberg, Augsburg, and the Palatinate, as well as to administer a final defeat to Tilly's army. After thus relieving all of Protestant Germany, he planned to form a great Protestant league supported by the wealth seized from the many Catholic bishoprics along the Rhine and Main Rivers. Upon securing southern Germany, and crushing Tilly's army at the Lech, he overran Bavaria, meanwhile sending the Elector of Saxony to take possession of Bohemia. Since Ferdinand had no further troops to oppose to the victorious Swedish King, his hereditary Austrian domains were at the mercy of Gustavus.

Wallenstein's recall

At this point the Emperor decided to try the experiment which once before had proved so successful; he recalled Wallenstein, whose army of free-lances had been disbanded and who himself had been dismissed from the imperial service. Wallenstein consented to listen to the Emperor's appeal only upon terms which made him military dictator, and assured the modification of the Edict of Restitution and the establishment of religious toleration. He quickly gathered a miscellaneous army of thirty or forty thousand men attracted from all parts of Europe by his military reputation and the prospect of rich booty.

Battle of Lützen

After driving the Elector of Saxony from Bohemia, Wallenstein's superior forces made Gustavus abandon Nuremberg. Then, avoiding a pitched battle with the Swedish King, he commenced to devastate Saxony to compel the Elector to submit. Gustavus, to save his ally, forced a battle upon Wallenstein at Lützen in the dead of winter. Gustavus was killed and his army suffered more heavily than Wallenstein's forces, but it won a nominal victory.

After Lützen, Wallenstein withdrew to Bohemia, confident that with the death of his great antagonist he might dictate peace terms. He proposed to the Elector of Saxony and the Swedes that a settlement be made on the basis of the cession to Sweden of land along the Baltic Sea and the recall of the Edict of Restitution. For himself he hoped to form a principality from the Palatinate. The Emperor, whose wishes had not been consulted by his ambitious general, hesitated as to the course to pursue. Fearing Wallenstein's ambitions, he ordered his dismissal. Upon Wallenstein's attempt to build up an independent power for the settlement of German affairs based upon his army and an alliance with the Swedes and Saxons, the Emperor released the army from obedience to him and commanded his arrest. Due to the division which arose in Wallenstein's forces as to whether obedience should be rendered to the Emperor or to their commander, both Wallenstein and his chief supporters met their death at the hands of assassins. Thus perished the second greatest military genius of the Thirty Years' War, who, though an adventurer ambitious for personal power, advocated the most statesmanlike settlement for the war, based on toleration, union of the German states, and exclusion of the foreigner.

Wallenstein's dismissal and death

Following a defeat of the Swedes and Saxons at Nordlingen (1634), the Catholic bishoprics of the south, which had been endangered by Gustavus' victorious march, were recovered for Catholicism. This was soon followed by the Peace of Prague, 1635, between the Emperor and John George of Saxony, who was tired of the horrors of the war, and feared that its prolongation would lead to a complete disruption of Germany through French intervention. This peace, which was soon accepted by the majority of the German princes, reaffirmed the toleration of Lutheranism, but not of Calvinism, and fixed 1627, instead of 1552, as the year from which the ownership of ecclesiastical lands should be reckoned. By this settlement most of the bishoprics of northern Germany were assured to the Lutherans, and the Emperor surrendered all attempts to force the latter back into the Catholic fold. The Treaty of Prague failed to put an end to the war for three reasons: (1) it did not, any more than did the Peace of Augsburg, secure toleration for the Calvinists; (2) it did not, of course, eliminate the personal ambition of soldiers such as Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, Gustavus' successor as Protestant leader; (3) it could not control the desire of France, just on the point of entering the war actively, to acquire territory along the River Rhine and to destroy the tottering power of the Hapsburgs.

Peace of Prague —1635

The phase of the Thirty Years' War which followed the Peace of Prague is generally designated as the French period; it lasted for fourteen years, from 1634 to 1648, as long as the other three periods put together. All the principles, however slight they may have been, which had before served to elevate the aims of combatants had vanished, with the single exception of the rights of German Calvin-

French intervention

ists, which were seldom considered, and the war now became merely a struggle for supremacy between Hapsburgs and Bourbons. France and Sweden on one side, and Austria and Spain on the other strove for power and territorial advantage; their troops like a pack of wolves quarreled over Germany's prostrate body. Friend and foe alike were pillaged until almost nothing was left, and hope of real German unity was destroyed.

Treaty of Westphalia

The long war was finally brought to an end by the Treaty of Westphalia (October 24, 1648), which forms one of the important landmarks in European political history. The religious difficulty in Germany was settled by extending to the Calvinists all the rights which the Lutherans had obtained at the Peace of Augsburg. This meant that Calvinist princes as well as Lutheran might establish their faith as the religion of their states. The question of ecclesiastical lands was settled by fixing January 1, 1624, as the test date from which their possession was to be determined. This assured to the Catholics possession of the Catholic bishoprics of southern Germany and the Rhineland, and likewise the gains of the Counter-Reformation in Austria, Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate. The Protestants on their part secured the secularized lands of northern Germany, whose inhabitants had become largely Protestant. To make sure that the settlement would be observed, each side was to possess an equal number of members in the imperial court of justice.

Territorial settlements were made as follows: (1) The Upper Palatinate was added to Bavaria, whose sovereign was to retain permanently the title of Elector. (2) The Lower Palatinate was restored to the eldest son of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and a new electorate created for him. (3) Western Pomerania, including the mouth of the Oder River and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, was to be held by Sweden subject to the German Diet, in which that nation in consequence gained representation. Thus Sweden was assured a strong position on the Oder, Elbe, and Weser Rivers for the control of German trade. (4) In return for the loss of western Pomerania to Sweden, Brandenburg obtained the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Camin, Minden, and most of Magdeburg; its possession of eastern Pomerania was confirmed. (5) Saxony, besides retaining Lusatia, was awarded part of the bishopric of Magdeburg. (6) France obtained Alsace with the exception of Strasburg, and was confirmed in the possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. (7) The independence of Holland and Switzerland was acknowledged.

Import of Peace of Westphalia

The religious terms of the Peace of Westphalia did not secure immediate liberty of conscience, since only Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism were allowed in Germany, and each prince was to determine which one of these faiths should be observed in his territories to the exclusion of all others; in the long run, however, it did lead to liberty of conscience. The idea of one universal Church dis-

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BALTIC SEA
Bornholm
Rügen
Stralsund
Greifswald
Rostock
Wolgast
Kolberg
Stolp
Lauenburg
Danzig
Elbing
Marienburg
Marienwerder
Graudenz
Soldau
Tilsit
Memel
Königsberg
Pregel
Wehlau
D. OF PRUSSIA
Ermeland
Hither Pomerania
Farther Pomerania
Pomerelia
Neumark
Uckermark
Neu Strelitz
Stettin
Stargard
Bromberg
Thorn
Netze
Vistula
Poland
Plock
Bug
Warsaw
Siedlce
KINGDOM
Mittelmark
Berlin
Frankfurt
Landsberg
Warthe
Gnesen
Posen
Konin
Schwiebus
Kistrin
Oder
Lusatia
Wittenberg
Dessau
Kothus
Torgau
Leipzig
Meissen
Kamenz
Görlitz
Bautzen
Dresden
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Allenburg
Glogau
Sprottau
Wohlau
Liegnitz
Breslau
DUCHY OF SILESIA
Brieg
Oppeln
Beuthen
Ratibor
Jägerndorf
Cosel
Glatz
Braunau
Friedland
Tetschen
Leitmeritz
Eger
Elbe
White Mountain
Prague
Kolin
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
Pilsen
Jankau
Friedland
Oderberg
Olmütz
Margravate of Moravia
Brünn
Iglau
Znaim
Budweis
Moldau
Ratisbon
Landshut
Isar
Passau
Inn
Linz
Danube
Krems
Vienna
Presburg
March
Waag
Trencsin
Kaschau
Schemnitz
Hungary
Empire
ARCHDUCHY OF AUSTRIA
Freising
Wiener Neustadt
Raab
Waitzen
Grunden
Salzburg
Kufstein
Radstadt
Enns
Bruck
Mur
DUCHY OF STYRIA
Gratz
Eisenberg
Carinthia
Villach
Klagenfurt
Marburg
Drave
Windischgrätz
Laibach
Carniola
Trieste
Venice
Adriatic S.
Udine
Belluno
Görz
Fiume
Agram
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Ottoman Kingdom
Hapsburg Lands
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Franconian }
Wettin Lands
Albertine } line
Ernestine }
Wittelsbach Lands
Bavarian } line
Palatinate }
Brunswick Lands
Brunsw.-Lüneburg
" -Wolfenbüttel
Church Lands
Imperial Cities
Boundary of the Empire
Lützen = Sites of battles
Ulm = " " diplomatic negotiations
during the Thirty Years War

appeared forever, and schism, which each side had hoped to eliminate from Germany, was sanctioned by the peace. Men were forced to recognize the fact that a general European ecclesiastical unity was not required for the existence of states in peaceful intercourse with one another. Statesmen who thus came to look upon a different religion in another state as possessing an equal claim to respect with their own were unable to regard "the same religion at home as an enormity to be extirpated." Therefore, it was only a question of time before the interior religious unity of states would come to an end and all creeds be tolerated.

In the realm of statecraft, the Thirty Years' War was the last religious war. Henceforth, as had already begun to be the case, territorial and economic matters were to be the dominant forces controlling foreign policies. The war in its later phases had developed into a war between Hapsburg, Bourbon, and Vasa for European domination; it resulted, through the Treaty of Westphalia, in establishing a balance of power in Europe. As will be shown in a later chapter, it marked the defeat of Hapsburg ambitions in Central Europe and the disintegration of the Empire. The effects of the continual warfare proved for many years disastrous to the progress of German civilization.

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PART IV

ABSOLUTISM AND IMPERIALISM

CHAPTER XIII

IMPERIAL SPAIN

Spanish Institutions at Their Height

During the period with which we are concerned two nations in turn dominated European affairs, Spain in the sixteenth, and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is with Spanish prestige that we are now occupied, and we shall list some of the factors to which the power of that country was due.

Reasons for Spanish greatness

(1) Philip II (1555–1598), King of Spain at the time it reached its greatest power, ruled over the most extensive domains, with the exception of the modern British Empire, which a European sovereign ever possessed. In Europe his sway extended over the Hapsburg territories of Naples, Sicily, Milan, the Netherlands, and Franche Comté. In 1580, he managed to acquire Portugal. His authority was recognized over part of northern Africa and over the Canary Islands. Greater even than this was his colonial empire, comprising as it did all the Spanish possessions in South, Central, and North America, and the Philippine Islands. When he became King of Portugal (1580), Portuguese Brazil, the Azores, the African Coast Settlements, and the East India colonies were brought under his sway. Philip, moreover, came to unite in his person the Spanish and Portuguese claims to dominion over the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans.

(2) Philip possessed in the Netherlands one of the two richest territories in Europe, and in Spanish America the greatest source of precious metal, not to mention the wealth which he might derive from the trade of the Indies.

(3) Spain was considered the most important military and naval power in the world. Its troops were the best disciplined, the most courageous, and its generals (men like Alva, Parma and Don John of Austria) were the leading tacticians of their age. During the opening years of Philip's reign, the great military victory of St. Quentin (1557) established beyond question Spanish military prestige, and settled in Spain's favor the long struggle between the Hapsburgs and the Valois. The battle of Lepanto (1571), in which the Spanish and the Venetian fleets commanded by Don John defeated the Turkish navy, assured Spain's reputation as a great sea power.

(4) Spain's prestige was also greatly enhanced by the fact that its religious zeal was clearly attested by its centuries of crusading against the Moors, and because it was not divided by religious dissent as were other European nations. By the reformation of its Church, it furnished an example for the Catholic Reformation elsewhere to follow; in Loyola it provided the great Catholic hero; in his

order, the Jesuits, and in the Spanish Inquisition were the means of achieving reformation; and in Philip II the world saw the champion of the Church against heresy and the faithful defender of Christendom against the Turks.

Evidences of Spanish influence

It may be noted that Spain profoundly influenced the Catholic countries through the Jesuits, who held important posts in foreign universities. Spanish works on theology, military science, jurisprudence, politics, international law, geography, natural science, and medicine, as well as histories of conquest and travel in America, were translated into many languages, and due to Spain's commanding position as a colonial, military, and Catholic power, as well as to their real value, these works attracted wide attention and were highly valued throughout Europe.

Spanish literature, particularly novels and drama, was greatly admired and served as a model for that of other countries. The strained and stilted expression, the pretentious ornamentation which characterized the Spanish literary style of the age invaded European literature, as did many Spanish words. In European high society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it became good taste in addressing ladies and lords to adopt those "harmonious and empty compliments" customary with Spaniards.

The intense sense of dignity and honor characteristic of Spaniards, which required satisfaction by duel for the slightest disrespect, was likewise affected by other nations. Spanish fashions also had great vogue throughout Europe; "everywhere, in male atire, (were to) be seen the high hats with broad brims surmounted with a scarlet plume," and "the doublet, the ample cloak, the small boots . . . the moustaches, the small pointed beard," characteristic of Spanish style, while females affected pointed stomachers called "goose bellies" and "the enormous wire construction called the farthingale." It was long customary for young French, English, and German gentlemen to come to Madrid for training in Castilian manners and etiquette. Spanish embassies became centers for the most fashionable society, and Spanish diplomacy acquired an influence and prestige which were not attained by any nation until the reign of the great French King, Louis XIV.

Spanish people

In no European country is an understanding of the land and of its people more requisite to a comprehension of its history than in the case of Spain. Just as Russia and the Russians link Europe with Asia, so Spain links Europe with Africa; Spain is separated from the rest of Europe by the barrier of the Pyrenees, but is divided by only a narrow band of water from the African mainland, and it is associated through the character of its soil as well as by its invaders, Carthaginians and Moors, with that continent. A "detached fragment of Africa," with its somber mountain ranges, its arid plateaus, its scanty vegetation, its droughts and pestilences, Spain bred a people possessing many primitive traits. They were sober, brave, ascetic, stoical, and

possessed of a savage love for form and ceremony and a weakness for superstition.[1] The nearly eight centuries of religious warfare against the Moors not only produced an intense martial spirit, a blind loyalty to leadership, and an unshakeable devotion to the Church, but also led to cruelty, to restlessness, and to an aversion to steady labor which was heightened by the knowledge that the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and trade had once been Moorish and Jewish industries. Their successes against the enemies of Christendom in Spain, as well as their discoveries and conquests of a New World, filled the Spaniards with an overbearing pride and a belief that they were "God's chosen people superior to all other nations." To the furor aroused by centuries of warfare against the Moors may be ascribed the fanaticism which tinctured their religion; while the contact with African sensuality had much to do with the mystical tendency which likewise characterized it. The influence of the Orient was similarly felt in Spanish society, as for instance the almost Oriental seclusion with which Spanish ladies were kept in their homes or in the convent.

Philip II

Although both Charles V and Philip II ruled Spain when its affairs were prospering, it was with the latter that both its glory and its decline are more intimately associated.[2] Perhaps no other sovereign has ever enjoyed greater popularity and has been more revered by his own nation, and at the same time more criticized by foreigners, than Philip II. To opponents he appeared "a somber giant," an "evil genius whose endeavor was to hamper the progress of religious and political liberty." Philip was better fitted to direct the affairs of Spain and Spaniards than to lead the conservative forces of Continental Christian Europe. He was able neither to understand the tendencies of his time, nor to adapt himself to the customs and manners of his subjects in Italy, the Netherlands, and elsewhere outside Spain. He was often too slow-thinking, too cautious, and too procrastinating when the situation demanded speedy and energetic action. When once he had formed a decision he clung obstinately to it, even when he should have realized its impracticability. He concerned himself so much with the details of administration that he lost grasp upon the essentials of his policy as a whole. He spent from eight to nine hours a day at his desk diligently reading and commenting upon state documents. He was severe, cold, and cruel when he considered his duty involved. On the other hand, he was unusually "patient, persevering, and conscientious." He was filled with the conviction that he was destined to accomplish God's will, and was always faithful to what he believed to be his duty.

[1] Along the river valleys, the Mediterranean coast, and where irrigated, the soil bore luxuriantly. See Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain*, p. 29 *et seq.*, to which this account is indebted.

[2] Whereas Charles V spent only about fifteen years of his forty years' reign in Spain, and during that time was principally engaged in collecting money for his wars, Philip II lived there nearly all his life and was a Spaniard of the Spaniards.

Escorial

Typical of Philip was the great palace, the Escorial, which he had constructed in the country not far from Madrid. This giant structure was nearly twenty years in the building. Here were grouped in one edifice, shaped in the form of a grill to typify the means by which St. Laurence suffered martyrdom, a church with a monastery, a tomb for the royal family, a library, and the royal apartments. Adjoining the church was the King's office from which he directed the affairs of his great Empire. His sleeping chamber had a window from which he could see the main altar of the church. Here Philip retired, monklike, to devote in solitude all his energies to huge piles of state papers, and to engage in pious exercises.

Reasons why Spanish absolutism was possible

As has been noted in a previous chapter, the Spanish sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, had united all of Spain under their rule, and had curbed the power of the nobility and of the Church. Their Hapsburg successors continued the task of establishing absolute government. In this they were assisted by a number of circumstances. Spain remained separated into the two principal kingdoms of Castile and Aragon with their dependent states; while this fact might seem to give the sovereign less effective control than if the country had been closely unified, in reality it worked so much to his advantage that the traditional Spanish policy in its newer territories in America came to be one of division and the fostering of local and class differences in order to maintain royal control. Castile and Aragon, as well as others among the Spanish states, had their own Parliaments or Cortes,[1] while none existed for the whole country. If there had, it might effectively have limited the power of the sovereign. The energies of the nobility were so absorbed in foreign wars and discoveries, and the small middle class then existing was so interested in securing royal favor, titles, and positions, that no successful opposition was offered to royal pretensions. The trade and industry which in other lands brought wealth and growing political influence to the middle class, in Spain fell into the hands of foreign immigrants or passed from Spain to France, England, and the Netherlands.

The religious zeal with which all Spaniards were filled made them support sovereigns whom they recognized as ardent champions of the Church. Perhaps chief of all reasons for the success of Spanish absolutism was the spirit of loyalty generated through the long years of constant warfare during which discipline was necessary for the survival of the Spanish name. Coupled with this was the fact that throughout the centuries of struggle, the Church had been as much concerned with the ultimate issue as were the states. It had so thoroughly preached loyalty that this virtue had become the marrow of Spanish bone, almost an "article of faith," of which

[1] While Cortes existed in the states subordinate to Aragon, this was not the case with those subject to the Castilian government.

Spaniards were constantly reminded by the emphasis given to it in their laws and their literature.

King and Cortes

It was true, however, that not the same control was exercised by the King in all parts of Spain. In Aragon and its dependencies, Catalonia and Valencia, the Cortes, protected by ancient charters, successfully resisted royal encroachment until the early eighteenth century, and the King was seldom able to secure from it substantial appropriations. Upon Castile, inland, mountainous, and much more conservative than maritime Aragon, fell, therefore, the heavier burdens. In Castile the Cortes consisted usually of representatives from eighteen cities. In 1516, however, largely because of the oppressive taxes laid by Charles and because of his preference for foreigners in governmental positions, even the Castilians had revolted. The revolt was with difficulty suppressed, but after it, the Castilian Cortes, though it met frequently, was quite amenable to the royal will. Through securing the appointment of many deputies, through granting liberal pensions, and through his influence over constituencies, the King was able to control their action. The fact that foreign, commercial, and colonial affairs were dealt with in the royal councils and not in the Cortes tended likewise to emphasize the inferior rôle it played in state affairs.

Towns

Due largely to the fact that the towns had been centers of defense in the war against the Moors, they had in the course of the Middle Ages come to enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy, and their citizens had entered the Cortes long before the English cities had received representation in Parliament. With the coming of the modern era, however, the cities, like the Cortes, lost their influence. Ferdinand and Isabella had secured the appointment of all the principal town officials, and the revolt of the Comuneros during Charles V's reign cost the townsmen the last of their privileges and autonomy; they even suffered the humiliation of having their offices sold by the King to the highest bidders.

Spanish bureaucracy

Thus all classes, including even the Church, were made closely subservient to the Crown, which practically controlled all executive, legislative, and judicial functions, as well as foreign affairs, and had absolute command of the army and navy. To assist the monarch in governing so mighty an empire, there were developed a series of councils, or bureaus, which during Philip II's reign numbered as many as twelve. No supreme council such as existed in many other countries, which might check or limit the King, was tolerated; instead, each council was made responsible to and was directed by him. Still further to assure his supremacy, Philip resorted to placing in his most important councils men of opposite tendencies and temperaments so that they might balance one another. Independence of action was nowhere encouraged. The King made use of a number of secretaries, and felt free on occasion to turn for advice from his councils to his confessor, or to informal juntas of favorites or friends.

Important position of Church

As has already been intimated, the Church held a place in Spanish civilization that was probably more important than the place it occupied in any other European country. Among Spanish churchmen monks and friars preponderated and, in spite of a declining population, their numbers increased. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there were as many as nine thousand convents for men in Spain, and four hundred in the Spanish colonies. It was estimated that by the middle of the sixteenth century, the income of the Spanish clergy, of which four-fifths went to monastic orders, was equal to half the revenue of the kingdom. A large part of the soil of Spain, and about half that of the colonies, was possessed by the Church. Many of the most influential positions in the state were held by ecclesiastics. Cardinal ministers, episcopal ambassadors, and presidents fill the pages of Spanish history with their activities. They were also prominent as theologians, juris-consults, men of letters, and university professors.

Government promotion of Church affairs

The promotion of religion was constantly a matter of serious state policy. In Spain proper and throughout Europe it took the form of the enforcement of orthodoxy, and in the colonies of winning new converts. The Kings of Spain displayed great zeal in combating heresy within the homeland. The few Protestants, and "Illuminati"[1] who arose in the Spanish cities were ruthlessly extirpated through the agency of the Inquisition.

Policy toward Jews

It was, however, with a much greater problem than heresy that the government's religious policy was chiefly concerned. With the opening of the modern era, Spain had within its frontiers many of alien race and creed, especially Jews and the descendants of the Moorish conquerors. Laws were passed in 1492, during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, requiring Jews to become Christians or to leave the country. As a result, about one hundred and sixty-five thousand Jews emigrated, fifty thousand submitted to baptism, and twenty thousand lost their lives through popular fanaticism.

Policy toward Moors

Upon the fall of the last Moorish stronghold in Spain (1492), although toleration had been granted to the Moors, the grant was disregarded; finally (1525), in spite of promises to the contrary, all were required to become Moriscos or Christian Moors. Their forceful assimilation was likewise provided for by severe laws which prohibited the use of the Moorish language, Moorish names, dress, customs, songs, and dances. Agents of the Inquisition closely watched their charges to prevent them from reverting to Mohammedan religious practices, and Morisco children were compelled to go to Christian institutions for education. In 1567, during Philip II's reign, the application of these measures became so severe that the Moriscos

[1] The Spanish "Illuminati" held some doctrines resembling Lutheranism. They likewise believed in the surrender of one's will to the divine in ecstasies which brought them in such close communion with God that it was impossible then to commit sin.

were driven into an open revolt which the government was four years in suppressing.

The policy of assimilation and Christianization was seen to be a failure. Because of the mistreatment which they had received, the Moriscos had come to hate the Christian religion, which they had never willingly accepted. Adequate means for their instruction in the new religion had never been provided, and assimilation was made more difficult by the racial hatred for them exhibited by the Spanish people. Their very energy and skill in the industrial arts, in which they excelled their less capable and energetic neighbors, led to ill will. The government could not but recognize the serious menace to the state from their uprisings, and from the alliances which they formed with the Moslem pirates, and was obliged to consider the possibility of another Moslem invasion from Africa. Accordingly, the policy previously employed against the Jews was resolved upon; between 1609 and 1614 probably half a million Moriscos were obliged to leave the country. Since they were more skilled and capable in economic pursuits than were the native Spaniards, their expulsion was a serious blow to Spanish welfare. Many Moriscos, as well as many Jews, meeting with unfavorable conditions elsewhere, in spite of the government's efforts to stop them managed during the seventeenth century to return to Spain; many modern Spaniards bear Moorish or Jewish strains in their blood.

Governmental control of Church

Although the Spanish government promoted the work of the Church, it also insisted on controlling it. No papal bull was published in Spain without the approval of the King's council. The church courts were carefully limited in their activity, and before the middle of the sixteenth century, cases which had formerly been appealed to Rome had to be settled in Spain in the papal nuncio's court, which included in its membership Spanish officials. The patronage of most of the important church positions passed into royal hands. Philip II, moreover, interfered on three occasions in the papal elections, and succeeded in securing the election of candidates favorable to his policies.

Spanish colonial administration

The vast Spanish colonial possessions were considered the personal property of the sovereign as ruler of Castile. To attend to the difficult problems of their administration, with which a European sovereign could be little familiar, the "Consejo de Indias" or Council of the Indies was created, preferably composed of persons who had held office in the colonies and were acquainted with their affairs. This council prepared and promulgated all the laws in force in the colonies, appointed the principal colonial officials, supervised not only civil but also military and ecclesiastical colonial affairs, and acted as a final court of appeal from the highest courts in Spanish America. The paternal solicitude of this body was shown by the extensive code of "Laws of the Indies" which it created. While extremely complicated, these laws displayed, as Shepherd remarks, "a spirit of humanity, a

regard for the welfare of Spanish subjects in America," which surpassed that shown by other nations to their peoples overseas.

Viceroys

For administrative purposes, the Spanish colonies were divided into vice-royalties. At first there were two: that of New Spain (1534), with its capital at Mexico City, comprising all the Spanish possessions in North and Central America, the West Indies and the Philippine Islands; and that of Peru (1542), with its capital at Lima, including all of Spanish South America. From the vice-royalty of Peru there were later formed (1739) New Granada, corresponding in territory to modern Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador, and La Plata (1776), corresponding to modern Argentine, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

A viceroy was placed by the Council of the Indies over each of the vice-royalties, as "civil and military commander, the secular head of the Church and its patron, and the superintendent of finance." As the King's own representative, the viceroy enjoyed a generous salary and lived in a magnificent palace. His goings and comings were attended by considerable pomp and ceremony. Appointment to a vice-royalty was an honor and a source of gain hardly equalled by the highest post in the home government.

Limitations of viceroy's power

Power such as the viceroy wielded was, however, to be carefully watched and checked. Accordingly, his term of office was short. He received constant instructions as to government in the form of orders and decrees from the Council of the Indies. Officials called "visitadores" were sent by the home government from time to time to investigate conditions in the colonies. At the conclusion of his term of service, the viceroy was required, as were other colonial officials, to submit to an inquiry, called the "residencia," into the conduct of his administration. The findings of the special jurist whom the Council of the Indies appointed to receive charges against the retiring official were carefully scrutinized in Spain and, theoretically at least, future appointments to governmental positions depended on a favorable verdict.

The viceroy's power came likewise to be limited by his colleagues. The great vice-royalties were divided into "captaincies general" presided over by "governors and captains-general." While these officials acknowledged the viceroy's authority, their control of affairs tended to increase with their distance from the seat of the viceroy. Still further divisions called "presidencies" were created in districts where the presiding jurist of the supreme court, or "audiencia," served as governor.

"Audiencias"

The "audiencias" likewise acted as more direct checks upon the authority of the captains-general and viceroys. They not only performed the functions of a court of appeals, but also served these officials as advisory councils. The viceroy was not obliged to act upon the advice of the "audiencia" which sat in his capital, but he often found it wise to do so, especially as the "audiencias" were free to complain, were even encouraged to complain, to the home govern-

ment concerning his conduct. The Spanish government on its part turned to it for information as to the viceroy's conduct.

Characterization of Spanish colonial government

The whole system of Spanish colonial administration was characterized by the spirit of suspicion and regulation. Although suited to Spanish temperament, training, and traditions, the system was so complicated, and the natural obstacles to its enforcement were so numerous, that the best officials were hampered. In spite of all safeguards, unscrupulous magistrates possessed abundant opportunity to enrich themselves in a variety of illegal ways. Spaniards born in the colony were almost entirely excluded from holding office. Representative assemblies did not exist. As a mere "piece of machinery," the Spanish colonial system surpassed the achievements of other colonial powers of that day, but judged by modern standards it possessed manifest faults. It must be remembered, however, that as a pioneer in the field Spain had to meet new and difficult problems, and, when this is taken into consideration, its efforts to govern its vast overseas empire were in many ways remarkable.

Protection and conversion of American Indians

Although the early contacts of the Spanish conquerors with the native Americans resulted in the most ruthless exploitation of the latter, and in the extinction of many thousands of them through hard and unaccustomed labor, mistreatment, and diseases contracted from Europeans, and although these causes continued to act through much of the colonial period, the Spanish government was early moved by the Church to an active interest in their preservation and conversion. Indeed, it may be said that Spain stood alone among modern nations in her attempts to put into practice "the precepts of humanity, justice and religion" in her relations with the native races.

Two policies were followed by the government. The first to be inaugurated, the "encomienda" system, was feudal in character. The Indians and their lands were granted to Spanish proprietors on condition that the natives be protected and taught the Christian religion. In spite of many exceptionally humane laws and reforms suggested by the Church, and the appointment of special officials to look after the interests of the Indians, the scheme proved a failure, because of the self-interest of the "encomienderos," the distances involved, and the inefficiency of the administration. In the second of its methods the government was more fortunate. Throughout the regions of Spanish America still unoccupied by settlers, chains of missions were erected. The Indians were gathered into villages isolated from all contact with other Europeans, and not only were taught the rudiments of Christianity and letters, but also were trained in agricultural and industrial pursuits. The missions varied in size, running from two hundred Indians to two thousand, and frequently owned extensive farming lands and great herds of cattle and sheep. The friars in charge of them displayed much pious enthusiasm and heroic endurance, and performed a valuable work in spreading Spanish civilization. Slowly but surely they pushed the frontier outward.

"Casa de Contratación" and Spanish trade policy

In maintaining a monopoly of the trade with their vast colonies in the New World, the Spanish sovereigns had recourse to a number of interesting expedients. As early as 1503, a board of trade, called the "Casa de Contratación," subject to the Council of the Indies, was established at Seville for the management of all commercial relations between Spain and America, the Canary Islands, the Barbary States, and the other African coastal stations. Until 1720, when the "Casa de Contratación" was moved to Cadiz, all merchant ships destined for the colonies had to depart from and return to Seville, or its subsidiary, Cadiz. All exports and imports, including the gold and silver brought from America, had to be registered by the officials of the "Casa," and to it were remitted all the revenues collected by colonial officials. To that institution likewise were entrusted the equipment and armament of vessels, the recruiting and examination of crews and their officers, the careful scrutiny of emigrants. All laws and ordinances in regulation of American trade came under its jurisdiction, and it had ample judicial powers to prosecute and punish those who ignored its regulations, or who committed offenses on the high seas. At the "Casa" likewise grew up a hydrographic bureau and a school of navigation. This institution did not merely teach mathematics, cosmography, geography, cartography, and navigation, but it also carried on investigations in these fields.

Exclusion of foreigners from colonial trade

The exclusion of foreign nations from any share in the trade and riches of the Spanish Indies, and the protection of colonies and merchant ships from hostile powers caused the government great difficulty. Since the coasts of its distant colonies were too extensive and too thinly inhabited for satisfactory protection, the government attempted to accomplish its purpose by forbidding, under threat of the death penalty, communication with foreigners unless special governmental permission were granted. Foreign ship masters who had the misfortune to be captured or stranded on West Indian shores might expect either to be executed or to be sent to the Mexican mines for life.

Fleet system

The many French privateers, which during Charles V's wars with France attacked his treasure ships, and the English and Dutch, who added their assaults during Philip II's reign, made necessary governmental efforts to protect shipping. A fleet was formed to patrol the Spanish coasts, and it became a settled policy to limit communication with America to annual fleets convoyed by armed galleons. This arrangement also assisted the government in its supervision of commerce and collection of dues. Each year two such fleets sailed to America, one bound for the West Indies and Vera Cruz, and the other for Porto Bello in the Isthmus of Panama, the port of call for the South American trade. To throw the buccaneers off the scent, it was the government's custom occasionally to change the sailing routes, and usually, but not always, the fleets met at Havana and joined their forces for the homeward voyage when they were heavily

laden with treasure. Upon arrival in America, great fairs often lasting as long as forty days, were held at Porto Bello and near Vera Cruz.[1] Amid great activity, the European wares were exchanged for the silver and gold, the jewels, dyes, drugs, sugar, and hides of the New World. The trade at its European end was in the hands of a few privileged companies of Seville; similar concerns monopolized it in America. The American market was always inadequately supplied[2] and huge profits ranging from 100 to 300 per cent were made. This system crushed all the initiative of private trade, and gave no chance for development to many places like Buenos Aires,[3] distant from the Porto Bello or Vera Cruz fairs. Its effects were deadening to economic life both in the colonies and the mother country.

Evasion of Spanish trade monopoly

In spite of all that the government might do, the limitation of commerce to the fleets was sometimes evaded. Spanish ships from the Canaries or elsewhere, under pretense of being driven from their course by storms, reached colonial harbors with welcome cargoes. English, French, and Dutch smugglers, especially after their nations had secured possessions in the West Indies, managed illegally to sell the colonists many goods; while their buccaneers succeeded in waylaying many treasure ships and even dared to land and sack rich towns on the "Spanish Main." It should be noted that large shipments of European goods were smuggled to America on the very galleons themselves, and return cargoes of unregistered goods were brought back with the connivance of Spanish officials.[4]

Philip II's foreign policy

Spanish foreign policy during Philip II's reign, as has already been seen in the preceding chapter, was concerned both with preserving orthodoxy in Spain's own possessions of the Netherlands, as well as in France, and with restoring it if possible in England and in the Scandinavian North. Coupled with this was an ambition to dominate European affairs, and to establish a universal Spanish Empire. Spain's foreign policy was also concerned with the protection of Christendom from Turkish attacks.

War with Turks

For several centuries the progress of the Turks had been uninterrupted. With their large fleet, and through the possession of Syria, Egypt, and Algiers, they controlled the eastern Mediterranean Sea. Through its possession of Naples and Sicily and of Oran, Spain

[1] The treasure from Peru was brought by ship up the western coast of South America to Panama and then was transferred by droves of hundreds of pack mules across the isthmus to Porto Bello. All the trade of the Philippines was carried in one annual ship to Acapulco on the western coast of Mexico, and might reach Spain only through transportation across Mexico to Vera Cruz.

[2] The matter was made worse, since the fleets, especially when Spain got into war with Holland and England, failed to sail every year. Only eleven fleets reached Vera Cruz during the last twenty years of the sixteenth century.

[3] For many years the trade of Buenos Aires had to be carried across the continent to the western coast, up to the isthmus, and across to Porto Bello.

[4] These goods were loaded or unloaded just before the vessels reached Cadiz. The government, realizing its inability to supply Spanish goods, was lax in the enforcement of the law.

was the greatest power in the western Mediterranean Sea. The strategical position of Malta was held by the Knights of St. John, and Cyprus by Venice. Not only was Christendom endangered by the ambitious plans of the Turks to control the Mediterranean, but there was also real danger that they would advance to the aid of the Moriscos, their fellow-religionists in Spain, who in 1567 had broken out into a revolt against Spanish oppression. In 1565, Malta had been saved from capture by the timely arrival of Spanish forces, but in 1570 a Turkish admiral seized Cyprus from the Venetians. Christendom was greatly alarmed at this Turkish success; in 1571, a Holy League was formed by Philip II, Venice, and the Papacy to beat back the Turks. As has already been noted, a large fleet under the command of Don John, Philip's half brother, won a great victory over the Turkish fleet at Lepanto (1571). Although both Tunis and Cyprus continued to be held by the Turks, their advance had been checked and Spain's prestige as a naval power greatly enhanced.

Annexation of Portugal

Spain's maritime power was still further exalted in 1581, when Philip II became King of Portugal. He could now claim an exclusive monopoly of the "oceanic world." Portugal's political misfortunes had begun with the death in 1578 of King Sebastian, who left no direct heir. After the two years' reign of his uncle, Cardinal Henrique, who succeeded him, a contest arose between Philip II and two Portuguese pretenders. Philip laid claim to the throne through his mother, a daughter of Manuel the Fortunate. Philip's superior resources were too much for any opposition on the part of Portugal, although both France and England later supported Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender.

Golden age of Spanish intellect

Spain's imperial greatness was accompanied by such a flowering of intellectual and artistic life that the sixteenth and first part of the seventeenth centuries have been called its golden age. Other causes contributed, but it was due more to Spanish imperialism in Europe and America than to any other factor that Spaniards were inspired for the first time to make valuable contributions to European civilization.[1] The growing interest in culture displayed by the upper classes is shown by the founding of twenty-one new universities in the sixteenth century and five in the seventeenth. In theology and philosophy, Spain held a place of foremost rank. More than two thousand Spanish mystical writers can be identified. A wide European reputation was enjoyed by the writings of Loyola, Saint Teresa, and Luis de Granada, whose *Guide for Sinners* ran through more than a dozen editions in English. Although they erected no school of philosophy, Spanish philosophers expressed many of the ideas later made famous by Montaigne, Descartes, and other philosophers. Marked ability was likewise displayed in jurisprudence, in economics, in history, in the geographical, nautical and physical sciences, prog-

[1] This statement has to be qualified insofar as medieval culture is concerned, for the Spanish Moors had made noteworthy contributions.

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ress in all of which was stimulated by the problems presented in the foundation of colonies in the New World. Spanish literary attainments were distinguished by many unique studies of the philology of native American and Asiatic tribes, and by such great masters as Lope de Vega, Calderon, and Cervantes; art was honored by El Greco, Velasquez, and Murillo.[1] With the decline in the seventeenth century of Spanish political and economic power, culture likewise lost its brilliance. This outcome was also due in part to the fact that the masses had been only slightly affected by the intellectual progress which the upper classes had experienced, and in part to the strong curb on intellectual activity exercised by the Inquisition.

Reasons for Spanish Decline

Spain's varying fortunes

Spanish history during the period under survey, may be divided into three periods: (1) that "of grandeur and power, which lasted until about the end of the sixteenth century"; (2) that of decadence prolonged until a third of the eighteenth century was passed; (3) that of "semi-revival which filled the concluding years of that century." On first thought, it is difficult for us to understand why a nation which had such resources at its disposal as had Spain should in spite of them fall into a decline during which its people not only did not profit from the wealth of the New World, but actually suffered great privations. Its proud sovereigns had to witness the loss of one after another of their European possessions and the destruction of their overseas monopoly, followed in the nineteenth century by the gradual disappearance of the colonial empire itself. The story illustrates in a most vivid manner what may happen when economic laws are not understood, when a nation's industry is not developed or appreciated, and when its resources are wasted in superstition, luxury, corruption, and warfare.

Even if Spain had been better prepared to put to proper use her large importations of American bullion, its quantity would have proved a disturbing factor in the nation's economic life because it was sure to affect values. As it was, Spain missed an opportunity from which other nations profited, and wasted in luxury and warfare the wealth which it was both unable and unwilling to apply to the development of its natural resources and its industries to create true prosperity. The continual inflations of the stock of precious metals, moreover, together with the "capricious alterations of the currency" practiced by the Spanish government, brought about both economic instability and social distress.

Extravagance and display

By the vast sums which were wasted in useless luxury and display, not only were morals debauched, but indolence was greatly encouraged. The court set the fashion for extravagance, and the great nobles, who had succeeded in monopolizing much of the treasure of the New World, were close rivals. Philip II's great palace of the

[1] See pp. 113, 115, 139 for further discussion.

knights of other countries). Below the privileged class were the "pecheros" or unprivileged descendants of those Christians who had submitted to and had lived among the Moors. Since the "hidalgos" as liberators of their country from Moorish rule could not without sacrificing their dignity and privileges devote themselves to industry or trade in which the infidel had excelled, labor or the employment of wealth in gainful pursuits was thought to be suitable only for the Moors and Jews, or the "pecheros." The children and even the nephews of those who made the mistake of engaging in trade were disgraced and disqualified from holding public office.[1] The Cortes of Aragon would not tolerate in their assembly a deputy who owed his fortune to industry, and in the other Cortes business interests had little if any representation. The chief concern of such assemblies of "hidalgos" was to assure low enough prices so that their purchase of luxuries would not be interrupted. Spanish aversion to industry and devotion to chivalrous ideals were likewise greatly promoted by the exploration of the New World where many opportunities were opened for military adventurers and missionaries, and the nation's energies were expended over a wide field, when there was great need for closer application at home. The prospect of making a large fortune speedily in the Indies led to lack of interest in ordinary industry. The feverish desire for riches thus aroused encouraged political corruption and the eager search for sinecures and pensions. Spaniards oddly seemed to regard the State as an inexhaustible source of wealth.

Eagerness for titles

Those who were not of the noble class neglected no opportunity to become at least "hidalgos." The courts were busied with the confirming of trumped-up titles, and the government reaped a rich harvest from their sale. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, multitudes of "pecheros" were giving up their accustomed labors while their children either entered monasteries where they might live respected lives in ease, or became soldiers. As the great Spanish author, Cervantes, remarked, "Whoever wishes to make his fortune seeks the Church, the sea, or the King's house." The towns were full of poor "hidalgos," who were willing to beg, but who would not suffer the disgrace of work. By the end of the seventeenth century, Spain counted six hundred and twenty-five thousand nobles, four times as many as France, a country four times more prosperous than Spain.

Activity of foreigners in Spanish affairs

To do the work which Spaniards refused to do, immigrants from Italy, France, Flanders, and Germany hastened to Spain. From abroad came industrialists, merchants, bankers, carpenters, masons, engineers, and even laborers. Conditions constantly became worse, until by the reign of the last Hapsburg King, Charles II (1665–1700), all manufactures had stopped except those of a "few coarse articles" for domestic consumption. The cities and the court were filled with "idlers, discharged soldiers, vagabonds, and rogues of all sorts." At

[1] In 1682 the government declared that industry would not taint a noble, but it was too late for Spain to take a leading part in the industrial world.

the same time, native labor was so unavailable that the scanty crops produced in northern and central Spain were harvested by French laborers, and the trade and industry which did exist in the capital were likewise almost entirely in the hands of Frenchmen.

The Spanish sovereigns encouraged foreigners not only because their presence was needed for the maintenance of what little economic life existed, but also because they served as the King's bankers and tax collectors and were generally indispensable for the maintenance of public credit. As is the case today with undeveloped countries which fall into the hands of foreign capitalists, Spain was exploited through rich monopolies exacted in return for loans. Foreigners, finding themselves hated and their pursuits disdained, resorted to hasty and unscrupulous methods. Large profits, quickly accumulated, were sent out of the country. Foreign laborers and artisans, likewise, hastened to make fortunes with which they could return to their own countries. Few thought of remaining permanently in Spain. The situation, instead of benefiting Spain, thus led to Spain's decline.

Lack of capital for industrial purposes

Many other factors prevented Spain from making economic progress. Labor was discouraged not only by national ideals, but also by the great number of Church holy days when work was stopped (ninety-three in the year); on other days frequently only five hours were devoted to labor. In spite of the large quantities of precious metals which came to Spain, capital for industrial purposes was lacking. This was due to the fact that much of the silver went to the King and was squandered in useless luxury, or spent for war expenses, while the nobility and the Church, which absorbed a large part of the remainder, did not place it in circulation but stored it up in the form of silverware. Since it was considered disgraceful to engage in business, the capital which the nobles had available for investment went into government securities. Since necessary commodities were both scarce and high-priced, much treasure passed immediately into the hands of foreign nations in return for their merchandise. Strangely enough, coinage in Spain was inadequate for business needs.[1]

Other reasons for lack of industrial development

While Spanish agriculture and industry did for some time experience considerable benefits from overseas expansion, by the end of the sixteenth century this prosperity had largely disappeared. Spain was unable to supply its own domestic needs for agricultural and manufactured products, and soon showed its inability to provide for its colonial market. The scarcity and high price of labor,[2] the lack of raw materials, governmental regulation, and heavy taxes made it impossible, in spite of monopoly, to compete with other nations, where wares were produced more cheaply and more abun-

[1] This was due to the facts just cited, and to the high rate which the government charged for coining, which led to the storing of the metal, and to sending it surreptitiously to other countries where more could be realized from it.

[2] Partly caused by the greater abundance of precious metals in Spain.

dantly. Most of the goods which the Spanish merchants sent from Seville to America at huge profits (200 or 300 per cent) to themselves were foreign products sold under Spanish names.

The colonial trade monopoly possessed by Seville discouraged the development of other places; the markets in America were so restricted that much less was sold than might have been. The cargoes brought to Spain consisted chiefly of precious metals. Commodities which might have been useful in manufacturing and in whose trade other countries made great profits were neglected. The government endeavored to keep down rising prices in the interest of the consumer by prohibiting the exportation of grain, cattle, leather goods, textiles, and iron, while at the same time throwing wide open the country's markets to merchandise more economically produced than it could be in Spain; the government also prohibited the exportation of precious metals. These regulations, showing ignorance of economic laws, worked disaster to Spanish industrial interests. The situation was made still more hopeless by the government's policy of casting the greatest burden of taxation upon industry, by the creation of monopolies, by repudiation of debts, by forced loans, by confiscations, by reductions of interest rates on government debts, and by debasing the coinage. Business necessarily was insecure. Sharing the traditional contempt for economic pursuits, the government failed to improve the roads, which through much of Spain were mere bridle paths, or to provide canals. The rivers were allowed to become choked with sand and the harbors to deteriorate. Robbers boldly swarmed throughout the land, while pirates infested the coasts. Instead of profiting by its mistakes and directing its attention to these pressing needs, the government seemed to become only more irrational in its invention of more tariff lines, gild regulations, and rules for the movement and sale of goods.

Reasons for decline of agriculture

Spanish agriculture, no less than Spanish manufacturing, suffered rapid decline. Toward the beginning of the seventeenth century the Council of Castile stated that "the agricultural districts were being deserted, and the inhabitants were disappearing and leaving the fields abandoned." And depopulation was not the only factor in the disappearance of agriculture; the concentration of property in the hands of the nobility and of the clergy was equally important. All Spain became covered with the large entailed estates of the nobility, who, residing in Madrid, left them in charge of managers. These managers frequently neglected their duties and sometimes, to save themselves trouble, turned arable land into pasturage. The vast monastery and church lands, which comprised a fifth part of the country and were constantly increased, were not broken up as in many other countries, but remained in mortmain, that is, could not be transferred. This was an obstacle to progress.

Under Moorish rule, much of Spain's arid soil had been divided into small, carefully-irrigated properties. The Christian landlords

who seized this land neglected to irrigate it, and it went back to its primitive state.

A still further drawback to successful agricultural progress were the privileges of the "Mesta," or sheep raisers' association, composed of powerful lords and ecclesiastics. During the time of the Moorish wars, much land had been laid waste, and agriculture was rendered unprofitable by the frequent raids. At that time, the sheep raisers, who during the summer pastured their flocks in the mountains of northern Spain, drove them to the unoccupied lands in the south to spend the winter. The government passed laws forbidding the farmers in the districts through which the sheep passed to enclose their fields or to increase them. After peace was established, the "Mesta" continued the practice of driving its flocks back and forth across the country, destroying the crops and hampering agricultural progress. The evil was even worse than the hunting privileges practiced by the lords of other countries to the detriment of agriculture.

Decline in governmental efficiency

Not only did Spanish economic life decline, but under the three Hapsburg successors of Philip II, the government also constantly deteriorated. Philip III, who was called by a Spanish satirist "a king in effigy" and said to be "incapable of making a decision," apparently did not give himself the trouble even to think. Philip IV was more capable, but was too indifferent and lazy to concern himself with state affairs. He was interested in royalty only for the pleasure it might give him. Charles II, sick both in mind and body, subject to epileptic fits, lived out his long reign, first as a minor, and then as a hopeless invalid. In spite of their utter unfitness, these sovereigns remained the center of a government which became ever more despotic, and which, therefore, crushed national vitality, and of a court ritual which in its fulsomeness suggests the worship accorded an oriental deity.

The ever-industrious Philip II had created a crushing burden for royal shoulders by his insistence that all state affairs, however trivial, should be decided by the King. His incapable successors placed this burden on the royal favorites, usually incompetent men whose main concern was the accumulating of immense private fortunes by illegal means, the rewarding of relatives, and the creation at court of a great market for public offices. Philip's elaborate bureaucracy of twelve councils degenerated under the later Kings through the introduction into their membership of noble place-hunters. Losing, little by little, the qualities of industry, integrity, and technical efficiency which had characterized them, the counselors became corrupt, inefficient and indolent, and the action of the councils constantly slower, more formal, and more costly. Many of the functions were taken over by the three state secretaries or absorbed by informal temporary commissions appointed by the royal favorite and composed of his creatures. The Cortes, except to some extent in the provinces of northern Spain, lost all independence of action.

Filled as they were with government officials, they became mere chambers for the registration of the royal will and the lending to it of the appearance of popular approval. The swarm of government officials scattered throughout the Spanish dominions (said to have equalled one-fifth of the population) were equally corrupt and inefficient. Appointed for short terms, they were eager to make their fortunes before they were obliged to surrender their positions. Money was collected in one office to secure through bribery a still better one.

Spanish Decline Under the Later Hapsburgs

Foreign disasters of Philip IV's reign

During Philip IV's reign, which has sometimes been called the most disastrous in the history of Spain, the country's exhaustion was completed and its prestige seriously shattered by a long series of unnecessary wars. Spanish armies once more fought in Italy, Germany, France, and the Netherlands. Spain, in 1620, came to the aid of the Austrian Hapsburgs in the Thirty Years' War. This struggle passed in her case into a war with France which did not end until 1659. By the Treaty of the Pyrenees, Spain agreed to surrender Roussillon and Cerdagne just north of the Pyrenees, as well as Artois and certain Flemish towns. In the course of the struggle, a terrible blow to Spain's military prestige and her hegemony as the principal European power was struck by the French victory in 1643 at Rocroy. For the first time in almost two centuries the famous Spanish infantry had suffered defeat in a battle fought "under nearly equal conditions." Henceforth Spain steadily lost influence in European affairs. A turning point in Spain's colonial affairs came through the capture (1657) of Jamaica by an English fleet. This catastrophe broke the solidarity of the Spanish Empire in America, and marks the beginning of its passing into other hands.

Internal troubles

No less troubled were affairs within the Empire. Due to increased taxes and disregard of local privileges, Catalonia, the northeasternmost province of Spain, revolted, and in return for French assistance swore allegiance to Louis XIII. It was restored to Spanish rule only after a bitter struggle of nineteen years. Meanwhile, uprisings had occurred in Galicia and in Naples, and conspiracies were formed in Andalusia and Aragon.

Loss of Portugal

The most serious blow to Spain, however, was the loss of Portugal. The acquisition in 1581 of that kingdom, so nearly like Spain in people and natural features, had appeared as a last step in the unification of the Iberian peninsula. Spain at first conducted itself honorably towards Portugal. It did not interfere with local liberties. All offices in that kingdom were held by Portuguese. Military and naval forces and taxes were not required of Portugal for Spanish purposes. The Portuguese colonies continued as before to be controlled by Portuguese officials, and Lisbon remained the center of the East India trade.

Unfortunately this wise policy was reversed by the Duke of Olivares, who controlled Philip IV's government. Thinking to amalgamate Portugal with Spain, as well as to reward office-seekers and pay war expenses, he appointed many Spaniards to Portuguese offices, imposed heavy war taxes, seized the cargoes of Portuguese Indiamen, and required Portuguese troops to serve in the Netherlands. Taking advantage of the Catalonian revolt, the Portuguese rose in rebellion and proclaimed the Duke of Braganza (1640) as John IV, King of Portugal. A long war of twenty-eight years, during which Spain became involved in many other struggles, and, lacking funds, fought only half-heartedly, and in which Portugal was aided by France, England, and Holland, resulted in 1668 in the final recognition by Spain of Portugal's independence.

Charles II's reign

Still lower depths of decline were reached under Charles II, the hopeless invalid and imbecile. All vitality seemed to have departed from the overtaxed, impoverished, economically dead country and its dwindling population. The government stagnated. It had no responsible head, for the King never was able to concern himself with governmental affairs, and, unlike his predecessors, did not shift his responsibility upon a royal favorite. Government affairs were passed in haphazard fashion from ministers to councils, from councils to undersecretaries, with no one to take a vital concern. Representative institutions, which might have saved the day, had been deprived of all vitality and influence. Although the royal treasury was so depleted that the merchants refused to supply the King's table, although his domestics deserted for want of wages, and although his guards were forced to beg in the streets, pensions and sinecures were multiplied until every family great or small aspired to live at the sovereign's expense; so prevalent was dishonesty in the government service that the King never received more than a third, and often less, of the revenues which were collected.

Decline in army and navy

Even the army, once so highly regarded as a field for careers, had lost its spirit as well as its reputation. Desertions were frequent, pay was years in arrears, discipline had degenerated, equipment had sadly deteriorated. The government was forced to resort to drafting youths of thirteen and old men of sixty to maintain a peace time army of nine thousand or a war force of twenty thousand men. Fortifications were neglected and greatly undermanned. The fleets, so necessary to protect Spanish treasure-ships and colonies, were reduced to seven or eight vessels in the Atlantic Ocean and to about thirty galleys in the Mediterranean Sea, instead of the one hundred and sixty with which Spain had promised the Pope to keep back the Turks.

Wars with France

France, Spain's great rival, then at the height of its power under Louis XIV, was not slow to take advantage of that country's utter helplessness. No less than four times was Spain forced into conflict, and bit by bit her territory bordering the northern frontier of France

was snatched away by her ambitious and unscrupulous neighbor. Little if anything would have been left to Spain of its European territories if other European powers had not interfered, and if Louis had not hoped to secure control of all the Spanish Empire upon the death of the invalid King.

Question of Spanish inheritance

Charles II's declining years were made miserable by constant intrigues at his court to secure the Spanish inheritance. Since he was childless, his death, which was momentarily expected, would result in the passing of his throne to more distant relatives in other lands. Both the Hapsburgs of Austria and the Bourbons of France might advance claims, based on marriages, to the Spanish inheritance. After years of hesitation, Charles II shortly before his death willed Spain and all of its vast possessions to Philip of Anjou, Louis XIV's grandson, who in 1701 ascended the throne as the first Bourbon King of Spain. Following the War of the Spanish Succession which soon ensued, his title was permanently recognized by the European powers.

The Accession and Reforms of the Bourbon Kings

Administrative changes of the Bourbons

The Bourbon Kings who now came to the throne of Spain promoted the centralization of the country and the royal absolutism of its government. As a result of their efforts, the Spanish Kingdom was unified for the first time in its history. Everywhere except in Navarre and in the Basque provinces special statutes and privileges were abolished and the laws and practices of Castile applied. The local Cortes were merged with that of Castile, which was assembled only on the rarest occasions such as the accession of a sovereign. Captains-general and "audiencias" were placed over the various regions, and each province was divided into districts over which the King appointed "corregidores." Later officials called "intendants," directly responsible to the central government, were placed beside the captains-general and superseded them in all but their military functions. As soon as possible, the hereditary city officials throughout Spain were replaced by officials directly responsible to the King.

In the central government, authority became more and more concentrated in the hands of six ministers who were grouped under a principal minister as a ministerial council. The councils which played so important a rôle during the Hapsburg administration of Spain were, with the exception of the Council of Castile, subordinated to the ministers.

Changes in colonial administration

Similar alterations were made in the government of the colonies. A minister of the Indies took over the important duties of the Council of the Indies, leaving it to do only routine work and perform judicial functions. At the same time, the appointment of "intendants" for the colonies lessened the authority of the viceroys and captains-general and made possible a closer supervision over colonial affairs.

Commercial policies were altered by the Assiento Treaty of 1713 with England, by which Spain was forced to open to the English the slave trade with the Spanish colonies, and to allow them to send one ship of merchandise a year. After 1740, "register ships" were allowed to sail to America in the intervals between fleets, and about 1748, the galleons were entirely abandoned. Direct trade with Chile and Peru around Cape Horn was then allowed. In 1764, mail packet-boats were allowed to sail every month to Havana, and every two months to Buenos Aires. In 1765, the right of trade in the West Indies was extended to all Spaniards, and the number of Spanish ports which might engage in the American trade was increased. Prohibition of internal trade between the colonies in America was removed in 1774.

Alterations in commercial policy

During the eighteenth century, Spain under her Bourbon Kings, particularly Charles III, experienced a period of reform and revival. For the larger part of the century her sovereigns did not take part in the great European struggles, but concerned themselves with domestic problems, appointing to aid them wise ministers skilled in economic affairs. Irrigation, planting of trees, division of unoccupied lands among the poor people, and restriction of the privileges of the "Mesta" helped to improve agricultural conditions. The government also assisted in colonizing waste lands. The most famous instance of this sort of enterprise was the colonization of six thousand Germans and Flemish in the wild robber-infested Sierra Morena country. Many new industries were promoted by the state, and foreign artisans and teachers were brought in to teach the Spanish people. To combat their ignorance, primary and technical schools were founded. To break their prejudice, it was decreed that artisans might hold municipal positions, and that industry or trade, if carried on on a large scale, would not disgrace a noble. To encourage commerce and industry, interior customs lines were removed and protective tariffs imposed at the frontiers, while the heavy taxes on the sale of goods to the colonies were greatly reduced, or eliminated. The extension of trade privileges with the colonies to many Spanish towns led to considerable commercial activity. Roads and canals were built and mail services established. Brigands were driven out, and pirates were forced from their lairs on the seacoasts. Treaties were made with Turkey, Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers, and other pirate powers. Taxes were reduced, and were regularly and economically collected. An equilibrium was established between governmental expenses and receipts. The currency was recoined, and a national bank was established. The immense amount of vagabondage was reduced by placing male vagabonds in the army and navy, and able-bodied females of this class in work-houses. The schools were taken from the charge of the Jesuits and secularized. The universities were made more effective. The Inquisition lost its importance, and its last victim died in 1781. Both the army and navy were remodeled.

Other reforms

Failure of permanent revival through reforms

The value of these reforms is evidenced by the recovery of the national finances, and, to some extent, of Spain's economic life; by the fact that the population not only stopped declining during the eighteenth century but actually doubled; and by the fact that the proportion of the idle classes was reduced in the course of ten years from one-third to one-fourth. On the other hand, the great ignorance and conservatism of the people, the prevalence of graft, the resistance of strongly entrenched vested interests, the cumbersomeness of the government itself and its lack of funds, as well as the nature of the reform program, resulted in the achievement of only partial success. Agriculture was still backward; commerce and industry were still for the most part in foreign hands; wretched conditions still existed among the people.

With the death of Charles III in 1788, incompetent kings once more came to the Spanish throne, who entrusted their government to despicable favorites. Then came the Napoleonic wars, in which Spain became disastrously involved; they were followed by the loss of colonies and general prostration in the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE RISE OF FRENCH ABSOLUTISM

France Under Henry IV

Henry IV

Just as Philip II of Spain, disappointed by the failure of his designs, was nearing the end of his long reign, there came to the throne in France with the new Bourbon dynasty, a sovereign, Henry IV, of far different character. Henry it was who laid the basis of modern French absolutism and by restoring order and promoting national prosperity prepared the way for French ascendency in European affairs. Philip was narrow and intolerant, a man of few but dominating ideas which, blind to his country's best interests, he obstinately sought to make prevail by force of arms; Henry was broadminded and conciliatory, a man of facile intelligence who, "having been for twenty years above all things a soldier," was wise enough when he became King to bring to an end by "needful concessions" both conflict with foreign foes and civil strife. "It is time," he said, "for us all, drunk as we are with war, to grow sober at our own charges."

Restoration of peace

He concluded with Philip II, after an able defense of his kingdom against Spanish aggression, the Treaty of Vervins (1598), thus bringing about peace between the two nations. Sacrificing his own religious convictions, he reconciled the majority of his subjects to his rule by changing his faith from Protestantism to Catholicism. Then, in spite of the belief commonly entertained that one religion should dominate the state to the exclusion of others, he had the courage to secure toleration, civil rights, and protection for Protestants by the Edict of Nantes (1598). By the same edict he conciliated Catholic opinion, and rendered toleration of Protestantism more palatable, through the requirement that Catholic worship should be reëstablished wherever in France it had been suppressed by Protestants, and all the property and former rights of the clergy restored. It has been estimated that Catholic worship was thus reëstablished, without the use of force, in three hundred towns from which it had long been banished.

Henry's absolutism

Henry well knew that not only conciliation but also firmness was necessary to subdue and keep in check the passions which had torn and wasted France for forty years of religious and civil warfare. He therefore first devoted his attentions to the restoration of the royal authority, whose prestige had declined during the weak rule of the Valois Kings. He insisted that all authority should be centered in his hands. The Estates-General, which not only had failed to accomplish anything useful, but had also proved a source of party strife, he

never summoned. Provincial estates were permitted little discussion, and although the "parlements" (law courts) were allowed to remonstrate at his decrees, he made it clear that he wished to be obeyed by them as by everyone else. Although many of them had been centers of disorder during the religious wars, the towns were allowed to retain their governments provided they refrained from intrigues and popular outbreaks; in the most cases, however, their officials were nominated by the royal government from a small group of wealthy burghers.

Measures against power of nobility

To curb the nobility who, during the religious wars, had nearly ruined the state, and who constantly sought to play the rôle of sovereign princes instead of royal officials, the King, so far as he could, entrusted his government to middle class officials. Both to counter-balance the influence of the aristocracy and to procure resources, he made the posts of these office-holders hereditary, and created thus a new nobility, that of the robe. Dueling, a common vice of the upper classes, was forbidden, and every effort was made to induce the nobles to forget warlike ventures, and to live upon their estates a sedentary and useful life as landlords. However, in spite of all Henry could do, many duels, much aristocratic brigandage, and many conspiracies against his government marred the peace and justice of his reign.

Destruction due to religious wars

After restoring order and reëstablishing the royal authority by the measures just recounted, Henry found himself still confronted by the equally great task of reviving and promoting the country's social and economic well-being, ruined by the many years of domestic and foreign warfare. Many people had died from war and massacre; the growth of population had been arrested. Some cities had been completely destroyed and large numbers of villages had been burned.[1] "Everywhere there are ruins," wrote a Venetian ambassador in 1574. "The cattle are in great part destroyed, with the result that one can no more labor and that a large part of the peasants have abandoned their homes. The population is no longer, as formerly, honest and civil; the sight of blood and warfare has rendered it deceitful, gross, and savage." The roads were infested with robbers and cut-throats. Industries tottered on the edge of bankruptcy. The finances of the state were disordered and exhausted. Revenues of whole provinces were pocketed by their governors and the lesser officials stole all they could before handing what they had collected on to their superiors.

Henry IV and Sully

Henry IV was fully aware of his country's needs and he was determined to do his best to remedy them. Saint-Simon tells us that the "attention he gave to every part of the government, and the

[1] V. Duruy, *History of France*, 377, cites the account of a contemporary that from 1580 to Henry's accession eight hundred thousand people had perished by war and massacre. Nine cities had been completely destroyed and two hundred and fifty villages burned. These figures are, however, of doubtful accuracy.

singular capacity he displayed in all, is perhaps the highest praise he merited." He was constantly on the move, but the time was too short, the task too great for one man, however able, to manage it all. He was fortunate in securing the help of skilful ministers, particularly of the Duke of Sully, his old companion in arms. Sully became Superintendent of Finances, and was "continuously and inseparably engaged" with the King in the task of rehabilitating France. While Henry, as a statesman, laid the foundations of French greatness, Sully, the skilful administrator, thrifty, incorruptible, indefatigable, finding his pleasure in the rooting out of abuse, proved to be an invaluable assistant.

Suppression of robbery

The first step taken by the King was to free the country from the pillaging of the soldiery. The garrisons were diminished, disorders controlled, pillagers hanged. The bearing of firearms was forbidden.

Financial reforms

Before much could be done to improve economic conditions, the finances had to be put in order, and in this direction Sully did his greatest work. While the tax burden was already too heavy on many people, others were paying little or no taxes. The treasury was empty and large debts had to be faced. Through honest administration, without changing the existing system, Sully reduced the burden and secured financial soundness. The unauthorized levies made by military governors and the nobility were stopped. In the future all taxation was obliged to have the sanction of the King's government. Useless financial agents were dismissed, fraudulent annuities were annulled, assessment records were corrected, false claims for exemption from taxes were rejected, the interest on government loans was reduced. Careful watch was kept over expenditures, even over those of the King. Every effort was made to prevent dishonest officials from misappropriating the receipts. By these means the French people were saved annually from paying more than $23,400,000 in unauthorized and illegal taxes. They were relieved from paying $3,900,000 of arrears. The land tax "was reduced $1,170,000 in twelve years and was more justly apportioned" and at the same time $64,350,000 of the debt was either "paid off or cancelled." Although large expenditures were allowed for the army and the court, an annual balance of $390,000 above expenditures was maintained, and a reserve of $5,850,000 was created.

Promotion of agriculture

Sully was fond of asserting that "husbandry and pasture are the two breasts of France." He believed that the nation's essential wealth was its agriculture, and that its rural population was a far more reliable support to the government than its urban population. Like other statesmen of the time, he sought to make his country self-sufficing, but he also believed it might be enriched by its agricultural exports. He therefore removed the export duties on grain, assisted the peasant by reducing his tax burden, relieving him of arrears, and exempting his cattle and tools from seizure for taxes. He restricted

the sporting rights of the nobility and attempted the restoration of the commons to the villages where these had been seized by the landlords. He promoted the preservation of the forests. The Dutch contractor, Bradley, was made master of the dykes and entrusted with the ambitious project of draining all the marshes of the kingdom. He succeeded in reclaiming the extensive district of Bas-Médoc. A more scientific agriculture was encouraged through distribution of the books of Olivier de Serres on the care of the silkworm and on general agricultural practice. The King showed his interest by having these works read to him after his meals, and by urging the nobility to read them.

Encouragement of manufactures

Though Sully was opposed to promoting new manufactures and foreign trade, Henry, fortunately, differed from him, seeing not only their value for increasing material welfare, but also for the correction of a threatening social evil. The members of the wealthy French bourgeoisie, unlike the English and the Dutch, deserted their former occupations for careers in the government employ, which they, like the Spaniards, regarded as more honorable than industrial pursuits. Habits of thrift and industry were changed for those of ease, extravagance, and expectation of government favors.

Previous French Kings, particularly Charles VIII and Francis I, had done a great deal toward introducing the manufacture of luxuries from Italy and Flanders where they had attained their highest perfection, but the religious wars had almost entirely ruined those industries which had been established in France. To encourage the silk industry, Henry planted on his own estates many mulberry trees, on which the silkworms feed, and established silkworm nurseries at the royal palaces. The people were encouraged, by the distribution of young mulberry trees, to follow his example. Italians were brought to France to teach the culture of the silkworm as well as the art of manufacturing silks and cloths of gold and silver. In order to get the industry launched, titles of nobility and monopolies were granted to a number of entrepreneurs. The manufacture of the famous Gobelin tapestry, which was later organized by Colbert, was begun by Henry IV with the aid of some Flemish artisans. Glass, crystal, paper, and linen manufactures were also encouraged. Henry may well be called the "Father of Modern French Industries."

Promotion of commerce

To stimulate trade, five million dollars a year from the King's revenues was spent in improving the chief roads. Rivers were made more navigable. Canals were projected, but only that connecting the Loire and the Seine was completed. A French merchant marine was promoted through the assistance of royal bounties, and a navy was begun. Commercial treaties were concluded with Turkey and with the Hanseatic League. Champlain was sent to Canada and established Port Royal in 1604, and Quebec in 1608, thus laying the foundations of French empire in the New World. Several companies chartered for trade with India, however, proved failures.

Foreign projects

Henry's reign was for the most part peaceful, but by a short war he compelled Savoy to surrender Bresse and Bugey, two small territories on the eastern frontier. Furthermore, in alliance with England, Holland, the German Protestants, Venice, and Savoy, he was on the point of launching a struggle to cripple the power of the Hapsburgs, the great enemies of France, and to prevent them from acquiring territory on the Lower Rhine, when his career was brought to an end by assassination (May 14, 1610).

Regency of Marie de Medici

The fourteen years of poor government which followed Henry's sudden death served to show that a strong absolute monarchy was essential to order and progress in France. During this period, his widow, Marie de Medici, a Florentine by birth, a woman who loved power, but who showed no capacity for government, took charge of the administration as Regent for her son, Louis XIII, who was only nine years old at his father's death. Sully was soon replaced by the worthless and greedy Italian, Concini, whose sole interest was to fill his pockets at public expense. Disorder, corruption, and anarchy again appeared. Once more the nobles endangered the nation. "The day of kings has passed," they said; "this is the day of lords." Led by the worthless prince of Condé, they twice rebelled, and, instead of inflicting upon them the punishment they deserved, the government bought them off, thus exhausting the reserve which Sully had so assiduously collected.

Estates-General of 1614

In the emergency which confronted her government, the Regent decided in 1614 to assemble the Estates-General. This body was composed of clergy, nobility, and bourgeoisie, each group sitting and voting separately. Possessing no legislative powers, they were merely permitted to express their desires through "cahiers" or lists of grievances and suggestions for reform drawn up by their constituents. These they presented to the King to guide him in his government.

France not ready for parliamentary government

No sooner had the Estates assembled than their whole attention was absorbed in attacking and defending special interests; within three weeks they were dismissed without having accomplished anything of material value. Such lack of unified policy, such rivalry of class interests clearly showed that France was not yet ready for a parliamentary government such as was developed in England during this same century. France had to wait until a revolution swept away the special privileges and distinctions which divided the nation; meanwhile the country had to rely upon the rock of French absolutism for order and security. Another Estates-General was not summoned until one hundred and seventy-five years later, in 1789, the year of the French Revolution.

Further difficulties

The government's difficulties with the nobility continued, while the Huguenots threw all of southern France into turmoil. When at last Louis XIII reached maturity, he showed little executive ability

or interest in governmental affairs. It was not until Cardinal Richelieu, as chief minister, took charge of state affairs in 1624, that order was restored.

France Under Richelieu

Richelieu

Connected on his father's side with the aristocracy, on his mother's with the bourgeoisie, and by his calling with the Church, Richelieu represented all the powerful classes of French society. Although personally ambitious and fond of splendor, honors, and wealth, he was likewise sincerely devoted to the country and the Crown. Supported by Louis XIII, who was wise enough to recognize the great cardinal's value to the state, Richelieu became the "true successor of Henry IV in the development of the French Monarchy." From 1624 until his death in 1642, this pale, delicately featured man, in spite of much physical suffering from incurable disease, constant danger from assassins, popular hatred, and endless plots and court intrigues, relentlessly and courageously persevered in restoring the King's government, in raising it "to a living personification of the public safety and national interest," and in securing for France a leading position among the powers of Europe.

Richelieu's treatment of Huguenots

When once he was invested with power, Richelieu proceeded to deal energetically with the Huguenots and the nobles, both of whom had caused such difficulties for the government. It was only after a siege, lasting nearly fifteen months, of their chief stronghold, La Rochelle, that he broke the Huguenots' resistance, which had been strengthened by an alliance with England. He then showed his moderation and political wisdom by leaving them their freedom of conscience and of worship, and allowing them to continue to hold office and retain judicial posts; but he took away their fortifications and forbade them to convene political assemblies.[1] "If they stay quiet," he said, "they will be treated as citizens, with the due protection of the laws." The wisdom of his policy was later shown by the fact that many nobles who had supported the Protestants as a means of gaining political independence left them; while the Huguenots became both the most "thrifty" and "industrious" of Frenchmen, and "the most loyal subjects of the Crown."

Disposal of problem of nobility

With the nobility, whom he describes as "behaving as if they were not subjects," Richelieu's policy was equally firm and judicious. The twenty-six chief traitors were executed. Richelieu, however, realized that before he could hope to destroy the political power of the nobility, he would have to remove the bases upon which it rested, such as their strongly fortified castles, their insistence on disregarding ordinary jurisdiction in favor of duels and private war,

[1] Richelieu exempted the Protestant pastors from the taille, granted them a subvention of $39,000, and compensated them for the loss of property in Bearn. Catholic clergy were actually taxed to furnish pensions for converted Protestant pastors. Richelieu's object was "to win over the ministers" and bring about, if possible, a general conversion.

and the power which they possessed as governors of provinces. Accordingly, in 1626, two edicts were issued. One ordered the destruction of all fortified castles with the exception of those required for the defense of the frontiers, and forbade the nobles in the future to fortify their private dwellings. The other declared dueling punishable by death. The nobles all too frequently abused their power as provincial governors. They seldom had the true interests of their provinces at heart. They came to look upon their posts as private and heritable property to be employed to advance their own personal interests. Whenever a quarrel arose with the government, they withdrew to their provinces and turned their resources against the King. Richelieu proceeded to correct this situation by removing many of the governors whom he could not trust, and by placing in each province, beside the noble governor, an official called an intendant. The intendants were taken from the middle class. They were usually lawyers and displayed both energy and ability. The entire financial, judicial, and police administration was taken from the governors and entrusted to them. Since they were directly responsible to the King's government and owed everything to it, they remained devoted servants. Thus, French absolutism and centralization were greatly promoted by the direct control which the monarch secured over the local administration at the expense of the territorial nobility and through the checks imposed on the separatist tendencies of administrative bodies. The power of the noble governors constantly decreased until their offices became largely honorary, although they remained highly remunerative.

The absolute power of the King as opposed to that of the nobility was further increased by the attention which Richelieu paid to organizing the army on a professional basis, and to making it the best in Europe. Since he recognized the need of leaving the nobility some opportunity for activity, he allowed them to hold the principal military commands. However, the prejudice which noblemen had against serving in the infantry, now the most important branch of the service, enabled him gradually to acquire for the King a more direct control of the army. This he did by the creation of new infantry companies, raised directly by the Crown and officered by men promoted from the ranks who did not belong to the nobility.

Further measures toward establishment of absolutism

The following steps taken by Richelieu toward centralizing French administration and assuring the absolute power of the King must likewise be noted. Like Henry IV he avoided summoning the Estates-General. He abolished the offices of constable and admiral, as he believed they conferred too much power on their holders. He forbade the Parlement of Paris to concern itself with state affairs, unless it were specially asked to give its advice. It was directed to register at once, without debating or opposing them, the edicts submitted to it by the government. The trial of political offenders was taken away from it and given to special commissioners appointed by

the government. This assured the punishment of offenders against the State, but created an arbitrary power dangerous to the liberties of the nation. Only a part of the French provinces had Provincial Estates. In a number of cases, Richelieu managed to suppress them, and he so limited the powers of those which remained that their independence and usefulness were destroyed.

To enable it to attend to the many affairs which now came before it, and to systematize the conduct of business, he divided the royal council into sections, each with its special functions. Richelieu was not the founder of the French cabinet, or inner council composed of ministers of state, but it was under his direction that it assumed "the form and the importance" which it continued to have to the outbreak of the Revolution. In this system the King was absolute. He was at liberty to reject or accept the advice proffered him by his council.

Improvement of army and navy

In pursuance of the second part of his program, the securing for France of a leading position among the powers of Europe, Richelieu turned his attention to the army, the navy, the advancement of commerce and colonization, and the gaining, through diplomacy and warfare, of strong, defensible frontiers. He more than doubled the size of the army, spending as much as $11,700,000 a year upon it. He took steps to improve the discipline, appointed civil administrators to regulate its expenditures, and began in a most rudimentary fashion to pay some attention to its rationing. He also took an interest in naval affairs, not only because he realized the importance of naval, commercial, and colonial power, but also because he hoped to overcome Spain. The might of Spain, the greatest opponent in the way of French development into a great power, was, as everyone knew, "based on the maritime and colonial advantages of her immense Empire." So long as France did not possess a strong navy, French economic and even political growth were threatened by such maritime powers as England and Holland.

Although Henry IV had recognized the value of a navy, he had not had the opportunity to develop one. On Richelieu's accession to power, practically no French navy existed. When Sully went on a visit to England he made the voyage on an English ship, and when Richelieu needed ships to use against the Huguenots, he had to apply to England and Holland. French commerce in the Mediterranean Sea, as well as on the French coast, was endangered by Barbary pirates; while both the Spanish and English carried on piracy at French expense. Through lack of a navy, the rising colonial trade of France was threatened. Richelieu, realizing the danger, improved and fortified a number of ports, and organized a large navy, which on a number of occasions succeeded in administering defeats to Spanish fleets.

Promotion of colonial empire

In the matter of colonial policy, Richelieu resumed the work which Henry IV had commenced. Assuming the office of Head of Navigation and Commerce, he planned through the creation of a

marine, and of commercial companies after the fashion of the English and the Dutch, to promote French colonization in America, Africa, and Asia. To develop the resources of Canada, where a feeble colony still remained, the Company of a Hundred Associates, formed in 1627 in return for a trade monopoly, agreed to settle at least four thousand colonists in America during the next fifteen years. Due to many reasons, such as the selfish and narrow policy of the company, the fact that only Catholic colonists were allowed, and the lack of interest in the enterprise among Frenchmen generally, the colony's growth was very slow. In 1642, there were only two hundred settlers. The French during this period also laid the basis of their colonial empire in the West Indies, occupying Guadeloupe, Tortuga, Martinique, Dominique, St. Christopher's, Northern Santo Domingo, and Guiana in South America. By 1642, they had settled in their West Indies seven thousand colonists. A number of companies were chartered to carry on trade with the western coast of Africa, and the basis of a later French empire there was created by the establishment of a small French post at the mouth of the Senegal. Due to the strength of the Dutch in the East, the French, although they made a number of attempts during Richelieu's administration, failed to establish trade with the East Indies. They were more successful in taking possession of Madagascar as a station on the route to the East, and in establishing a small settlement there.

Failure in promotion of commerce

Through commercial treaties, navigation laws, and the imposition of duties, Richelieu attempted to increase French commerce with other European nations. Due to his desire to retain an alliance with Holland and England against Spain, his regulations were not strictly enforced, and the Dutch and English continued almost to monopolize European trade, even carrying much of the French commerce itself in their ships. In the Mediterranean Sea, although Richelieu attempted by the use of his navy and by diplomatic means to improve French commercial relations with Turkey and northern Africa, his efforts did not meet with success primarily because of Dutch and English competition and the interference of the Barbary Corsairs. French trade with the Levant so declined that whereas in 1621 there were four hundred ships trading to that region, in 1664 there were only thirty. Even the Canadian fur trade was shifted from French ports to Holland and England, and, while few French vessels were to be observed in the West Indies, no less than two hundred Dutch ships traded at Martinique and Guadeloupe.

Weakness of French frontiers

On every side French frontiers were weak. The possession of Cerdagne and Roussillon north of the Pyrenees gave Spain an advantageous position for attacking France from the south. Savoy, whose attitude in time of war was very uncertain, seemed to offer opportunities for a Spanish attack from their Italian possessions of Naples and Milan. Franche-Comté on the eastern frontier, and the Spanish Netherlands on the north, as well as the position of the

Austrian Hapsburgs in Germany, made further danger points. As has been seen, a rivalry between French monarchs and the Hapsburgs had existed ever since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Spain had sought to gain a mastery of France during the religious wars, and discontented French nobles plotted with the Hapsburgs even during Richelieu's administration. Spain's ambitious policies were being revived by Philip IV and his minister Olivares.

Richelieu's foreign policy

Richelieu desired natural frontiers for France and a weakening of the Hapsburg power so that it would no longer be a menace to French safety. He did not aspire, as Louis XIV later did, to great territorial annexations. His first successes were in northern Italy, where he prevented the Hapsburgs from acquiring control of the strategic Vallentine valley, and later of Mantua and Montferrat. However, he did not make the mistake of earlier French Kings in seeking to annex these territories to France. Upon renewal of the war between the Dutch and Spain, he lent the former his support. Grasping the opportunity which the Thirty Years' War afforded for weakening the power of the Hapsburgs, with subsidies he encouraged Gustavus Adolphus to enter the war, and upon the death of that sovereign he was the means of prolonging the struggle from 1635 to 1643, by actively taking the part of the German Protestants against the Hapsburgs. For seven years French forces were engaged in the Low Countries, along the Rhine, in Italy, along the Spanish frontier, and on the high seas, while Portugal and Catalonia were assisted in their revolt against Spain. France by this war became the first military power in Europe. Not only was the power of the Hapsburgs greatly weakened, but by securing Alsace as well as the strongholds of Breisach and Philipsburg and confirmation of the possession of the fortresses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun previously acquired, France gained a strong frontier on the northeast. By the war which his successor Mazarin continued with Spain after Richelieu's death, the frontier was further strengthened on the north by acquiring Artois and on the south by securing Roussillon and Cerdagne, while Spain's power in Europe was ruined.

Effects of Richelieu's policies

Thus Richelieu had centralized the administration and firmly established the absolute power of the King by crushing all opposition. He had improved the army, organized and built up the navy, encouraged the founding of a colonial empire. His foreign policy, closely continued by his successor, had resulted in humbling the Hapsburgs and in greatly strengthening French frontiers. French victories, however, aroused the appetite of future sovereigns for new annexations, and led under Louis XIV to many bloody wars. During the many years of warfare French provinces were horribly pillaged and devastated, and a merciless tax burden had to be imposed, undoing the reforms which Sully had instigated. Driven by war, the rulers could not undertake the much-needed financial reconstruction

in the direction of equality of taxation, and this burden, unrelieved by succeeding sovereigns and their ministers, led directly to the French Revolution.

France Under Mazarin

Mazarin

Upon his death in 1642, followed the next year by that of his master Louis XIII, Richelieu's policies were put to a severe test. A skilful successor to his powers, however, had been designated by the great cardinal in the person, of an Italian, Cardinal Mazarin, who, having displayed his genius as papal nuncio to France, entered the service of that country in 1639 and became a naturalized Frenchman. In place of Richelieu's forceful but ruthless methods, Mazarin accomplished his ends through bribery, deceit, and clever diplomacy. He possessed none of Richelieu's sternness; instead he was all grace and affability. He was, however, just as persevering. He won the affection and firm support of the Regent, Anne of Austria, whom he assisted to gain absolute power over the government during the minority of her son Louis XIV, who at the time of his father's death was only four years old.

Mazarin's difficulties

As has been seen, Mazarin brought to a successful outcome Richelieu's foreign policies, but he experienced much more difficulty in making his domestic policies prevail. The difficulty arose from four sources, namely, the oppressive and frequently extortionate expedients resorted to by the government to meet the heavy expenses of constant warfare; the financial mismanagement and waste; the ambitions of the nobility to regain their lost position of power; and the desire of the Parlement of Paris aided by the other law courts, by the people of Paris, and by some of the nobility to recover its importance, and play the rôle of savior of the national liberties. Mingled with these causes for disturbance was the natural jealousy and antipathy felt toward Mazarin as an upstart foreigner who not only held the chief position of power and influence in the government, but who also did not scruple to take advantage of his position to amass great wealth for himself and to provide well for his relatives.

Fronde

Aside from the difficulty which the government almost immediately experienced with the nobility, the opposition finally resulted in a severe uprising called the Fronde, led by the Parlement of Paris. Made up of lawyers drawn from the bourgeoisie, this court served not only as a supreme court, but also had long possessed the duty of registering the royal ordinances. Richelieu had required that they perform this duty without debating or questioning the royal decrees submitted to them, concerning themselves solely with their judicial functions. Encouraged, however, by the Regent's appeal to them to override Louis XIII's limitation of her powers and to sanction instead the vesting of absolute authority in her person, and inspired likewise by the great rôle then played by an institution in England bearing the same name, but of quite different composition,

tradition, and functions, the Parlement of Paris essayed to play a more significant part in French affairs. It was, however, ill-fitted for the rôle of legislative body, since its membership was mostly composed of those who inherited or purchased their offices, and who by right possessed no legislative power. Moreover, they were almost completely inspired by selfish class interests.

The occasion for its first action arose in 1644 over some objectionable financial decrees. These it refused to register. Thereupon, the young King, then only seven years old, was brought before it; making use of what was called a "bed of justice," he ordered the registration, which was then carried out. Only four years later, in 1648, the Parlement once more refused to register the government's financial decrees and its opposition was once more overcome by the employment of a "bed of justice." This was not however, the last of the matter, for some months later the Parlement appointed a committee composed of delegates from its own membership and from the other courts of Paris to consider measures for the reform of the state. This new body came to be known as the Chamber of St. Louis. In spite of the government's efforts to break it up by commands and arbitrary arrests, it persisted in its design. A list of proposals for reform was drawn up and accepted by the Parlement, which, if they had gone into effect, would have considerably limited the authority of the King's government.

Following its policy of temporizing, the government accepted the reforms until it could gather its strength to strike. Upon news of the great victory of Lens, it suddenly ordered the arrest of three of the chief leaders of the Parlement. Thereupon, the people of Paris unexpectedly arose in revolt and barricaded the streets. They were joined by certain of the nobility anxious to profit by the general confusion in gaining advantages for themselves. The government felt obliged to release the prisoners, and then the Regent with the young King left Paris for Ruel. Still further concessions had to be granted, but the government under Mazarin's direction soon challenged the Parlement's growing authority by issuing an edict ordering it to transfer its sittings from Paris to Montargis. The Parlement, supported by the Parisians and many of the nobility, and aided by sympathetic movements in the provinces and in many of the great towns, boldly refused to comply with the government's orders.

All were united by a common hatred for Mazarin. However, both sides dreading civil war, a peace was arranged, which nevertheless was of short duration. The disturbances of the Fronde once more broke out, this time under the leadership of the nobility. It then degenerated into a struggle of the nobility against the sovereign to promote their selfish interests. First led by the great French general Turenne, and then by Condé, Spanish armies took part on the side of the rebels. In 1651, Mazarin decided to yield, and he left France. A number of the nobles whom he had imprisoned, the most im-

portant of whom was Condé, were released, but the struggle was interrupted by only a brief interlude. Filled with ambition, and supported by many prominent nobles, Condé raised revolt in the south of France. The result was a civil war, which, however, was soon brought to an end by the defeat of Condé, and by the realization which the country came to have that the struggle was one merely between the aristocracy and the King to realize the selfish ambitions of the former. Deserted on all sides, Condé joined the Spanish armies, and for eight years led them against his country.

Political results of Fronde

By October, 1652, royal authority was restored, and remained preëminent until the outbreak of the French Revolution. Not only local feeling and privilege, but also constitutionalism, were crushed under the weight of royal might. The Parlement for a century or more lost the exercise of all political power, and the nobility surrendered all independence and became obsequious servants in return for pecuniary favors granted by an all-powerful sovereign.

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CHAPTER XV

LOUIS XIV AND FRENCH ABSOLUTISM

French Absolutism at Its Height

Through the labors of Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin, everything had been prepared for the appearance of a great monarch who should fill the exalted place created for him and carry French absolutism to the highest pinnacle it was capable of attaining. Not only had all power been firmly centered in the monarch's hands, all domestic opponents who might hamper him removed, and the Hapsburgs humbled, but drilled by Richelieu and taught by the recent disturbances of the Fronde, public sentiment was filled with reverence for authority, and by a desire to rest under the shadow of a strongly exercised and absolute royal power.

Way prepared for great king

Under Louis XIV, who took personal control of the government upon Mazarin's death,[1] the royal authority rose to such a height that the whole state was absorbed in his personality. "It worked, fought, lived, conquered for him alone." The lives of the people were absolutely at his disposal. By issuing a brief written order, called a "letter de cachet" he might banish or imprison anyone, without the slightest trial. He claimed to be sole proprietor of all the land and wealth of the nation. Once hesitating at the imposition of a crushing financial burden to meet the expenses of one of his great wars, he was reassured by the learned doctors of the University of Paris that "his subjects' possessions were his own, and when he took them, he was merely taking what belonged to him." So absolute was his authority that none might share it except as servants.

Absolutism under Louis XIV

The King's power was still more exalted by the fact that it was commonly taught and believed that it came directly from God. Although Louis XIV without doubt furnished the most perfect example of a divine-right monarch, he did not originate the theory. It had been evolved by the monarchs of the Middle Ages in opposition to the encroachment of papal claims of universal suzerainty as God's representative. It had also been utilized by national monarchs in their opposition to the pretensions of the Holy Roman Emperor. The following quotation from the great divine, Bossuet, whom Louis XIV appointed as instructor to his son, most vividly expresses what was believed at the time: "Rulers then act as the ministers of God and as his lieutenants on earth. It is through them that God exercises his empire. . . . Consequently, as we have seen, the royal

Divine-right monarchy

[1] He had already been on the throne for four years, but as long as Mazarin lived had remained in the background.

throne is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. . . . It appears from all this that the person of the King is sacred, and that to attack him in any way is sacrilege. God has the Kings anointed by his prophets with the holy unction in like manner as he has bishops and altars anointed. But even without the external application in thus being anointed, they are by their very office the representatives of the divine majesty deputed by Providence for the execution of his purposes. . . . Kings should be guarded as holy things, and whosoever neglects to protect them is worthy of death. . . . The service of God and the respect for Kings are bound together. . . . The prince, as prince, is not regarded as a private person; he is a public personage, all the state is in him; the will of all the people is included in his. As all perfection and all strength are united in God, so all the power of individuals is united in the person of the prince. . . . The power of God makes itself felt in a moment from one extremity of the earth to another. Royal power works at the same time throughout all the realm. It holds all the realm in position, as God holds the earth. Should God withdraw his hand, the earth would fall to pieces; should the King's authority cease in the realm, all would be in confusion. . . . He is the image of God, who, seated on his throne high in the heavens, makes all nature move. . . ."

As may be clearly seen from this, absolute unquestioned obedience was the subject's duty. He might no more question the sovereign's acts than those of the Lord. Even though evil should befall the nation, faith in the monarchy should no more be shaken than in God when famine and disease afflicted the land.

Louis XIV's personality

It is now necessary to see how far Louis XIV was fitted by character and temperament to assume and carry out successfully the splendid rôle of the grand divine-right monarch, and what means he took to enhance his authority. Most accounts dwell upon Louis' ability to appear distinguished and majestical. Saint-Simon pictures him as so "impregnated with a natural but imposing majesty that it appeared even in his most insignificant gestures and movements. . . . He was as dignified and majestic in his dressing gown as when dressed in robes of state . . .," while "his voice corresponded in its tones" with the rest of his person. He had "the ability to speak well and to listen with quick comprehension." He possessed "much reserve of manner adjusted with exactness to the quality of different persons, a courtesy always grave, always dignified, always distinguished, and suited to the age, rank, and sex of each individual, and, for the ladies, always an air of natural gallantry." "Never did anyone sell better his words, and even his smiles and glances." "He gave praises in a tone which won for him blind devotion, and reproaches in a manner which did not discourage, but which inspired with a desire to succeed better another time." He was "patient to the last degree, completely master of his face, manner, and bearing, seldom giving way to impatience or anger."

With these kingly virtues and graces he possessed no originality of intellect. His intelligence "was almost entirely passive," not seeking anything "beyond the visible." He knew, however, how to profit by the knowledge of others, and he was methodical and deliberate, never making a hasty decision, invariably replying, "I will see." Like his maternal great-grandfather, Philip II of Spain, from whom he may have inherited not a few of his traits, he labored most assiduously at the business of being King, which he thoroughly enjoyed, finding it, in his own words, "grand, noble, delicious." His constant thought was to make his reign glorious. His pride was excessive, and through constant flattery and obeisance his vanity grew to such proportions that he could tolerate no independence of character in those who surrounded him, and it led to the upsetting of his better judgment and to the worst mistakes of his reign.

Versailles

Such was the man who set the style for the absolute monarchs of the century. Splendid actor as he was, he surrounded himself with a gorgeous court housed in the magnificent palace of Versailles which he erected a short distance from Paris. It was bordered on one side by vast formal gardens and parks. Thousands of mature trees were brought from various parts of France for the grounds, and a river was diverted from its course to supply the fountains and the grand canal. The chateau and its surroundings, including several smaller dwellings where the King might retire from the activities of his great palace, are said to have cost the state what would equal one hundred million dollars in modern money.

In this fashion was erected a splendid setting which exalted the monarch and hedged him off from the familiar view of his subjects. By such an establishment he was likewise enabled, as he would not have been at the Louvre or Tuilleries in Paris, to surround himself with the great nobles of the land housed in his spacious palace, or in their own private mansions, which he urged them to erect nearby. By compelling their attendance, he not only created a splendid court, but he completed Richelieu's work in rendering them harmless. At Versailles the luxury of the court and the expenditures it demanded exhausted their resources and made them dependent upon the royal bounty. The noble who failed to come to court might expect no royal favor, and therefore all except those too poor to come, the disgraced, or the unambitious, left their country chateaux for Versailles.

Court

The court comprised a military household of about ten thousand splendidly clad men, and a civil household of about four thousand. Each member of the royal family had a household of his own. The chief members of the royal household were drawn from the highest nobility. By the court ceremonial, the King was practically deified. Even his most ordinary acts, such as arising from and going to bed, eating his meals, walking and hunting, were made public ceremonies with carefully regulated details. It was considered a great honor even by the highest nobles to perform some service for him, such as

waiting on him at the table or assisting him to dress. Thus the once-proud nobility, who had not so long before threatened the existence of the monarchy, were made the King's fawning servants, and he was exalted to a splendor which he was fond of comparing with that of the sun.

The King and his court were envied and copied by many other European monarchs. For a hundred years or more it was Versailles which provided the models and set the fashion for European nations in manners, dress, and polite speech as well as in art, literature, pulpit oratory, and science.

Restriction of all interference with absolutism

In order to reign supreme, Louis refrained as long as he ruled from convoking the Estates-General. He likewise suppressed many of the provincial Estates and carefully restricted the freedom of action of those which were left. Municipal liberties were quashed; the offices of the mayors were made hereditary and sold to whomever would pay most for them. The Parlements were forbidden either to debate or to protest his ordinances, and their titles were changed from sovereign to superior courts. What remained of the provincial governors' authority was taken from them and conferred on the intendants. Louis refrained just as much as he was able from employing the nobles in any important offices and selected men of mediocre rank for his ministers.

Governmental institutions under Louis XIV

Next to the King at the head of the government, were the Chancellor, the Controller-General of the Finances, and the Secretaries of the Royal Household, of Foreign Affairs, of War, and of the Marine. Each of these secretaries also had under his special charge a number of the French provinces. To complete the central administration were four great councils which assisted the King and his ministers in carrying on the government. The King's government was enforced throughout the country by the intendants drawn from the middle class. These presided over generalities, districts which were frequently smaller than the provinces. They sat as judges in the courts, when they so desired, controlled the local finances, supervised the city administrations and public works, raised and took charge of the militia in case it was necessary to call it out. The administration of New France in America, placed under the Minister of Marine, was with its intendant, governor, and council, modeled upon that of the French provinces.

Louis XIV and his ministers

Although Louis XIV on Mazarin's death had resolved in future to assume personal direction of the government, and usually presided at the meetings of his council, he owed the success of his reign to a number of able ministers who were particularly noted as organizers. To Lionne he owed the organization of his foreign office, to Louvois the war office, and to Colbert the internal administration. None of these officials was allowed to rise above the position of chief clerk for the monarch.

Domestic Reforms Under Colbert

Colbert

In many ways Colbert was the most important of these men. He had been recommended to Louis by Mazarin whom he had ably served as steward, taking care of the immense fortune which Mazarin had succeeded in accumulating while in office. Colbert has been called the "work-ox" of Louis XIV, and indeed he loved nothing better than to work. It is said that he regularly labored sixteen hours a day. He was devoted to the King, desiring to make him the first monarch in Europe and France the leading nation of the world. During the first eleven years following Mazarin's death, national energies under Colbert's guidance were concentrated towards the economic development of the country.

Financial conditions

First of all, Colbert turned to the finances which, due to twenty-five years of war, the disturbances of the Fronde, and the incompetency and dishonesty of his predecessors, he found in a lamentable state, with most of the evils which Sully had corrected again in evidence. Vast sums were wrung from the people only to make large fortunes for taxgatherers and financiers. To meet its expenses, the government resorted to creating and selling offices and to borrowing at exorbitant rates. No system of accounts existed to check dishonesty and there appeared to be no thought of economy.

Colbert's financial reforms

Under Colbert's direction, the government took vigorous action to correct these evils. Fouquet, who had, while superintendent of finances, succeeded by illegal means in amassing a great fortune, was deprived of his office, tried, and imprisoned for life. A special court was created to try dishonest officials and others who had stolen from the government. Several hundred were tried, and about eighty-five million dollars in stolen money was recovered. Large numbers of useless officials were discharged. Those loans most unfair to the government were repudiated, and the interest on others lowered. Officials were required to account for every penny they received or spent, and frequent and careful financial statements were drawn up. Colbert once said that he wished "to make the finances so simple that they could be easily understood by all sorts of people." By the eleventh year of his office, without raising the taxes he had greatly increased the net receipts.

Colbert made some attempts to adjust and equalize the tax burden, although his measures were far from correcting the evil which existed, and were only temporary. Taxes were re-assessed and claims for exemption carefully examined. He seems to have exhibited some concern for the growth of population, as is shown by his exempting from the heaviest tax, the taille, young married couples for several years, and for life those who had ten living children.

Colbert's efforts were largely spoiled, and the state once more placed in financial difficulties, by the King's extravagant expenditure for building and by the cost of his great wars. Much against his will

Adverse effect of Louis' wars on financial reform

Colbert was finally forced to revive a number of practices he had abolished. New offices were created and sold, and loans at high rates were contracted, while much severity was resorted to in collecting taxes. At length, with greater demands made upon him than he could be expected to bear, his position became almost unbearable, and he hesitated whether to "remain to ruin the people after he had saved them" or retire, "abandoning to others the task of the destruction of his own work." Remaining, he did what he could to lessen the evil effect of the measures he was compelled to apply.

Colbert and agriculture

Although through no fault of his own his financial reforms largely met with disaster, Colbert made a lasting contribution to French economic life. He was a thorough-going mercantilist, believing that the state should actively concern itself with the protection and development of its industries and commerce, thereby creating national wealth and economic independence from other nations. In this he was a successor of Henry IV rather than of Sully. While through adjusting the taxes, promoting the improvement of live-stock, draining marshes, and protecting the forests, he showed his concern for rural needs, his main policy in regard to agricultural affairs was a direct reversal of Sully's and proved most unfortunate. Convinced by a severe famine, as well as by mercantilist theory, that it was necessary to keep an abundant and cheap food supply in the country, he so restricted the export of grain and its sale from one province to another that agricultural progress was checked.

Promotion of manufactures

Colbert zealously promoted French manufactures. He spared no effort or money to secure the industrial secrets of other nations and to induce foreign artisans to come to France and set up new industries there. To assist industry the government induced the Church to suppress seventeen holydays, urged the nobility to invest their money, granted prizes, gave monopolies and subsidies for purchasing raw material and erecting new workshops, and freed the goods produced by the new industries from all taxes and tolls. The textile industries alone received as much as $1,560,000 in various benefits from the government, as well as large orders for goods. Towns, moreover, were induced through Colbert's efforts to offer free sites for business enterprises.

Workers were grouped together in a number of cases in establishments of considerable size, the forerunners of the modern factory system. The manufacture of many articles which France had previously imported was begun, and France began to excel other nations in the workmanship and quality of her wares, particularly luxuries. In 1662, the Hôtel des Gobelins was purchased by the King, and the manufacture of tapestry and other furnishings for the royal palaces was set up there. This manufacture, working solely for the king, it is said, "contributed more than any other institution to creating the style of Louis XIV." Another enterprise resembling it in organization

was the manufacture of Sèvres porcelain, which was established in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Colbert as mercantilist

Colbert sought by regulation both to protect French industry from foreign competition and to make other countries economically dependent upon France. To accomplish the first, he imposed heavy tariffs on importations; to secure the second he sought through careful regulations of all the processes of manufacture to "make French products the most reliable, durable, and elegant of their kind in the world." More than one hundred and forty rules for manufacture were drawn up. Each workman had to place his mark on the article he had completed, and if it was found defective, it was first exhibited, with the artisan's name attached, on a post in the square, and then burned. While Colbert did succeed in establishing such a reputation for French manufactures that, as the Venetian ambassador remarked, "orders flowed in for them from every quarter," his regulations, as well as his attempts to revive the gilds, restricted initiative and invention, and he may be criticized for favoring the mercantile class to the detriment of others.

Promotion of commerce

To further commerce, Colbert attempted to do away with all the internal customs lines, and succeeded in abolishing the larger part, but not all of them. He improved the old roads and built new ones. He had constructed a canal joining the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, a large project for the time.

In spite of Richelieu's efforts, foreign ships continued to carry French commerce, even in the coasting trade. Through bounties to ship-builders and on goods carried by French ships, and through anchorage dues laid on foreign vessels in French ports, Colbert strove to correct this situation, and had the satisfaction of seeing the merchant marine double its size between 1670 and 1683. The navy, which after Richelieu's death had been allowed practically to go out of existence, was increased from eighteen to two hundred and seventy-six vessels, and dockyards were constructed at Dunkirk, Havre, and Rockefort.

Great trading companies

Realizing that the Dutch and English still had the advantage of France in distant markets and in the capital at their command, Colbert followed their example in creating a number of great trading companies, the most notable of which were the Levant Company, the Company of the North, and the East India and the West India Companies. These were greatly aided by the government, receiving large public grants, bounties on exports and imports, guarantees from loss to investors, and release from duties. In addition they were given naval protection. In the case of the East India Company, the King after himself subscribing to its stock compelled the other members of the royal family to do the same. Courtiers, officials, and other prominent men were made to feel it both a matter of duty and of policy to buy shares in this enterprise, and they were guaranteed against loss for six years. Devoid of all initiative, neither the India

companies nor their contemporaries proved very successful, although during the reign some French posts were established in India and Louisiana, and the settlement of the West Indies and Canada was promoted.

This failure may be attributed to a number of causes. Bureaucratic control placed in charge of company affairs inexperienced and incapable officials who followed the policy of raising prices and limiting the number of voyages, thus killing trade. Forced subscriptions to stock were looked upon as a disguised tax, and were made with great reluctance. It is to be noted, moreover, that the French were not naturally a seafaring nation, and small fortunes were "absorbed by taxes" or invested in the purchase of office rather than risked in overseas trade. Also, Louis XIV soon turned from the promotion of commerce to the more exciting interest of expanding the French frontiers, and national energies were then to a large extent absorbed in continental wars.

The Suppression of the Huguenots

Intolerance and war as flaws in Louis XIV's reign

Louis XIV's reign was marred, and Colbert's reforms were interfered with, by religious intolerance culminating in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and by the great wars of conquest which occupied so much of the King's attention.

Position of Huguenots

After Richelieu had deprived them of political power the Huguenots were largely deserted by the great noble families which had sought to use the movement to promote their own political ambitions. They were no longer a menace to the state. Instead they were among the King's most loyal subjects, refusing even to take advantage of the disturbances of the Fronde. Protestants in considerable numbers served the King in his army, navy, and financial affairs. The most skilful artisans, many wealthy merchants, and many financiers were Calvinists. On the surface, it might seem that religious controversy was at an end, but such was not actually the case. Especially in the parts of France where the Protestants were numerous were they disliked by their Catholic neighbors. Their wealth was envied. When they held city offices they were accused of overtaxing the Catholics, and when they controlled the gilds, of excluding them from membership. The seventeenth century was intolerant at heart, and tolerance of religious dissenters on the part of the government was commonly felt to be a weakness to be corrected, rather than a virtue to be applauded. It came to be believed that the conversion of the Huguenots, if it were once seriously attempted, would be easy.

Louis XIV's motives for action against Huguenots

A number of motives induced the King to take action toward suppressing the Protestants. Always desiring glory, he believed a restoration of the French religious uniformity which preceding Kings had failed to accomplish would add to the luster of his reign. It seemed inconsistent in a kingdom where absolute obedience to the sovereign and absolute unity were demanded, that part of the subjects

should follow a different faith from their King, particularly since that King was a divinely ordained monarch. A recent quarrel with the Pope over the control of the French Church might well be atoned for by the suppression of heresy in France. Besides, Louis, whose life had long been filled with passion for glory and for female charms, had in later years, under the influence of the devout Madame de Maintenon, whom he had privately married, repented of earlier moral irregularities, and became sincerely interested in religious affairs. Constantly urged by his Jesuit confessor, by de Maintenon's admonitions, and by the assemblies of the clergy, he was led to believe that the conversion of the Protestants might easily be accomplished, much to the benefit of his sinful soul and the winning of popular approval.

Measures against Huguenots

Gradually the Catholics succeeded in obtaining the suppression of Protestant places of worship, the partial prohibition of provincial synods, and the abolition of bi-partisan courts composed of judges of the two faiths. Missions were held throughout France to convince the religious dissenters of their errors. Strength was added to argument by the gift of money, pensions, and government posts to those who recanted; in 1681, it was decreed that all who remained Huguenots should be excluded from public office as well as from the legal and medical professions and from certain trades. Huguenot churches and schools were closed, and they were forbidden to send their children abroad for education. Any Huguenot child of seven years of age was declared to be sufficiently mature for conversion, and might, if persuaded, be taken from its parents.

Dragonnades

Most dreaded of all measures were the dragonnades which were applied to a large part of France. Troops were quartered upon Huguenot families as "booted missionaries" to abuse in every conceivable manner and to ruin their hosts. So horrible was the pressure thus brought to bear, that Protestant cities, like Montpellier and Nîmes, and provinces, like Bearn, surrendered their faith in mass and conversions by the thousands were announced.

Revocation of Edict of Nantes

Finally in 1685, an edict was promulgated withdrawing all the privileges granted to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes, suppressing the Reformed worship, and expelling the Protestant ministers.

Results of revocation of Edict of Nantes

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes seriously affected economic, political, and religious conditions in France, and at the same time failed permanently to root out French Protestantism. Thousands of Huguenot families fled to other countries, particularly Holland, Prussia, Switzerland, England, and America, taking much wealth along with them. Many of them were skilled artisans who under Colbert's régime had succeeded in making France the leading industrial nation of Europe. By their loss a severe blow was struck at French prosperity, while Holland, Brandenburg, and England received invaluable benefits from the skilled workmanship and precious

trade secrets of the fleeing Huguenots. Huguenot soldiers were likewise of much service in carrying French training and discipline to foreign armies, particularly those of Holland, England, and Prussia, thus strengthening Louis' enemies.

Politically, the revocation helped to win for Louis the hostility of Protestant powers with whom he had formerly been allied. It also resulted in a serious revolt of those Protestants who were too poor to leave France, which kept some of Louis' best generals and troops engaged in a protracted struggle in the Cavennes Mountains when they were needed in the War of Spanish Succession.

Religiously, the loss of so many devoted Christians was a blow, not a benefit, to religious ideals. French religion was thus limited in the eighteenth century to a Catholicism of a narrow type, which led many of the best minds in France to espouse Deism, and in not a few cases, as with Voltaire, definitely to attack the Church. It is doubtless true that the way was thus prepared for the disasters which overtook the Church in the French Revolution and the anti-Christian orgies which then ensued.

Louis XIV's Earlier Wars

Louis XIV and war

That Louis, who aspired to be the greatest living sovereign, must make war, was taken for granted, since ambitious monarchs had invariably looked to war for glory. War had come to be expected by the people as inevitably as the bad seasons which succeeded those of plenty. In Louis burned the fires of an unquenchable ambition. Believing himself a descendant and true successor of Charlemagne and God's own chosen representative, he claimed superiority over even the Emperor and the Pope, to whom primacy had commonly been conceded. The greatness of France, which under the cautious policies of Richelieu and Mazarin had seemed a safeguard against the danger of Hapsburg Catholic dominance, threatened, as Louis' reign progressed and his policies came to be better known, to replace the danger of Spanish domination with one which might be as great. Gradually England, Holland, and other Protestant powers came to fear that, like the Hapsburgs, Louis aspired to restore Europe to Catholicism.

Louis had under his absolute control a strongly united and prosperous monarchy, with a numerous population, and he possessed in Turenne, Condé, Luxemburg, and Vauban the greatest military commanders, under whose direction was the finest army to be had at that time. It was, then, no wonder that he thought the way clear for the realization of his great designs. Louis himself, with the aid of Lionne and other clever diplomats, excelled in winning allies through diplomacy, in isolating his enemies, and in asserting the preëminence of France before all other nations.

In Louvois he possessed the great genius who organized the French armies and prepared them for the many victories they were

to win. He was just as zealous in the military administration as Colbert proved himself to be in that of the interior, frequently, it is said, writing or dictating as many as seventy-one letters a day. While Colbert organized peace, Louvois organized war. He introduced in the army a centralized supervision and an exacting discipline. Although unable to abolish the old system of purchase of offices and voluntary enlistments, he removed much of its evil effect by stringent regulations, and by insisting on service and merit as well as on noble birth as qualifications for promotion. He required that each officer, however high his birth or army rank, should remain at his post, obey orders, and perform his duties efficiently. To see that they did, and that the troops were properly trained and properly supplied with food and munitions, he appointed inspectors, one of whom, Martinet, was so rigorous that to this day his name is a by-word for severity. To improve morale he placed beside inexperienced higher officers, those of lower rank but of long experience. To him likewise is due the creation of cadet and special artillery schools.

Army reforms under Louvois

Since no regularly organized artillery and engineering corps had previously existed, these were now established as definite branches of the service. Militia companies were formed to act as reserves in case of need. Regular pay, uniforms in place of indiscriminate clothing, marching in step and, shortly after Louvois' death, the use of the bayonet, invented by Vauban, in place of the pike, were further innovations. Great storehouses of grain and military supplies were established near the frontiers, while fortresses were kept provisioned with six months' supplies. The Hôtel des Invalides was established in Paris to house disabled veterans.

Louvois' great work was supplemented by that of Vauban, the most famous military engineer of his time, of whom it was said, "city besieged by Vauban, city taken; city defended by Vauban, city impregnable." So sure of success was siege warfare directed by him, that it became Louis XIV's favorite method of campaigning. To Vauban was due the credit for the defenses of the French ports and the strong ring of fortresses which converted the weak northeastern frontier into a strong one.

Vauban

In sharp contrast to the strong position of France, were the other countries of Europe: exhausted and defeated Spain; disorganized and war-weary Germany with its league of Rhine princes under French influence; Austria suffering from the defeats of the Thirty Years' War and busied in defending itself against the Turks; Sweden still great, but declining, willing generally, for French subsidies, to accept French leadership; England under Charles II, who was anxious for the French King's pensions and for aid to restore Catholicism, and molded his policies accordingly; Holland, the wealthiest and greatest commercial power, but growing soft under its prosperity, disturbed by factional quarrels, and led by a weak government; Brandenburg,

Weak position of other European nations compared with France

a real factor, but not yet risen to the place it was to occupy in European politics.

War of Devolution (1667)

The War of Devolution (1667) to secure possession of the Spanish Netherlands and thus continue Richelieu's policy of French expansion to the Rhine was the first of Louis XIV's great wars. Upon the death of Philip IV of Spain, who left Charles II, a four-year-old son by a second marriage, as his heir, Louis XIV judged the moment opportune to triumph further at the expense of Spanish weakness, and accordingly advanced a claim to the Netherlands in behalf of his wife Maria Theresa, Philip IV's daughter by his first marriage. This he based upon certain property laws of Brabant which gave landed inheritance by devolution to female children by the first marriage in preference to the claims of male heirs by a second marriage.

Louis little expected that Spain would admit this claim, and he carefully prepared the way for seizure of the coveted territories by securing the neutrality of other European powers through the use of clever diplomacy. Having thus isolated the Spanish government, he was ready, when it persisted in refusing to admit his claims, to crush the weak army of only twenty thousand men which remained of Spain's rapidly vanishing military power.

Triple Alliance and Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668)

Experiencing little resistance, Louis was on the point of congratulating himself with the ease of his conquest of such a rich and valuable territory, when Holland, realizing that its own safety and prosperity were threatened by the rapid French advance, succeeded in forming the Triple Alliance with Sweden and England to compel Louis to make peace on the basis of a compromise. Realizing that the coalition against him was likely to grow in size, and trusting to an arrangement which he had already made with Emperor Leopold for the partition of the Spanish territories on the death of Charles II, whose weak physical constitution led to the expectation of an early demise, Louis decided, contrary to his generals' advice, to come to terms. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 2, 1668), he returned Franche-Comté, which he had conquered, but secured nearly a dozen towns along the French frontier, including the important strongholds of Lille, Tournai, and Charleroi. By these gains a strong barrier of defense against invasion from the north had been erected.

Causes for war with Dutch

Louis was filled with indignation that the Dutch, a nation of shopkeepers, a Protestant republic, should successfully block his designs. He was stung to the quick that he, a Catholic sovereign enjoying the splendors of absolute power and claiming superiority to all other monarchs, should be thwarted by such a despicable antagonist. His exasperation was strengthened by the ill-considered boasts of the Dutch government at its success, and by certain medals which were struck in honor of the occasion. Such triumphing over the set-back to French policy seemed all the worse since the French had assisted the Dutch to win their independence, and later to maintain it against Spain. The French further recalled that the Dutch

had once before, by their sudden conclusion of peace with Spain in 1648 and desertion of the French alliance, obstructed France in realizing its designs in regard to the Spanish Netherlands.

Colbert, on his part, sympathized with the King in his hostility towards Holland, for the Dutch interfered with his efforts to advance French commerce and industry. French ports had been overrun with Dutch traders and swamped with their goods, and when he had driven them out with high tariffs, they had retorted by heavily taxing French wines and manufactures.

Louvois also had reasons for urging the King to action, as he believed that the conquest of Holland was the surest method of obtaining the Spanish Netherlands. On the other hand, Louis had been given warning by the formation of the Triple Alliance that an attack upon Holland would almost certainly lead to another coalition against him. By choosing the course he did, he was abandoning the more cautious policy of his predecessors of alliance with the Protestant powers against the Hapsburgs for what would amount to a struggle for the mastery of Europe.

Although hesitating at first, Louis was reassured by the flattery of his courtiers and by the thought of the splendid army Louvois had prepared for him, and of Colbert's successful economic reforms. Even the danger from other European powers appeared to vanish before the attack of clever French diplomacy. The alliance of both England and Sweden was bought with large subsidies, the Emperor's neutrality was again secured, and an auxiliary force of twenty thousand men was promised to France by a number of the German princes. Though possessing great wealth, the Dutch had neglected their army, placing their trust rather in alliances. They now could oppose to Louis only a weak, ill-organized, and badly-equipped force. *Dutch war*

Without encountering much resistance the French army outflanked the strong Dutch fortresses, overran a large part of the Dutch Netherlands, and might have taken Amsterdam if the King had not at the last minute hesitated, thus giving the Dutch time to cut the dykes and save their metropolis from attack by land, while De Ruyter's victory over the fleets of France and England relieved the city from danger of a sea attack. Although the Dutch were willing to treat with Louis on terms which were advantageous for him, he would consent to nothing less than that they should become a vassal state, support Catholicism, and besides suppressing all commercial edicts which were unfavorable to France, pay a large indemnity. Rather than accept these humiliating terms the Dutch continued the struggle under the leadership of William of Orange. They were soon after joined by Emperor Leopold and the Elector of Brandenburg, and later by Spain, Lorraine, Denmark, the Elector Palatine, and the Diet of the Empire; while Louis' allies deserted him until only Sweden remained. In spite of their many enemies, the French armies under Turenne's able leadership, managed to administer many defeats

to their opponents. In fact, Turenne lost his life at the very moment of winning a great success.

Peace of Nimwegen (1678)

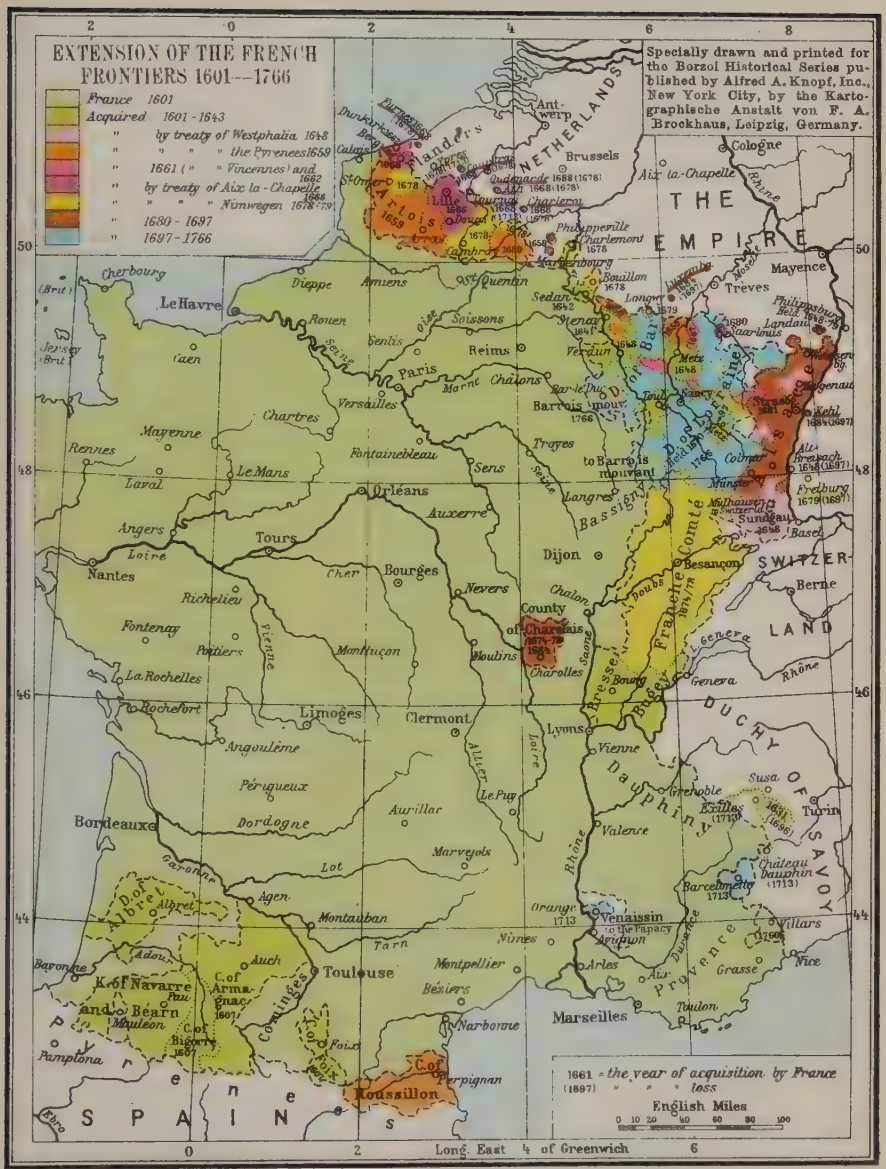
The French were discouraged by the loss of their greatest general, and were growing exhausted by the struggle which taxed all their resources and led to the restoration of old abuses; on the other hand, the superiority of the French soldier was so marked that the Dutch and Imperialists became wearied of fighting battles which never seemed to be decisive. Accordingly, both sides were willing to come to terms. By the Peace of Nimwegen (1678) which ensued, France was able to keep most of the strongholds which she had secured at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the important exception of Charleroi, and obtained Franche-Comté, at the expense of Spain, and "the virtual annexation of Lorraine." The Dutch suffered no territorial loss, and besides gained the advantage of the removal of the hostile restrictions which prevented their trade with France. Dutch security was further assured by the failure of the French to obtain possession of the Spanish Netherlands.

Renewed aggressions of Louis XIV

Louis failed to profit by the check to his ambitious plans which he had received. Blinded by the constant adulation of all who surrounded him, he believed that he had met with only a temporary rebuff which might be overcome by the employment of a more skilful policy. Although general peace had been declared, he did not allow that to stop him in his plans for European domination. Taking advantage of the fact that all the territories which had been won by France since 1648 had been ceded "with their dependencies" he established a number of courts called "chambers of reunion," which carefully searched the old records to discover all the claims to surrounding territory which the recently annexed provinces had ever possessed. As soon as a claim to more land could be established, Louis sent his troops, which he had carefully held in readiness, to occupy it. In this manner, much to the indignation of the dispossessed powers, as many as twenty cities, among them the important places of Strassburg and Luxemburg, were seized. Reaching out in the opposite direction, Louis purchased Casal in northern Italy, which, together with Pignerol in Piedmont which he already held, prepared the way for dominance in that peninsula. French control in the Mediterranean was extended by the bombardment of Genoa on a pretext of naval aid given by the Genoese to Spain, and by such severe punishment of the Barbary corsairs that they agreed thenceforth to respect the might of France. Through aid proffered to the Emperor against the Turks, Louis even hoped, though vainly, to secure the Dauphin's election as heir to the imperial throne.

League of Augsburg (1686)

As might have been expected, these aggressive actions aroused the fears and hostility of other powers. Moreover, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes alarmed the Protestant states. At the same time Catholic states to whom he might have looked for support were


EXTENSION OF THE FRENCH FRONTIERS 1601—1766
France 1601
Acquired 1601-1643
" by treaty of Westphalia 1648
" " " " the Pyrenees 1659
" 1661 (" " Vincennes) and
" by treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle 1668
" " " " Nimwegen 1678/79
" 1680-1697
" 1697-1766
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NETHERLANDS
THE EMPIRE
SWITZERLAND
DUCHY OF SAVOY
SPAIN
Flanders
Artois
Lorraine
Alsace
Franche Comté
Dauphiny
Provence
Roussillon
Pyrenees
Bearn
Navarre
Paris
Reims
Orléans
Tours
Bourges
Dijon
Besançon
Berne
Lyons
Grenoble
Toulouse
Montpellier
Marseilles
Bordeaux
Limoges
Clermont
Nantes
Rennes
Le Havre
Cherbourg
Amiens
Rouen
Caen
Le Mans
Angers
Poitiers
La Rochelle
Rochefort
Périgueux
Agen
Montauban
Auch
Pau
Bayonne
Pamplona
Perpignan
Narbonne
Nîmes
Arles
Aix
Toulon
Nice
Turin
Susa
Geneva
Metz
Strasbourg
Kehl
Freiburg
Brussels
Antwerp
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Treves
Mayence
Luxemburg
Sedan
Stenay
Verdun
Barrois mouvant
Barrois non mouvant
Nancy
Toul
Landau
Philippsburg
Mulhausen
Sundgau
Colmar
Alt Breisach
Münster
Basel
Besançon
Dôle
Gray
Vesoul
Langres
Chalon
Autun
Nevers
Moulins
Montluçon
Aurillac
Le Puy
Valence
Orange
Venaissin
Avignon
Carcassonne
Foix
Auch
Armagnac
Albret
Lot
Garonne
Dordogne
Vienne
Loire
Allier
Cher
Indre
Sarthe
Mayenne
Orne
Seine
Somme
Oise
Aisne
Marne
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Rhine
Rhône
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Reuss
Limmat
Zurich
Basel
Berne
Geneva
Lausanne
Fribourg
Soleure
Bienne
Neuchâtel
Lucerne
Zug
Schaffhausen
Constance
Coblenz
Trier
Metz
Thionville
Longwy
Montmédy
Philippeville
Charlemont
Maubeuge
Landrecies
Quesnoy
Valenciennes
Condé
Tournay
Lille
Douai
Arras
Cambrai
Bapaume
St Omer
Calais
Gravelines
Dunkirk
Furnes
Ypres
Menin
Courtrai
Oudenarde
Ath
Charleroi
Namur
Dinant
Bouillon
Luxemburg
Mayence
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Brussels
Antwerp
Ostend
Nieuport
Sluys
Middelburg
Flushing
Breda
Bergen op Zoom
Gertruydenberg
Maestricht
Liège
Huy
Dinant
Namur
Charleroi
Mons

estranged by his quarrel with the Pope and his alliance with the Turks. Even this alliance was nullified by his attack upon Algiers and Tripoli. By his lawless annexations of territory, he lost as allies both Sweden and the league of German princes, upon which France had come to depend. Louis' great enemy, William of Orange, was not slow to take advantage of the situation to form the League of Augsburg (1686) between the Emperor, Spain, Sweden, the northern German princes, and the Netherlands to oppose French domination. This league the following year was joined by Bavaria, the Italian princes, and, a number of years later, by England, while the Pope lent it his secret support. Thus the Grand Monarch's policy had resulted in involving his war-wearied and overtaxed country in a conflict with practically all the European powers. He had likewise made the great mistake of allowing his chief opponent, William of Orange, to unseat his ally James II, and greatly increase his power by becoming King of England. This he doubtless could have prevented by a threatening concentration of French troops on the Dutch frontier, thus obliging William to remain in Holland.

War of League of Augsburg

The first year of the war was marked by an attempt to make up for this mistake by an effort to replace James II on his throne. Although this hapless monarch was defeated in his attempt, which France aided, to regain and retain possession of Ireland, the French fleet won a great sea battle at Beachy-Head (1690), which gave them control of the sea. If it had not later been followed by the British victory of La Hogue (1692) this might have enabled Louis to utilize the army of twenty thousand men and the three hundred transports which he had gathered for an invasion of England. For eight years French armies fought in the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and Canada, horribly devastating the Palatinate and Piedmont. Finally in 1697, when everybody was exhausted by the long struggle, hearing that Charles II of Spain was about to die, and therefore being anxious to dissolve the European coalition before this momentous event arrived, in order that he might have his hands free to secure as many as possible if not all of the dying King's territories, Louis suddenly developed a policy of moderation. This resulted in the end of the war and the treaty of Ryswick (1697).

Treaty of Ryswick (1697)

By the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick, Louis returned all the conquests which he had made since the treaty of Nimwegen except Strassburg, Landau, Longwy, and Sarrelouis. He likewise relinquished Lorraine. He acknowledged William of Orange as the legitimate King of England and Ireland. He permitted the Dutch to garrison the chief frontier fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands to secure themselves against future attacks. He likewise, to oblige the Dutch, abolished the French restrictive tariffs and tonnage duties, thus completely reversing Colbert's commercial policy, and inflicting a serious blow to French commerce.

The War of the Spanish Succession

Problem of Spanish Succession

It was clear to all European powers that when Charles II, the half-witted, invalid King of Spain, should die, leaving no children to inherit the vast Spanish domains, a most difficult situation would be created, which was likely to lead to a general European war unless the interested powers could meanwhile reach some agreement as to their disposal. Through intermarriage with the Spanish royal family both the Bourbons and the Austrian Hapsburgs had acquired claims to be considered. It was generally believed that, for lack of a direct heir, the Spanish possessions would have to be divided, though this was the very thing that the Spanish people and their dying King desired to avoid. Louis XIV, especially after he had been twice checked in his European designs by hostile coalitions, became convinced that the Emperor and particularly the maritime powers, Holland and England, would never allow him to acquire the whole Spanish Empire. Not only would these nations fear the overwhelming position of power this would give France in the European world, but Holland would resist to the limit of its power French acquisition of the Spanish Netherlands as a direct threat to its safety. Both Holland and England would consider their religion threatened by the French King's growing power, and would be most unwilling for him to acquire the Spanish trade monopoly in the New World, and the sway over Mediterranean commerce which the acquisition of Spain and the Spanish possessions in Italy might give him. The maritime powers had acquired a commercial supremacy in the North Atlantic and in the East Indies, which France in spite of the strenuous efforts of Richelieu and Colbert had failed to break. They were desirous likewise of the Mediterranean trade and that of the Spanish Indies. At any rate, they would have been most reluctant to see a strong power such as France, which would be capable of making the Spanish government's trade prohibitions effective, get possession of the Spanish Indies. Louis XIV on his part was equally unwilling to allow the Austrian Hapsburgs, through inheriting Spain and its territories, to renew Charles V's old empire, which Louis' predecessors had considered a danger and an obstacle to French progress. Neither would other European powers have been willing to permit this.

Louis XIV's policies regarding Spanish inheritance

Under the circumstances, Louis had followed the policy of gradually acquiring by main force, during Charles II's lifetime, the Spanish territories which bordered France. He had likewise, as early as 1668, managed to secure an agreement with the Emperor for the partition of the Spanish inheritance, and after the Treaty of Ryswick, recognizing in William III, sovereign of both England and Holland, his strongest rival, he had entered into negotiations with him about the matter. This had resulted in a partition treaty being agreed to in 1698 between France, Holland, and England which, without consulting the interest of the Spaniards themselves, had assigned Spain,

the Indies, and the Netherlands to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, who had some claims upon the Spanish possessions through his mother, the Austrian Archduchess Maria Antonia. The Archduke Charles was to have the Milanese and Luxemburg, while the Dauphin was to obtain Naples, Sicily, and certain Tuscan ports. This arrangement had hardly been made when it was all upset by the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. Through Louis' strenuous exertions, a new arrangement was arrived at, by which the Archduke Charles was to take the Electoral Prince's place as ruler of Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, the Dauphin, in addition to the territory which had been agreed upon in the preceding treaty, was to be allotted the Milanese which he was to exchange for Lorraine. Although on the face of it, it seemed to be unfavorable to France, since by its terms the Hapsburgs were to rule both in Spain and the Netherlands, this treaty was in reality advantageous. This was the case because Austria was too poor to do much towards developing the Spanish resources, while France, through its alliance with the maritime powers and the position in Italy which it would enjoy if the partition treaty were carried out, could through control of the Mediterranean Sea and the Italian mountain passes prevent the passage of troops between Austria and Spain.

King of Spain's will

Whatever might have been the effect of the partition treaty, events were happening in Spain which prevented it from ever being carried out. Austrian and French factions at the Spanish court were seeking to influence the King to will his whole inheritance to the Archduke Charles and to the Duke of Anjou respectively, while the King, wavering from one to the other, was unable to make up his mind. Spanish nationalists favored Anjou as they believed that with the assistance of the French armies he would be able to retain the whole inheritance intact; they feared that the Archduke Charles, if it were to go to him, would not be able to keep it all. Just before the King's death, won by this argument and by the influence of a confessor who sympathized with the French claims, he willed his whole inheritance to the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, and in case of his refusal to the Archduke Charles.

Louis XIV's acceptance of Spanish inheritance

Louis XIV at first hesitated whether to abide by the partition treaty which he had made with William, or to accept the whole inheritance offered to his grandson. He realized that in case of refusal the offer would be made to the Archduke Charles, and he had every reason to believe that it would be accepted. He likewise knew that the partition treaty could not be applied without a struggle since the Emperor was opposed to it, and it was so objectionable to the Spaniards that armed force would be required to make them accept it. On the other hand, if he accepted the inheritance for Anjou it would be a deliberate breach of faith with William, and would not only be dishonorable, but would arouse that sovereign's undying hatred, and might lead to a new European war. The probabilities of

war, however, seemed remote, since, although William had agreed to the partition treaty, it was very unpopular with the people both in England and Holland, and it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to raise troops in either country to defend it. Since there did not appear to be immediate danger of European opposition to his acceptance of the will, and since the loyal support of all Spaniards might be expected if Anjou became their sovereign, the Grand Monarch announced on November 16, 1700, his acceptance of the will for the Duke of Anjou.

It is a striking irony of fate that France, which had fought Spain for so many years, should at length have the satisfaction of placing a Bourbon prince upon the Spanish throne, not through conquest, but by circumstances arising from a claim resulting through marriage.[1] That Louis XIV intended to make the new relation between France and Spain as close as possible was soon apparent. Although it had been stipulated in the will that Anjou should never become King of France and thus unite the two nations, it was not long after that prince was seated on the Spanish throne that Louis declared that his right in the French succession had thereby been in no way impaired. By the advice which Louis gave his young grandson, it was clear that he expected to exercise much control over Spanish affairs. "Be a good Spaniard," he said, "this is your first duty. But remember that you were born a Frenchman to maintain the union between the two crowns. . . . Love your relations, recollect their concern at losing you; maintain an intimate connection with them both in important and little matters; ask of us what you want or desire to have, which you do not find in Spain; we will do the same towards you. Never forget that you are a Frenchman, and that which may happen to you."

Louis XIV's unwise actions

It appeared that the masterful King had been correct in his belief that the course he had chosen would result in no immediate danger to himself. When it became known what had happened no protest was heard, and it was not long, in spite of William's opposition, before both Holland and England recognized the Duke of Anjou as Philip V of Spain. To make doubly sure that the Dutch would not cause trouble, Louis had without warning seized the frontier towns in the Spanish Netherlands which were, according to the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick, garrisoned with Dutch troops. This bold move had had the immediate effect of wringing from the Dutch government recognition of the Duke of Anjou as Spanish sovereign. Louis was sure of one opponent in the Emperor, who would not prove dangerous, however, unless joined by other allies. It was of the first importance, therefore, that the French King should allay as far as possible the suspicions and fears of other nations by pursuing a conciliatory policy. Strange to say, all his actions were just

[1] This statement is not intended to convey the meaning that France had previously fought to place a French prince on the Spanish throne.

those most likely to arouse and alarm his enemies. His issuance of letters patent reaffirming Anjou's position in the French succession, as has already been noted, had the effect of arousing fear of French domination in Europe. Certain other measures led the English and the Dutch to fear that France meant to make effective the exclusion of their ships from the Spanish-American trade, and monopolize it for its own benefit. Still further, Louis' disregard of the Treaty of Ryswick by his seizure of the barrier fortresses, thus endangering the Dutch, and his still greater violation of that treaty—the colossal blunder of recognizing in 1701 the Stuart pretender as the rightful King of England—which caused the English to be alarmed for the safety of their parliamentary liberties and their religion, aroused the warlike spirit of these nations. This resulted in the formation of the Grand Alliance (1701–1702) of England, Holland, the Emperor, Prussia, and the Grand Duke of Hesse to destroy Louis XIV's tyranny, and break up the Franco-Spanish combine by securing Italy for the Emperor, and the Indies for the maritime powers.

War of Spanish Succession

A long, bloody war, lasting for more than ten years, ensued, in which many battles were fought in the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Spain, southern France, and in America. The allies had two generals of the first order in Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Louis, on his part, was no longer able to command the same marked ability among his generals as had characterized his earlier campaigns. While he still possessed ~~an able~~ general in Villars, others to whom he entrusted his armies were not capable of winning the constant successes to which he had been accustomed. In 1709, due to the exhaustion of the country from the heavy burden of the war, as well as to crop failures which threatened famine, and to the inability of the French armies after their defeat at Oudenarde (1708) to defend the northern frontiers of France, Louis decided to discuss peace terms with the enemy; but upon learning that to secure a cessation of hostilities, he would have to surrender Alsace, including Strassburg, and himself help to expel his grandson from the Spanish throne, he refused to treat further. Instead, he appealed to French patriotism with such success that he was more than able to hold his own against the enemy. In Spain, the Spaniards resorted to guerilla warfare with such effect against the enemy forces, who at one time had seemed on the point of succeeding in driving Philip V from his throne, that they were worn out, and finally defeated at Villaviciosa (1710).

Reasons why allies desired peace

This display of strength on the part of the French and the Spanish, whom they had thought on the point of succumbing, discouraged the allies. England particularly, having spent its money freely in maintaining the coalition, thus adding greatly to its national debt, wearied of the war. Marlborough and his Whig friends, who had supported the war, lost to the Tories, who desired to found their fortunes on peace, and in 1711 the great English general was dismissed. The termination of the war was furthered by the death of the Emperor,

who left the Archduke Charles as his sole heir. Consequently his accession to the Spanish throne in place of Philip of Anjou was no longer desirable, as it might threaten Europe with a second Hapsburg domination after the fashion of Charles V. England, leading the way in coming to terms with France, was followed within the space of a year by the other powers.

Peace of Utrecht (1713–1714)

By the Peace of Utrecht, the following important agreements were made. (1) On condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united, Philip V was accepted by the powers as King of Spain and the Indies. (2) To the Emperor were allotted Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Netherlands. The Spanish Netherlands were henceforth known as the Austrian Netherlands. (3) The Dutch regained control of the "barrier" fortresses, and were permitted to close the River Scheldt to the trade of other nations. (4) France recognized the rights of the House of Hanover to the English throne, and promised to banish the Pretender from France. England received as territorial annexations Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, the Hudson Bay region, Acadia, and Saint Kitts. It was given preferred treatment in its trade with Cadiz, where the Spanish commerce with the New World had been concentrated. By a special "asiento," or agreement, it was given a monopoly of the slave trade to the Spanish colonies, and permission to send one ship of merchandise there each year. (5) The Elector of Brandenburg was recognized as King of Prussia and was given upper Guelderland. (6) Savoy was given the island of Sicily, and was recognized as a kingdom.

Consequences of Peace of Utrecht

The very fact that the Peace of Utrecht was not an arbitrary peace imposed by a victor and was, therefore, of greater permanence helped to make it one of the great landmarks of European history. It endeavored to establish a balance among European powers. While it permitted France to retain her conquests of preceding years which had assured to her defensible frontiers, it sought to guard against a recurrence of French aggression by the establishment of Austrian and Dutch control in the Spanish Netherlands, of Prussia on the Lower Rhine, and of Austria and Savoy in Italy. At the same time, the prominence of France in European affairs was recognized, and her position was considerably strengthened by the termination of the long struggle with the Spanish Hapsburgs, and the establishment of a friendly Bourbon dynasty on the throne of Spain, which for nearly a century coöperated in its foreign policies with those of France.

The treaty marks an important step in the rise of England to colonial and maritime greatness. The privileged position which it secured for trade, particularly in slaves, with Spain and its rich colonies; the colonial gains from France, which tightened its grasp on the fur trade and the fisheries, besides proving a step towards the later conquest of Canada; the acquisition of Gibraltar, from which the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea might be dominated; and of

Minorca, useful not only as a naval station, but also to counterbalance the French naval stronghold of Toulon, were all important steps in that direction.

Exhausted condition of France

The year following the signing of the peace treaties which concluded the War of Spanish Succession, brought Louis XIV's long reign of seventy-two years to an end. While he had succeeded in dazzling the world by the splendors of his court, his absolute power, and his magnificent army, he had, by his unwise religious policy, and by his great expenditures for the construction of royal palaces, for court luxuries, and for his almost incessant wars (lasting as they did for nearly forty years), nullified many of Colbert's wise measures and exhausted the nation. France, according to Fénelon, was one enormous hospital. Even before the War of Spanish Succession, Vauban wrote that as many as a tenth of the population had been forced into beggary. Underfed and over-burdened, its numbers were declining, many, estimated in millions, dying of want. Constantly heavier taxes, some of them new, falling mostly upon the peasantry, were imposed. What the condition of the unprivileged man must have been can be imagined, when even the King, loving luxury as he did, was obliged during the last years of the great war to send to the mint part of his elaborately modeled silver furniture and the throne itself from which he gave audiences to the ambassadors. As was to be expected, many of the old abuses, such as the creation of useless offices for sale, became prevalent. Economies were attempted in expenditures for roads, subsidies to manufactures and commerce, and the maintenance of colonies. Due to the Protestant emigration and generally unfavorable conditions, many industries were forced to close, or struggled on with diminished efficiency. On his death, the Grand Monarch left an immense debt to trouble his successors. Such sacrifices were ill paid for by a forced religious conformity and the gain of two provinces and a few frontier cities. Even Louis himself seems to have realized his mistake, for he advised his successor to avoid following his warlike example.

Louis XIV's responsibility for downfall of monarchy

French monarchy had risen to power by display of moderation and strength. Louis XIV, in whom it had reached its most complete triumph, planted, "by the excess of his despotism," by the misery he caused, and by the financial burdens he bequeathed the state, the seeds which were to bear fruit in the overthrow of the monarchy in the French Revolution. By reducing the nobility to mere courtiers, and by filling important posts with bourgeoisie, he further prepared the way for the downfall of his dynasty.

The Regency and Louis XV

Regency

Louis XIV was succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV, who was only about five years of age when the Great King died. Until the new King came to maturity the government was conducted by the Duke of Orleans as Regent, and is generally designated as the Regency.

It may be characterized as a time of experiments. In place of the royal secretaries were established councils in which the nobility as well as the bourgeois magistrates were represented, but after several years this experiment was abandoned. The Parlement of Paris was once more given the right to remonstrate at royal decrees, and encouraged to believe that it was to have a real place in the government, but when it sought to obstruct the government's measures, this right was taken away, and it was banished from Paris.

John Law's financial schemes

Of still more interest was the experiment indulged in by the Regent to improve the public finances, which had fallen into great disorder due to the huge unpaid debts left by Louis XIV, as well as to the dishonesty of contractors and financiers. Orleans was persuaded by a Scotch promoter, John Law, to allow him to form a bank, after the fashion of the Bank of England, which should receive all the revenues due the King and issue notes based on them to be used in paying the government's debts. These were to be redeemable in specie, immediately upon presentation, and by increasing the amount of money and the ease of exchanges were calculated to stimulate business. Thus far, Law's scheme was feasible, and an advance upon the methods of credit then being employed in France.

Led by the success which had met his efforts, Law secured for his bank the whole farming of the revenue, the privilege of coining money, and, through the formation of the Company of the Indies and of Mississippi, was intrusted by the government with a monopoly of the trade of Canada, Louisiana, the West Indies, and Africa, China, and India. At once further notes were issued by the bank on the security of this company's prospective income. Law became the man of the hour, sought by everyone. A perfect craze of speculation in his stock ensued, which forced up its value. Then, without warning, the crash came. A run was made upon the bank, which had greatly over-issued its paper in comparison to its collateral, and was now unable to meet the demands made upon it. Many of the highest members of French society were ruined, while some in the humbler ranks who sold at the opportune moment made large fortunes. The affair was a misfortune for France. It led to distrust of even sound methods of banking, and therefore retarded the country's economic progress. Moreover, a strong national bank could have aided the government in moments of domestic crisis, and would have strengthened the country in its rivalry with other nations, even as the Bank of England strengthened France's great colonial competitor.

Fleury's ministry

Three years after Orleans' death in 1723, he was succeeded in the management of French affairs by a shrewd old man of seventy-four, Cardinal Fleury, whose chief virtues lay in his endeavor to keep the peace with other nations, and to promote French prosperity. By pledging Europe that in return for influence France would abandon her ambitions for territorial aggrandizement, and devote her efforts to promoting peace, he secured for her a position of preponderance

in European affairs as a mediator and a protector of the weaker states. So far as his domestic policies are concerned, he is said to have succeeded so well that French trade, which was reckoned at $15,600,000 in 1726, reached, some years after his death in 1743, as high a figure as $60,060,000. Even the budget, by the exercise of strict economy and careful supervision, was at least for the moment brought to a state of equilibrium. The population, depleted by the Huguenot emigration and the many wars, was not only replenished by an increasing birth rate, but by the immigration of Flemings, Germans, Swiss, and Savoyards.

Decline in governmental efficiency

Upon Fleury's death, all pretense of good government was abandoned. Louis XV, who had come of age while Orleans was still living, but who had remained in the background during Fleury's ministry, tried his hand at governing for a brief interval, but soon tiring of it, plunged again into his pleasures and dissipations, leaving the land to be misgoverned and plundered by the financiers. No stability existed anywhere in French institutions. The King even conspired against his own ministers, while they plotted against each other. They were changed at the least caprice of royal fancy, or at the will of royal favorites. At length the country came to be virtually governed by Madame de Pompadour, the King's mistress.

Instead of, as formerly, looking to the French monarchy as the model government, other nations spoke of its anarchy and instability as proverbial. The treasury was practically bankrupt. Its generals, constantly in danger of recall, disgrace, or the Bastille, endeavored "to please more than to conquer . . . to plot at court more than to disturb the enemy." Parties were even formed among the soldiers, destroying all discipline. Heavy taxation for wars, court luxuries, and pensions to royal favorites ruined the country's prosperity, which was further affected by the disastrous defeats it underwent. In 1773, the year before the King's death, there were said to have been two thousand five hundred bankruptcies in Paris alone. The misgovernment and misfortunes of the King's reign, as well as his own weak and dissolute character, struck a blow at the prestige of divine-right absolutism from which it never recovered, thereby preparing the way for the Revolution.

Loss of prestige with foreign powers

Meanwhile, France had been most unfortunate in its foreign affairs. It had unwisely allowed itself to be drawn into the War of Austrian Succession, soon followed by the Seven Years' War, which proved disastrous to its interests. A compact state, possessing as it did after Louis XIV's wars, strong defensible frontiers, surrounded by weaker countries, with its hereditary enemy considerably reduced in strength, the nation's true policy should have been to keep its hands free from continental affairs, since it had nothing to fear, and spend its energies instead in promoting domestic prosperity and in developing and defending its trading posts and colonies overseas. Lured by dynastic ambitions into continental wars which need not

have directly concerned it, France wasted its means, and lost for the most part, its great colonial empire to the British. Finally, through allowing itself to be led along into alliance with its old enemy, Austria, it was deprived of the leadership in European affairs of which it had been so proud. Its finances were exhausted, its armies defeated, and its influence in nearly all European lands destroyed.

Failure of French absolutism

Thus absolutism in France, as in Spain, so necessary in the beginning to crush feudal anarchy and unify the country, had developed fatal weaknesses. After Louis XIV in France, as after Philip II in Spain, the country was subjected to the rule of weak and inefficient sovereigns, and fell into the hands of court favorites. The heritage of a sumptuous and extravagant court where vice abounded, of a government service which deteriorated with the sovereign, and above all of an aggressive and useless warfare, sapped in France, as in Spain, the national energy, until the imminent bankruptcy of the government caused a crisis which was only relieved by the French Revolution. Because French economic life was founded on a sounder basis than that of its neighbor, because it was not swamped by vast hoards of precious metals, but obtained them more gradually, because the Frenchman loved the soil of his native country and disliked to emigrate, and because aside from the privileged classes which were in a much greater minority than in Spain, the people were thrifty and industrious, France, in spite of misgovernment and war, was kept from the ruin and decline which overtook its neighbor, and was even permitted, during the eighteenth century, to retain with England a leading position in European economic affairs. While the faults which existed in the government did bring about its overthrow, the people, led by the bourgeoisie and inspired by the philosophers, possessed the vitality essential to transform French society and institutions, and to lead the European world toward the great principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

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PART V

THE MARITIME POWERS, COLONIAL RIVALRY, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XVI

THE DUTCH NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands at the Height of Their Power

While France played an important rôle as the greatest military power of the Continent, the Dutch Netherlands and England turned their attention to mastering the seas. The former, entirely controlled by mercantile interests, and the latter increasingly so, sought expansion for their energies not in dynastic affairs, but in the development of commerce and the acquisition of trading posts and colonies overseas. Both, likewise, in their governmental institutions offered strong contrast to the absolutism of Bourbon and Hapsburg, and as leading Protestant powers were active in defending their religion against aggressive Catholicism.

Maritime powers

The Dutch Netherlands, now a minor power, occupied during the seventeenth century the position of one of the leading European states, envied for its prosperity by everyone, and, somewhat like England at a later date, holding the balance of power in Europe. This was chiefly due to its commanding position in commerce and finance. It was the marvel of the time that a country so barren of soil and so inundated by the sea that it seemed least favored of all, should become the richest and most enterprising country in the world.

Position of Dutch Netherlands

Dutch fortunes had in the first place been founded on the fisheries. Herrings became the staple commodity of the Netherlands, as wool did in England, and in wealth-producing possibilities were compared by envious contemporaries to the "King of Spain's Indies." This Dutch industry was greatly assisted by two facts. In the first place, the herrings deserted the Baltic for the North Sea coasts. In the second place, a new method for curing and barrelling so that fish might be preserved for an almost unlimited time was discovered. This gave Dutch fish the readiest sale throughout the world.

Dutch fishing industry

Various reasons may be cited why the Netherlands became the greatest commercial power in the world. It was most advantageously located along the trade routes from southern and western Europe to the Baltic Sea. There were numerous good harbors, and the population abounded in skilful and fearless seamen. Of the utmost advantage was the fact that three important rivers ran through the interior of the country; moreover, since the country was flat and was practically on a level with the sea, innumerable canals were constructed. Because of this, and the care which was taken to maintain a regular service of cargo boats on these waterways, the Dutch possessed the best inland transport system of any people at that time. By this means an immense trade found its way throughout the Netherlands and into

Reasons for Dutch commercial prosperity

France, Flanders, and Germany. Commercial prosperity was likewise helped by the wars which occupied the attention of neighbors, crippling their industries and commerce, while the Dutch took advantage of their plight to enlarge their own business. Thus Amsterdam inherited the position which Antwerp enjoyed before it was ruined by the Spanish wars, and the Thirty Years' War, by annihilating the business of the German commercial cities, gave enlarged opportunities to the Netherlands. It must not be forgotten likewise that Dutch character trained in the school of Calvinism, was well adapted to business pursuits, and "to beat the Dutch" as shrewd business men proved indeed difficult.

Government policy favorable to business

All efforts of both government and people were concentrated on money-making. Here, for the first time, capitalistic spirit "attained its fullest maturity." Differently from other countries, merchants and other business men held the government posts and directed policies. Care was taken in levying taxes and dues not to discourage or hamper business. To attract trade to Dutch ports only minimum duties were imposed. Due to the government's policy of religious toleration, the Netherlands became the asylum for refugees from many lands. These came to swell the population, and frequently brought capital as well as industrial and commercial skill to their adopted land. Thirty thousand came from England during Mary's reign, followed by numbers of Puritans during that of the Stuarts. There were, besides, numerous Germans seeking to escape the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, many of the inhabitants of the once prosperous Spanish Netherlands, from fifty thousand to seventy-five thousand French Huguenots, and many Jews. Wherever possible, the government avoided wars. Most of those in which, in spite of this policy, it became involved, were fought with commercial objects in view, and almost all were terminated with a commercial treaty in which the Netherlands sought and frequently obtained, preferential treatment for their commerce. The nation had early obtained exceedingly favorable commercial treaties with France and England, since these nations, like the Netherlands, were at war with Spain, and desired to assist the Dutch.

Superior business methods

Whenever the Dutch won favorable treatment for their commerce, it almost invariably meant a Dutch monopoly since their commercial methods were superior to those of other nations; and their goods might be always depended upon for honest value; due to their command of large amounts of capital at low rates of interest, they were able to underbid competitors. The Dutch ships were superior to those of other nations as cargo carriers. Broad, flat-bottomed, and clumsy, they nevertheless possessed a much larger storage capacity, and therefore could carry more freight than those of rival nations. They were easier to load and unload, and steadier, and therefore required fewer sailors to manage them, thus saving in sailors' food and wages. For these reasons, freight could be transported at a much lower rate by the Dutch marine than by that of competing nations.

Under these circumstances, the Dutch succeeded in absorbing the carrying trade between most European states, and even much of that with overseas colonies, to the detriment of the shipping interests of other nations. This was true until, through the construction of rival merchant marines and through regulations such as the English navigation acts, this vast Dutch business declined. During the period of its greatest height, it is said that no less than two thousand ships were annually constructed, and that the Dutch probably had more ships than all the rest of Europe combined. They were especially active in transferring the products of the Baltic countries to western Europe, and those of the South and West to the northern nations. Although the soil of the Netherlands was too poor to raise much grain, great stores of that commodity, frequently as much as four million bushels, which was mostly imported from eastern Europe, were maintained at Amsterdam for the supply of other European peoples. It was said, "A dearth of one year in any other part of Europe enriches Holland for seven years." Here, also, although the forests were cut down, was the great European lumber mart, and Dutch fish continued to be in great demand. Richelieu expressed his wonder that "only a handful of people confined to a corner of land, where there is nothing but water and meadow-land" should "supply almost all the nations of Europe with the greater part of their necessities."

Extent of Dutch commerce

With the establishment of the East India and West India companies, and the founding of commercial stations scattered along the African coasts, throughout the East Indies, reaching to China and Japan, and in the American continents, including the West Indies, Brazil, Surinam, and New Amsterdam, the Dutch had founded a world-wide commercial empire of the first rank. They held, in their time, a position somewhat analogous to that of the British Empire today. In all parts of the world, Dutch ships might find Dutch harbors where they could provision and refit. Amsterdam, by absorbing most of the trade of Europe and the Indies, occupied in the seventeenth century a position which may offer comparison with London in the twentieth. It was thought to be the largest and by far the wealthiest city of Europe.

Here, in 1609, was founded the Bank of Amsterdam, which became the financial center of the world. Although banks had early been established in Venice and Genoa, nothing had ever existed, nor did anything exist for over a hundred years, to compare with it in vastness. Before the end of the seventeenth century, it was known to have the large amount of one hundred and eighty million dollars in metallic deposits, a sum which amazed the contemporary world. Its solvency was guaranteed by the city of Amsterdam, and its notes were amply secured by its great deposits. Such confidence did foreign capitalists and traders have in the bank, and so convenient did they find its notes, that they were eager to deposit there part of their

Bank of Amsterdam

funds, and in this manner it seemed that "the capital of the whole world was made to gravitate towards the Netherlands."

Dutch manufactures

Although the Dutch Netherlands were particularly noted for their fisheries, commerce, and banking, manufacturing industries were organized on capitalistic lines, and brought to the highest degree of perfection, and it was said that nowhere was there "so large a production in proportion to the number of people." Most of the Dutch industries, however, were not of native origin, but were brought by refugees from other lands, particularly from Brabant, Flanders, and France. Except for the various textile industries, perhaps the shipbuilding industry was the most prominent. It supplied other nations as well as the home market.

Dutch as scientific agriculturists

No people exerted so great an influence upon the promotion of scientific agriculture as the Dutch. Their method of draining salt-water marshes, and converting them into productive agricultural land was followed both in Germany and in England, and Dutch engineers were everywhere in demand. The Dutch excelled as landscape and market gardeners, acquainting other nations with many of the most useful vegetables, thus adding materially to health and decreasing the frequency of dread diseases such as the scurvy. By the employment of root crops and artificial grasses, they did much for the increase and improvement of stock. In all these respects they were years ahead of other nations.

Further influence of Dutch on European civilization

In many ways the Netherlands exerted a profound influence on other countries. They were universally looked to for business methods. A vast printing business was centered there which issued books in many languages, and probably did a larger business during the seventeenth century than all the rest of Europe put together. The freedom allowed the press in the Netherlands permitted many valuable books to be printed there, which it might have been difficult to publish in other lands. Early famous, under Erasmus' influence, for editions of the classics, the press of the Netherlands became "a disseminator of French and English rationalism." Here, likewise, were produced the first weekly journals. Here was the greatest world center for atlas, chart, and globe makers. Here were to be obtained the best mathematical, astronomical, and nautical instruments. Here were invented the microscope and pendulum clock.

The University of Leyden was an intellectual center for all Europe, attracting scholars particularly from the Protestant countries. The Netherlands were the first to establish free public schools open to both sexes and maintained by the government. So pronounced was this attention to learning that Hallam, the great English literary critic and historian, calls it "the peculiarly learned state of Europe throughout the seventeenth century." Here were born Erasmus, the greatest scholar of the Renaissance, artists of such distinction as Rembrandt and Frans Hals, musicians who for many years supplied the demand of other countries and were responsible for founding the

first musical academy, Grotius, the "Father of International Law," Spinoza, the great philosopher, De Ruyter, the great naval strategist, Huyghens, next to Newton the greatest scientist of the seventeenth century, and Boerhaave, the internationally renowned physician.

Not only did the Netherlands teach other peoples lessons in the matters of religious toleration, freedom of the press, and free public education; they led the world in the care of the unfortunate, and in establishing orphan asylums, homes for the aged and widowed, hospitals, and soldiers' homes before these institutions had much, if any, development in other lands. Their workhouses suggested to William Penn the use of prisons as a method of punishing criminals. Their restriction of the executive especially in regard to making war and peace, their system of local self-government, and the election of magistrates for the administration of justice, doubtless had considerable influence on the institutions of other countries. The Netherlands, besides, promoted the cause of liberty by the example they afforded of successful resistance to tyranny, and the part they played in meeting first the danger from Spanish domination, and later that from Louis XIV's ambitions. Through much of the seventeenth century, they exerted marked political influence by holding the balance of power.

The Decline of the Netherlands

Rivalry of foreign powers as cause for decline

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Dutch had commenced to lose the great position which they had occupied in European economic affairs. Their country was small, and was lacking in natural resources; accordingly when surrounding powers, whose populations and natural wealth were greater, adopted Dutch methods of business, and seriously turned their attention to economic affairs, and when they too were able to command capital at low rates of interest, the Dutch were unable to retain the superior position which they had enjoyed. Moreover, the fisheries, their primary source of wealth, were in the eighteenth century lost to a considerable extent to other peoples, particularly to the English. Their government not only failed to keep the special trading privileges, which, as has been seen, it had secured from other nations, but these powers, exasperated at the manner in which the business of their own peoples had been taken by a foreign nation, passed hostile tariffs and navigation laws. While the rest of Europe pursued a policy of protection, the Dutch government, much to the detriment of native industries, persisted in a free trade policy. Lacking protection, with many of their former markets closed by hostile tariff walls, deprived by foreign export duties of raw materials except at high rates, Dutch industries rapidly declined, until they were not even capable of supplying the needs of their own country. This, together with the shrinkage of their fisheries, the growth of rival merchant marines, and the obstructions placed in the way of the Dutch carrying trade, led to a serious decline in their

famous merchant marine and their immense shipbuilding industry.

Loss of aggressive business spirit

Alarmed by these circumstances, the Dutch lost the aggressive and progressive spirit which had characterized them. While their country had until then been foremost in invention, in the use of labor-saving machinery, and in technical skill, the Dutch now became disinclined to make changes or introduce improvements. Instead of engaging in business, many people of means were content to join the leisure class, living on the returns of inherited fortunes invested in good securities. Since, with the decline in commerce and industries, opportunities for profitable investment at home were diminished, fortunes which had before been invested in active production were sent abroad, and assisted the development of competing foreign industries.

Warfare as cause for decline

The struggle with Louis XIV, the bitter trade wars with England, and the heavy damage done by the English privateers to Dutch commerce during England's great colonial and commercial struggle with France struck severe blows at Dutch prosperity. A finishing stroke was dealt the Dutch merchant marine during the War of the American Revolution. Nearly all the Dutch colonies were captured, and British privateers seized Dutch ships by the hundreds. It is said that while in 1780, as many as two thousand and eighty Dutch ships were engaged in the Baltic trade, in 1781 there were only fifty-five. During the Napoleonic wars, when many people throughout Europe became bankrupt, Dutch capitalists lost heavily on foreign investments, frequently as much as half their income. The evil was intensified by the failures of the great East India Company and the Bank of Amsterdam. Throughout this trying period, the strain was increased by heavy taxes imposed by war costs and the constant burden of maintaining the dikes.

Position of East India Company in Dutch affairs

Another factor in the failure of the Dutch to maintain their position was the influence exerted by the East India Company. This great concern had been organized in 1602 as a union of trading societies representing the interests of the various Netherland cities and provinces coöperating in promoting trade with the East Indies. It had for a long while met with such phenomenal success that other nations had sought to imitate it in the companies they launched. The Dutch, moreover, unlike their Spanish and Portuguese predecessors in the overseas field, had known how to employ advantageously the great gains they secured from spice and other overseas trades in other mercantile and industrial enterprises.

Bad influence exerted by Company

Unfortunately the system established by the Company likewise possessed weaknesses, which led to its overthrow. The attempt rigidly to exclude all others from the Oriental trade, and to secure large returns through limiting the supply of spices, instead of encouraging heavy sales at lower profits, proved a mistaken policy. The discontent of natives was incurred by the destruction of spice trees, while the resentment of foreign nations was aroused by the ex-

orbitant prices demanded. This led in the one case to cruel repressions, and in the other to exhausting warfare.

Different from other nations, the sole aim of the Dutch in creating their establishments overseas was commercial. While this resulted in bringing large immediate profits, the fact that little attempt was made to secure extensive territorial possessions, or establish colonies in the true sense of the word, in the long run gave the advantage to rival powers, particularly the English, who followed the opposite policy.

While the Dutch had for a long time made wise use of their gains from overseas enterprises, in the end their heads were turned by their success in the East Indies. Speculation was indulged in. East India officials, who frequently were the same as those of the state, could no longer be depended upon for honesty. Great fortunes were made by officials in the East. When it should have intervened to straighten out matters, the government refrained for fear of disturbing credit. Due to mismanagement and war, the once-prosperous company became burdened with debt, but continued to pay dividends by borrowing money (in the East) at ten per cent. When at length, in 1794, the crash came, it was found that the East India Company's assets were $6,133,845.30, while its liabilities reached as high as $51,262,245. It was discovered that the Bank of Amsterdam, once regarded as the securest institution in the world, had gambled away its funds in the company's affairs, and was ruined by its failure.

Lack of strong government as cause for decline

One cause for Dutch decline, the lack of a strong government, has still to be described. By the Union of Utrecht (1579), the seven Dutch provinces, differing considerably in laws and social conditions, had formed a loose association, each retaining its individual sovereignty. Over this weak union was placed an Estates-General and, as executive, a Council of State. Although the members of the former body assumed for themselves the resounding title of "Their High Mightinesses," their power was scanty, since they were not authorized to make decisions on their own authority, but must receive instructions as to their actions from the individual provincial Estates. Decentralization however, did not stop there, since each provincial Estates was equally responsible for its actions to the municipal councils and to the nobility. As a result the city governments, at least in the principal provinces, got control of state affairs, and since their membership was self-perpetuating and composed of leading citizens chosen for life, no true democracy was created, but an oligarchy of lawyers, manufacturers, bankers, and corporations, ruled by commercial and capitalistic interests. Such a decentralization of power resulted that the natural effect was confusion and inaction. In place of consulting the general welfare, some sixty local governments, which possessed the real authority, sought their own interest, frequently pulling in different directions.

Quite possibly the state would have completely fallen apart, if it had not been for two forces, which rivaled each other for control of the country. One was the Orange family, which usually held the position of Stadtholder in the different provinces; the other was that the province of Holland, which contained within its borders the chief commercial towns, Leyden, the seat of the University, and The Hague, the center of the government, became so wealthy and influential that its magistrates sought to dominate the whole union. Unfortunately, throughout the history of the Republic the rivalry of these two forces led to almost constant subterfuge and party politics, frequently weakening the country at the times of its greatest need. It could never hope to become a great nation permanently until local dissensions were quieted and power lodged strongly in one faction or the other.

Competition for authority between Orange family and Democratic party

Around the Orange family, descendants of William the Silent, to whom, if he had not been so suddenly removed by the hand of the assassin, it had been intended to offer the crown, were grouped the nobility, clergy, and peasantry. The party thus formed stood for a strongly organized state, with the Prince of Orange as hereditary Stadtholder over the whole land. It was opposed by the self-styled "Democratic" party, which constantly claimed more complete local autonomy. In this party, the province of Holland, making use of the demand for states' rights to advance its own importance, became the leading element. Its chief minister, or Grand Pensionary, became the principal rival, and frequently the opponent, of the Orange Stadtholders.

So long as the outcome of the war with Spain was still doubtful, the House of Orange, whose prince was chosen Stadtholder by five of the provinces, and was appointed by the Estates-General Captain-General and Admiral-General of the Republic's forces, managed to occupy a predominant position in the state, and the republican spirit was checked. As soon, however, as outside dangers decreased, the importance of the wealthy traders gave the preponderance of power to the Democratic party, and their leader, the Grand Pensionary was for some years virtual ruler of the Republic. The Orange faction, however, once more gained control, which it kept for forty years, until the sudden death of William II in 1650. Another period of republican predominance, under the leadership of the Grand Pensionary, John De Witt, followed, and was brought to an end in 1673, by the imminent French invasion, and De Witt's murder. Thereupon, William III, chosen Stadtholder by five provinces including Holland, succeeded in getting each of them to proclaim the office hereditary, and in persuading the Estates-General to make the offices of Captain-General and Admiral-General hereditary in his family. For thirty years, through appointing the magistrates and military officers, he held almost absolute authority over the nation. It was not, however, until the country was threatened by a further invasion in 1774, that

the office of Stadtholder, then held by William IV, was made hereditary by all the provinces, and the nation ceased to be a republic in anything but name. It was definitely made a kingdom, during the Napoleonic régime, and kept that character after Napoleon's overthrow.

It may well be surmised that this shifting back and forth of control and the factional strife which accompanied it, as well as the lack of a strong permanent national organization which caused it, made it difficult to follow "a far sighted foreign policy," secure "timely diplomatic action," or prepare "an adequate military defense in time of peace." While the parties and the numerous governments were quarreling among themselves, the enemy was acting. The country was particularly exposed when the Democratic party was in power, since to save money and prevent the rival party from regaining control, they allowed the army and navy to decline and become disorganized. Sometimes they had no Captain-General for years. Moreover, the army became filled with mercenaries, possessing little enthusiasm for the cause they served. Because of these circumstances, the nation failed to defend its interests as it previously had done.

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CHAPTER XVII

ENGLAND

The Tudors

English unity

While the Netherlands, because of their wealth and their progressive institutions, were attaining a leading position in world affairs, England more slowly, but at the same time more durably, had laid the foundations for the unique place which it was to hold as a parliamentary monarchy and great colonial, commercial power. In England, more than in any other country, not excepting such an absolute monarchy as France, provincial differences had been eliminated. This was due to the Norman conquest (1066), and the strong rule of the Norman Kings, who, centuries before a similar result had been accomplished in other countries, had firmly welded England into a compact realm. Added to this great advantage which the English long possessed over other peoples, was the fact that they were able to found at an early date parliamentary institutions of such vitality that, however much their kings desired to establish absolutism upon Continental lines, they were unable to do so. Unlike the Netherlanders, the English, true to their unity, founded their liberties on national rather than on provincial institutions.

Factors which helped to develop parliamentary institutions

A number of factors account for the development of parliamentary government in England earlier than in other lands. In the first place, the country's insular character enabled it to develop its institutions with the minimum interference from outside powers. While Frenchmen, through fear of foreign invasion, relied upon their Kings and hesitated to revolt against them, Englishmen free from such alarms might venture to wring concessions from their sovereigns. While foreign wars, with their imminent danger of invasion, generally strengthened the French King's power, on the contrary they furnished in England the occasion, time and again, for securing further grants of liberties due to the royal necessities.

In the second place, unlike those of France, the English nobles were too weak to contend against the King unless they allied with the people. Accordingly, throughout the Middle Ages an alliance existed between the nobility and the commons, which resulted in the foundation of liberties. By Magna Carta (1215), the tradition of English freedom was established through concessions in favor of "all classes of freemen."[1] Simon de Montfort, when in 1264 he led the

[1] While traditionally known as the "Charter of British Liberties," Magna Carta was in reality a reactionary feudal document designed to obstruct the growth of royal power and centralization of government. It was in no sense the beginning of modern democracy. See W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta;* and E. Jenks, "The Myth of Magna Carta," in *Independent Review*, Nov., 1904.

barons in revolt against Henry III, found his party too weak and had recourse to the people, summoning for the first time the burgesses of the towns to a parliament, thus founding the House of Commons. By sending through his sheriffs a common summons to his Parliament, Edward I associated the interests of the burghers of the towns and the knights of the shires, thus strengthening the political power of the commons, which in France was long weakened by the fact that the knights were classed with the nobility. Courted by the aristocracy, the people developed a spirit of self-reliance and independence which prepared the way for successful self-government.

Rise of the bourgeoisie

By the time the nobility had declined in number and vigor, a middle class, or bourgeoisie, had been developed which led the nation on its further advance toward the securing of liberal institutions. They had laid the foundation of their fortunes in industry and trade; and with the dying out of many of the old nobility as a result of the Hundred Years' War, and the disastrous Wars of the Roses, they had gradually worked their way into the class of the landed proprietors through eagerly buying, when occasion arose, the lands which had formerly belonged to the nobility. They profited even more, since they possessed ready money, by the fall of the Old Church and the disposal of the monastery lands. They were enlisted by the Tudors in the government service, replacing the nobility there, and winning for themselves posts of the greatest influence, and not infrequently titles. Under the first Stuart King, James I, when certain titles were put up for sale, they were able even more freely to acquire them. With the expansion of English commerce during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, their wealth and position were constantly growing. Many merchants, bankers, West India planters, and East India traders retired as country gentry.

Wherever they went, whether it was into government service, or to take landed properties, the bourgeoisie sought to manage affairs according to business principles. It is this, perhaps more than anything else, which explains the coöperation, closer than in most nations, which existed between the country gentry and the mercantile classes in promoting the nation's economic growth, and in supporting the foreign policies which led to that end.

Tudors and Parliament

Although the Tudor sovereigns sought, like those of other countries, to establish royal absolutism, they endeavored at the same time to make their policies coincide with the popular desires. Instead of dispensing with Parliament as the French sovereigns had done with their Estates, the Tudors, although they refrained from summoning it frequently, saw the wisdom of utilizing, even while they controlled, this vital English institution, obtaining from it needed supplies and the consent to important measures. Parliament was easily controlled, because after the Reformation the bishops in the Upper House were royal nominees, and the sixty or so temporal peers might be won by favor or by new creations, while the Lower

House might be managed through the support of the middle classes, or as a result of the creation of new boroughs. The sovereign, furthermore, had the advantage of assembling and dismissing Parliament whenever he pleased, of controlling the election of the speaker, and of preparing in the Royal Council and introducing to Parliament all important measures, of which its members might have little or no previous information. If open opposition occurred, the monarch did not hesitate to prohibit the attendance, or order the imprisonment of, an offending member or, as was the case with Henry VIII, to visit Parliament in person to overawe the opposition.

Tudors and middle class

Of primary importance, however, for the success of Tudor rule, was the fact that the sovereigns of this line by their favors and wise policies had won the approval and loyal support of the bourgeoisie, who were throughout the period entrusted with important government posts. Henry VII by his strong rule had restored order, so necessary for prosperity. While avoiding war, he had made many commercial treaties with other nations, had begun the policy of encouraging the employment of English shipping in national commerce, and through Cabot's voyages had laid the basis of England's later claims to territory in the New World. Henry VIII by his disposal of monastery lands to the middle class as well as by his formation and organization of the navy, his attention to coastal defences, improvement of harbors, foundation of dock yards, and dredging of rivers, won the loyal support of the bourgeoisie. The enclosures were likewise gratifying to bourgeois interests. Above all, Queen Elizabeth's skill in maintaining peace when other European nations were torn with strife, her care in keeping down government expenses and avoiding heavy taxation, the encouragement given to easily won riches secured by depredations upon Spanish commerce, her interest in trading and exploring voyages to distant overseas lands, and the pride engendered by the shattering of Spanish sea-power through the defeat of the Armada, made her appear to middle class interests the ideal sovereign.

Rise of imperial ambitions

Closely associated with this coöperation between sovereign and subject was the budding consciousness of the opportunities afforded for making England a great commercial power, through the foundation of a colonial empire overseas which should rival that of Spain. The imperial ambitions of English sovereigns of the past, with the exception of encompassing Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, had not extended further than to the recovery and expansion of family domains in France. Now, with the inspiration of the riches of new worlds beckoning them, Englishmen felt, as they never had before, a desire for national exaltation. It was no longer merely the sovereign who followed a foreign policy, it was likewise the nation led by the restless energies of its middle class which pointed the way. It was no longer an Edward or a Henry who plotted and schemed, and then took his subjects to the Continent. Instead it was a Drake, Raleigh,

Hawkins, Davis, or Frobisher who was in the vanguard of the national advance. The realm was no longer merely the sovereign's; it was the people's—and this they one and all felt more and more, as individual effort on the tossing seas brought wealth and power to the mother-land. The Englishman's pride in his state, and his eagerness for its future glory was born, not, as was the case of many other nations, in Continental strife, but on the broad ocean and upon far distant strands.

The First Stuarts

First Stuart King, James I

Upon Elizabeth's death (1603) and the coming of the Stuarts to the English throne, the close understanding which had existed between sovereign and people was broken, and a number of difficulties arose which led to the long struggle between the kings and Parliament that culminated in the Civil War. Since the first Stuart King, James I, came from Scotland, where he had been ruling as James VI he understood neither parliamentary institutions as they had been developed in England, nor the serious economic and religious problems which he had to face, and accordingly his mistakes were many. He unwisely antagonized the nation from the start by assertions of sovereignty by divine right, which his predecessors on the English throne had not claimed, and by his assumption that parliamentary privileges rested solely on royal condescension.

James I's financial difficulties

Whereas one of the main reasons for Elizabeth's popularity with the middle classes had been her frugality and avoidance of increased taxes, James, because of the war debt bequeathed to him from his predecessor's war with Spain, because of his own extravagance, because of the increasing costs of government, and perhaps most of all because the amount of the royal revenues had been fixed before the importations of precious metals from America affected prices, was obliged to seek new revenues. Upon failing to obtain these from Parliament, with which he invariably quarreled, he had recourse to extending the customs dues, thereby affecting the mercantile classes, to the sale of titles, offices, and monopolies, as well as to seeking gifts or benevolences from well-to-do citizens. All of these methods made the King unpopular, and alarmed Parliament, which feared that it might lose thereby its control over national finances.

James' foreign policies as a source of disagreement

James' foreign policy furnished a further source of irritation. Instead of continuing the popular policy of opposing Spain, he endeavored to recover the Palatinate peacefully for his son-in-law Frederick (who had lost it in the Thirty Years' War) by enlisting Spanish influence through a marriage alliance between his son Charles and the Spanish Infanta. The prospect of such an alliance with Catholic Spain outraged and alarmed English Protestant sentiment, since it might lead to the strengthening of Catholicism in England and to a Catholic heir to the throne. Since overseas trade had been developed in opposition to Spanish monopoly, it appeared likewise

to be in conflict with the desires of the commercial classes. A royal policy which allowed the navy to decay, forbade privateering, and did nothing effective to check the raids of Barbary pirates in the English Channel, and the mistreatment of traders by Spaniards and Dutch added still further to the irritation against the government. Parliament ventured to protest at the King's policy, requesting him to marry his son to a Protestant, and to go to war with Spain instead of allying with it. The King, highly indignant at Parliament's bold interference in affairs which he considered to be his business alone, forbade them to "meddle with the mysteries of state." When they still persisted in their claim to debate all matters of national concern and drew up a protest to that effect, the King sent for their journals and tore it out with his own hands; then he dismissed Parliament and imprisoned a number of its important leaders.

Further difficulties

James' refusal, except for slight concessions, to adopt the Puritan program of church reform, his disciplining of three hundred of the clergy who refused to conform to the Anglican form of worship, his assumption that he was above the law, his attempt to control the decisions of the courts, his partiality to royal favorites, and his granting of monopolies were further grounds for discontent. Parliament showed its displeasure by refusing to vote subsidies, and by impeaching the Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer, as well as a number of the monopolists.

Charles I's financial difficulties

It was not, however, until the next reign that the conflict which was preparing between the King and his people came to a head. Charles I was even more determined than his father had been to maintain the royal prerogatives. Through the necessities caused by a series of wars against Spain and then against France, which were badly mismanaged due to the incompetence of the royal favorite, Buckingham, Charles was obliged to seek from Parliament large subsidies. These he failed to secure. The financial crisis was aggravated in Charles' case by Parliament's decision to grant tonnage and poundage for only one year, instead of for the King's lifetime as had been the usual practice. It had observed how James had managed by the increasing customs returns to dispense with Parliament, and it desired to compel the new King to keep it in session.

Petition of Rights (1628)

After two Parliaments had resulted in attempts to impeach Charles' incompetent minister, Buckingham, without supplying the King with the subsidies he so badly needed, he continued to levy tonnage and poundage without parliamentary sanction. He likewise attempted to secure from the people as a free gift that which Parliament had failed to appropriate as a subsidy. When he failed to obtain substantial returns from this attempt, he decided to exact as a forced loan the money he was unable to secure either through Parliament or as a free gift from the people. To enforce payment of the forced loan, he imprisoned some of the gentry who opposed it, and drafted humbler men as soldiers. He arbitrarily billeted troops upon the

people, and in some places declared martial law. In spite of these desperate methods to obtain funds, the King's wants were unrelieved, and, fresh military disasters occurring, he was in 1628 forced to summon his third Parliament. Thereupon, the Commons, fearing that if unparliamentary taxation and arbitrary arrest were permitted, English liberty would be lost, drew up the famous Petition of Rights (1628) and induced the King to sign it in return for a vote of five subsidies. This document, which ranks next to Magna Carta in the tradition of English liberty, declared unlawful any gift, loan, benevolence, tax or such like charge, unless granted by Parliament; imprisonment without cause shown, billeting, and martial law over civilians were also declared illegal.

Personal rule

Soon afterward, Charles gave up his warlike ventures, and, by practicing economy and resorting to various financial expedients, refrained for eleven years from summoning Parliament. During this time, the King governed England by means of his Privy Council. That no popular rising occurred was doubtless due to the fact that the country prospered economically, the welfare of the ordinary citizen was not interfered with, and taxation was less than in other countries. The organization of political opposition was made difficult by the fact that no Parliament, no public meetings, and no party organization existed; all publications were carefully censored, and chance conversations were in danger of being reported by spies. England, however, had had too long a period of parliamentary experience thus to abandon this institution in favor of a government after the Continental model. The sense of law was too firmly grounded to permit the King to resort to unlawful expedients, and Puritan zeal was too pronounced to sanction the imposition of the government's High Church policy.

Ship-money case

As before, the need of replenishing the royal finances proved a source of difficulty. Additional customs dues, the creation and sale of monopolies and knighthoods, as well as fines imposed for obsolete offences were resorted to in order to supply the royal wants. It was, however, a tax called ship-money, imposed for reconstructing the royal navy, which was needed to protect English interests against the Channel pirates and to maintain the national position on the seas in face of the strong Dutch and French navies, which more than any of the King's other financial expedients turned popular sentiment against him. While on previous occasions the ports and maritime shires had been called upon to supply ships to the royal navy in times of war, Charles made the mistake of calling for the contribution in peace times, without sufficiently explaining why it was needed, of applying it to inland shires and towns as well as to those on the coast, and of repeating his demand four years in succession. This gave the impression that he intended to create a new direct tax, independent of parliamentary sanction, which might enable him to

continue his arbitrary rule indefinitely. The matter was further complicated by the fact that the King had consulted the judges, who had obligingly expressed the opinion that "when the Kingdom was in danger, whereof his majesty was the only judge, the charge ought to be borne by the Kingdom in general."

Question of law

Such decisions brought into direct conflict two differing views of law. On the one side, were the conclusions based on the Roman Law, which were held by the Stuart Kings and the jurists who supported them, that the source of law was the will of the monarch, and that the judges appointed and dismissed by him should speak as he directed them, their main business being to uphold royal authority. This idea, going back as it did to the government of the Roman Emperors, had been revived by the Renaissance scholars and introduced by the Tudors in such prerogative courts as the Star Chamber. In opposition was the view entertained by the Parliamentarians, and most skilfully presented by the great jurist Coke, who, interpreting the law in the spirit of the English common law which developed during the Middle Ages, thought of law as possessing an "independent existence of its own," placed, as it was thought, over the King, as well as over his subjects, and serving as an impartial judge between them.

Subservience of judges

Both James and Charles found the decisions of the judges, which were generally in their favor, most useful. They consulted them separately, and instructed them as to their wishes before cases were tried, and if opposition still occurred, removed the offending justices. Charles had, by packing the bench, sought to infuse into the common-law courts his prerogative ideas.

Trial of John Hampden

When, as a result of the opposition to ship-money, John Hampden, to test the King's right, refused to pay the tax and was brought to trial, the attention of the whole country was attracted to this case, involving as it did not only the question of arbitrary taxation but also that of judicial procedure. When the decision, by a majority of seven to five, was rendered in the King's favor, it became evident that unless matters were changed, the power which Parliament had won over the purse was in danger of being lost. It was strikingly emphasized that the law and the judges might not be depended upon to defend the popular liberties against the King. By thus weakening dependence upon lawful methods of restraining the royal will, the way was prepared for revolution.

Arbitrary action by prerogative courts

Still more censure was brought upon the judicial system by the arbitrary and cruel sentences imposed by the Courts of Star Chamber and Ecclesiastical High Commission for the expression of opinions deemed contrary to the King's government or the Established Church. An excellent example is afforded by the cases of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, each of whom was sentenced for his writings to pay a fine of $24,300, occupy the pillory, lose his ears, be branded on both cheeks, and submit to imprisonment for life without use of books

or writing material, or access to relatives or friends. While such sentences were not numerous, it aroused indignation that they should be pronounced at all.

Large use of the prerogative courts was made by Laud, who in 1633 became Archbishop of Canterbury, and was the King's chief adviser in religious matters. He was opposed to the Puritan tendencies of the time, and sought to enforce strict and uniform adherence to the Church ritual, while restraining preaching and religious lecturing. He was resolved to maintain everywhere the bishops' authority and the royal supremacy over the Church. So active was he in opposing non-conformist worship outside the Church that large numbers of Puritans left England for America, depriving the land of some of its most energetic and industrious people, but assuring England's hold upon the northern colonies. Those who stayed, on the other hand, became more and more bitter against the government's religious policy. Laud's vigor in dragging offending laymen before the church courts, his strict censorship of the press, the authority which his clergy sought to exercise in their parishes, frequently clashing with that of the middle class squires, and the influence which the bishops were securing with the King seemed to many to denote a return by the established clergy to the medieval position. At the same time, the persecution of the Catholics was halted through the influence of Charles' Catholic wife, at which encouragement some conversions to Catholicism occurred in high society and that faith became fashionable at court, much to the national scandal. It was only natural under the circumstances that the Laudian clergy were active in preaching the doctrine of divine right and prerogative power, and were upheld by the King, while Puritans and those who sympathized with them turned, in opposition to the monarch and High Church, to Parliament. Thus, religious differences came to play a leading rôle in intensifying and rendering uncompromising the political struggle which was soon to ensue between the King and his subjects.

Revolt of Scots forces calling of Parliament

It was an attempt by Charles and Laud to strengthen episcopacy and impose an Anglican form of service upon Scotland, a strict Calvinist country, which produced the crisis that involved the King in civil war. The Scots revolted, invaded northern England, and Charles was compelled to summon Parliament once more to furnish the means to deal with the situation.

Long Parliament

The Long Parliament, probably the most famous in English history, which met in 1640, proceeded to secure from the King reforms which destroyed arbitrary rule and assured continuous parliamentary participation in the government. By bringing to trial and executing the Earl of Strafford[1] and Archbishop Laud, who had been Charles' principal advisers, by abolishing all the special pre-

[1] Impeachment proceedings were first started against Strafford. These were later changed into attainder.

rogative courts such as the Star Chamber, High Commission, Council of the North, and Council of Wales, Parliament deprived the King of his agencies for arbitrary rule, and forced him thenceforth to submit to the common law of the land. Since tonnage and poundage, levied without parliamentary grant, were declared illegal, and ship-money and other irregular financial expedients to which the King had resorted were prohibited, he was made completely subject to Parliament for his income. Parliament might not thenceforth be dissolved without its consent, and by the Triennial Act it was provided that it must be summoned at least once every three years. If the King failed to issue the summons by the end of the third year, the Chancellor must do so without waiting for the King's orders, and if he neglected to perform his duty, the sheriffs must of their own accord hold the elections.

Party dissension and final break with King

Parliament however, still feared that the King might attempt to recover his arbitrary powers. He had gone to Scotland ostensibly to conclude peace, but also with the intention of securing a party of supporters there. Moreover, a great revolt had just occurred in Ireland, which it would require an army to subdue. Parliament feared that if such an army were raised the King might employ it to regain the powers he had lost. Therefore, many members of the Commons thought it would be necessary for Parliament to assume direction of the army, whose control had formerly always been in the King's hands. Many members, especially in the House of Lords, dissented from this view, thinking the King would be deprived of too many of his powers. Disagreement likewise arose over the question of religious reform. The majority of the Commons had Puritan sympathies, and wished to abolish the bishops and reform the Church system root and branch, subordinating it to Parliament. From this viewpoint many earnest members, who had agreed on the political reforms, dissented, desiring to retain the church organization and form of ritual as it was. The party which desired the changes in the control of the army and in the church government decided to draw up as a party platform, a statement of their views to present to the people; accordingly such a document, called the Grand Remonstrance, was presented to Parliament. A dispute arose between the rival factions as to its adoption and publication. The King gained new courage at news of the dissension in the Parliament. He hastened home from Scotland, and unwisely charged with treason, and attempted to arrest five of the principal leaders of the Commons. This he failed to do, as they had been warned in time to make their escape. The King by this attempted breach of parliamentary privilege, as well as by his forceful entrance of the House of Commons, made a break with Parliament inevitable, thus precipitating the Civil War. Parliament thereupon began to pass ordinances without royal consent, and issued a call to arms. Charles left London for York, and,

later setting up his standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642, called all loyal subjects to his aid, thus formally commencing the Civil War.

Division of country in Civil War

Although some lords espoused the parliamentary side, most of its adherents were the new middle-class tradesmen and those country gentlemen who were more closely connected with modern economic life—Puritans by faith. On the other side were the majority of the nobility and the "more rustic squires of ancient lineage"—Anglican and Catholic by conviction. In general the less progressive north and west were on the King's side; London and the other large cities, the south and east favored Parliament. It was essentially a contest between the new classes and the old society. The latter was anxious to secure, together with the reinstatement of the King, its former position in the government and the state from which the rising middle class had been ousting it. On their part, the new classes wished to hold the ground they had secured, and to protect it with parliamentary sanctions. When the strength of each side came to be reckoned, it was found that the very section of England which supported the parliamentary party had the business interests, trading vessels, fleets, and fluid wealth under their control, and a ready source of revenue in the customs and excise duties. Nothing more clearly shows how the wealth and power had shifted within the state from King and aristocracy to the great middle class, which had been so largely formed by the changing conditions brought about by English expansion.

Civil War

With this great advantage, to which was soon added the help of Scottish armies, it was inevitable that the victory should go in the end to the King's opponents. It was not, however, until their armies had been reorganized and disciplined after the pattern of Cromwell's Ironsides, that they were able to crush at Marston Moor (1644) and at Nasby (1645) the King's forces, which at first appeared to possess superior fighting ability. Charles became a fugitive, and in 1646 surrendered to the Scots, who, later that same year, handed him over to Parliament. All parties still wished him for King, but desired to safeguard parliamentary liberties. Religious differences between Parliament and the army arose to complicate the situation and to afford the King an opportunity for plotting. Parliament wished to establish Presbyterianism as the state religion and suppress all others. The army favored the independent sects and supported toleration. In 1648 the King decided, though half-heartedly, to support Parliament's plan. A second war resulted in which Parliament, the royalists, and the King, aided by the Scots, were defeated by the army. Thereupon, Oliver Cromwell, who controlled the army, stationed Colonel Pride at the door of the Parliament building and excluded all the Presbyterian members, leaving less than a hundred Independents who as the "Rump" Parliament carried on the government for four years longer.

Execution of King and establishment of Commonwealth

Although neither Cromwell nor the nation as a whole desired the death of the King, the "Rump" Parliament, supported by the army, formed a court and tried Charles for treason, with the result that he was sentenced to death, and executed January 30, 1649. The "Rump" Parliament thereupon proclaimed England to be a Commonwealth, having neither King nor House of Lords. It continued to sit as the legislative power of the nation, and decided to elect "an annually renewable council of state" to act as executive under its control. From the beginning, Cromwell exerted the chief influence in the new government.

Effects of King's execution

The King's execution had been carried out contrary to the desire of many of the Independents, and had the effect of estranging "beyond hope of reconciliation" the Presbyterians who comprised "much the greater part of the Puritan minority," and the Cavaliers, the King's followers, who greatly outnumbered the supporters of the new government; it also offended the great mass of the "neutral" people. Thus, although Cromwell and the other leaders in the Independent party desired to establish parliamentary institutions based on the sovereignty of the people, yet minority as they were, they never were able to appeal to the nation in a free election without inviting their downfall. On the other hand, the situation was such that they felt they must stay in power to save the country from anarchy, and the Empire from falling apart. For twelve years, they held the nation together by military force.

Difficulties before Commonwealth

The most immediate danger came from the army itself where John Lilburne, who had a large popular following, incited the soldiers of a number of the regiments to rebel against their officers and demand the immediate foundation of a democratic republic. Discipline was speedily restored after three of the leaders in the mutiny had been executed. This was accomplished none too soon, for Scotland and Ireland had declared for the executed King's son, Charles, and had risen in arms. The navy was affected by mutiny. Royalist privateers under Prince Rupert harried the seas. Virginia and Barbados refused to recognize the authority of the new government. The nations of the Continent, shocked at the King's execution, were hostile. Both in Holland and in Spain, English envoys were murdered, and it was feared that some of the powers, particularly France and Holland, would assist Charles II to secure the throne.

Cromwell and Ireland

Cromwell proceeded to deal vigorously with these dangers. Ireland was subdued by the employment of the most ruthless methods. Upon the capture of Drogheda and Wexford their garrisons, comprising some thousands of men, as well as all the priests who were discovered there, were mercilessly put to the sword. Women and children were sent into servitude to the West Indies. The country was laid waste; and it is estimated that one-third of the Irish per-

ished in the long struggle. Not a few emigrated and found employment in foreign armies, particularly that of France. With the object of forming a garrison in Ireland and extirpating Catholicism, the English officers and soldiers and the capitalists who had advanced money for the expedition were rewarded with Irish lands. The result of the destruction of the Irish gentry thus brought about was quite contrary to Cromwell's hopes, in that the population turned to their persecuted priests as the only leaders left them.

Cromwell and Scotland

Meanwhile, Charles II, after testing out a Highland rising, landed in Scotland and, forming an alliance with the Scotch Presbyterians, promised to establish Presbyterianism in England and Scotland. Cromwell hastened north, and, after defeating the Scotch at Dunbar, gained possession of Edinburgh, but was unable to advance into the Highlands. Instead, by leaving the way open, he enticed Charles to make a rapid advance across the border to reach London. Contrary to that prince's expectations, the nation refused to rise in his favor and his army was met and defeated at Worcester (September 3, 1651), although Charles managed to make his escape. While Cromwell treated Ireland as a conquered land, the Scotch were received as brothers, and their religion, customs, and property respected.

Union of British Isles

As a result of Cromwell's efforts, the British Isles were united in a legislative and economic union. Both Scotland and Ireland sent members to the English Parliament, and were afforded free trade with England. The Restoration of the Stuarts some years later put an end to this union and to the commercial coöperation between the peoples of the British Isles.

Strengthening of navy

Meanwhile the navy was brought to a state of efficiency and power comparable to that of the army. Whereas up to 1642 only one or two ships a year had been constructed, between 1649 and 1651 forty-one ships were built, doubling the navy. New efficiency was given the service by the appointment of an army officer, Blake, as admiral, who displayed such ability at sea that he is considered one of the greatest of England's sea-lords, winning victories as he did against all sorts of enemies, and establishing British naval prestige on an unshakable foundation.

Preservation of empire overseas

Turning first against that part of the navy which under the leadership of Prince Rupert had become Royalist, and which, after equipping in Dutch ports, was barring English commerce, Blake drove them from the western Mediterranean, where they had taken refuge in Spanish ports. He took the islands in the English and Irish Channels which had served as royalist bases. Then he pursued Rupert across the Atlantic, where he had fled, and by a mere exhibition of force, he led Virginia and Barbados to return to British allegiance.

The Commonwealth government, having thus preserved the Empire from dissolution and safeguarded British commerce, decided to maintain a fleet in the Channel, patrol the entire coast with

Navigation Acts and Dutch War

cruisers, and dispatch squadrons to the Mediterranean and to the West Indies to protect the national commercial interests. Recognizing in the Dutch, who monopolized most of the carrying trade between England and her colonies, and infringed upon the British fisheries, the chief obstacle to the growth of British commerce, it passed the Navigation Acts of 1650 and 1651. The first of these forbade foreign ships to trade with English colonies. The second stipulated that goods from Asia, Africa, or America should be brought to England in ships owned and manned by Englishmen, while those from Europe should come to England in English ships, or those owned by the country in which they were made. The natural friction which arose resulted in a naval war with the Dutch, 1652–1654, which, inflicting injury upon both nations, ended inconclusively with a partial victory wrested by Blake from the great Dutch admiral Tromp.

Cromwell's foreign policy

Having a strong victorious army and navy England was courted by both France and Spain, at odds with one another. Cromwell, who in 1653 gained more complete control of the government as Lord Protector, was not averse to continuing a vigorous foreign policy, but was uncertain at first whether to ally with France or Spain. He aspired rather to make England the head of a Protestant league. At length, swayed doubtless by desire to develop England's colonial and commercial power, as well as by his belief that Spain was the greatest enemy of Protestantism, he determined to make use of the strong English navy to attack Spain's colonies and seize its treasure fleets. Upon the ground that English colonies in the West Indies had been harrassed by the Spanish, English ships interfered with, and seamen imprisoned by the Inquisition, Cromwell, without issuing a declaration of war, dispatched Admiral Penn to the West Indies to seize Spanish colonies there. At the same time, Blake, then in the Mediterranean, was given instructions to waylay the Spanish treasure fleet and prevent Spain from sending aid to her colonies. Although Penn failed in his attack upon Hispaniola, he succeeded in taking Jamaica, which Cromwell forthwith proceeded to settle and make the English seat of power in the West Indies. Blake, on his part, managed to seize from the Spanish fleet about a million dollars worth of silver. Meanwhile Cromwell contracted an alliance with France, and in conjunction with the French forces, seized from the Spanish the Flemish port of Dunkirk, one of the keys of the Channel and a nest of privateers.

Cromwell's foreign policy gained the respect and fear of other nations. He retarded the restoration of the Stuarts. By the hard blows he struck at Spanish commercial and colonial monopoly, he advanced English overseas interests, and led the nation toward the naval supremacy it was to enjoy. His imperialistic and military policies, however, were very costly, leading to heavy taxes which caused popular dissatisfaction and greatly harmed, at least for the time being, the country's prosperity and trade. Heavily in debt in

spite of all his financial expedients, Cromwell realized that he could cut expenditures only by disbanding the army, but this he could not do until he had discovered some way of replacing the military dictatorship he had erected with a "government by consent," without abandoning the ideals for which he stood. He never succeeded in extracting himself from the dilemma in which he was placed.

Governmental changes under Commonwealth

In 1653, Cromwell had by the employment of military force brought an end to the "Rump" Parliament, many of whose members were accused of corruption and of seeking, although they did not properly represent the people, to continue the existence of the Parliament indefinitely. In this action Cromwell had the support of the army, which had long urged the dismissal of this Parliament, and it seems to have met with the approval of the country. Since a general election to choose a new Parliament was not deemed feasible under the existing conditions, the Congregational ministers of each shire were requested to draw up lists of suitable persons from which the Provisional Council over which Cromwell presided[1] chose a Parliament whose function was to devise a new scheme of representation. This body came to be called the Barebones Parliament from the name of one of its members, "Praise-God Barebones." Although it suggested some useful reforms, it did nothing toward solving the problem for which it had been appointed. Realizing their impotence, the more moderate members resigned and the rest were expelled by the troops.

Instrument of Government

Thereupon, the army officers submitted a plan called the Instrument of Government. This gave great power to a single person, the Protector, who was to be assisted and somewhat limited by a council and by Parliament. The Protector was to hold his office for life. He was to be selected by the Council of State whose members were named by the Instrument. The right to vote for Parliament, which was to consist of one House, was extended to more of the people than formerly, but royalists and Catholics were disqualified. Parliament was to legislate and have control over extraordinary taxation. The Protector, on his part, was to have a suspensive veto, and a fixed income for his ordinary expenses, as well as for the maintenance of the army and navy. The Instrument is noteworthy as being the first written modern national constitution.

Protectorate

Cromwell, as might have been expected, was chosen as the first Lord Protector and took up his residence in the royal palace at Whitehall, and lived in considerable state, surrounded by an elaborate household. The first Parliament chosen under the Instrument of Government was largely composed of Presbyterians and Moderate Independents. Refusing to accept a constitution which had been drawn up by the army, it began to concern itself with drawing up another. It also attempted to revive religious persecution and take from the Protector control of the armed forces. Cromwell, who

[1] The army had replaced the regular council of state by a provisional council.

wished to tolerate all Puritan sects, and was kind even to the Quakers and the Jews, would not permit Parliament to establish religious intolerance;[1] neither would he allow them to take away his control of the army, because he believed, since factions were still so divided, that war and anarchy would be the result. Accordingly, he dissolved Parliament. He was prevented from calling a new one by royalist conspiracies. Instead he divided England into military districts, placing a major-general over each. This régime resulted in the arrest of many royalist gentlemen, and the putting in force of puritanic regulations forbidding such popular amusements as horse-races, cock-fights, and bear-baitings. Special taxes to meet the expense of these measures, and of the Spanish war, were levied against the estates of former royalists.

Reaction toward Conservatism

Such government by martial law outraged the country, and was contrary to Cromwell's own ideals. He accordingly endeavored, by coming to terms as far as possible with the constitutionalists, to free himself from having to rely on the army. It had come to be realized more and more that the nation was not ready to accept a republic, and only the restoration of a monarchy would secure stability and permanent parliamentary rule according to law. Urged by the new Parliament, which he at last ventured to call, to take the crown for himself, Cromwell would probably have agreed if the army had not so vigorously opposed it. However, a move in the direction of the restoration of the old constitution by the establishment of a House of Lords was agreed upon. Cromwell likewise undertook to remove the "fanatical and extreme element" from the army, thus preparing the way for General Monk, who a little more than a year after Cromwell's death in 1658, was instrumental in peacefully restoring the monarchy in the person of Charles II.

The Restoration

Unpopularity of Puritan régime

The Puritan régime had proved unpopular because of its military and unrepresentative character, its harsh repression of popular amusements, the heavy taxes which its warlike policies entailed, and its confiscation of royalist estates; finally it had been made impossible by the anarchy and weak rule which had followed Cromwell's death. Monarchy was so interwoven with the national customs and institutions that its restoration was required before ordered liberty and peaceful development might be assured.

Political arrangements following Restoration

The power to which Charles II was restored differed materially from that which the Stuarts first enjoyed. All the limitations which the Long Parliament had imposed on Charles I's authority were retained. The King resumed the position held by English royalty after the first session of the Long Parliament. He still retained direction of his ministers, the military and naval forces, foreign policy,

[1] Catholicism and the use of the Anglican service were not allowed, although the Recusancy Laws were repealed and the Anglican prayer book was secretly tolerated.

and the colonies. Until Parliament came also to exercise control over these, the King's government would continue "suspected, impoverished, and hampered" by Parliament, and the constitutional struggle would continue. For these reasons, as well as because of the fact that the reduction of public expenditures had been one of the things most desired by those opposed to the Puritan régime, the allowance given the new King by his first Parliament, although its members were noted for their loyalty, was scanty. Cromwell's old army was likewise paid off and disbanded. Besides the King's lifeguards, only a few regiments were maintained, and these were, for the most part, kept in the country's foreign possessions. Far different was the case of the navy. Since it was not feared that it would be used to restore royal absolutism, and since its value to protect colonies and trade was realized, it was not allowed to decline from the standard to which Cromwell had raised it.

Religious arrangements

So far as religion was concerned, the Anglican squires who obtained the majority in the Cavalier Parliament, remembering their sufferings and desiring to guard against the revival of the Puritan party, passed stringent legislation called the Clarendon Code for the maintenance of the Anglican system which had been restored along with the monarchy. The Act of Uniformity, 1662, restored the prayer book, and required its universal use. It drove out of the Church two thousand of the clergy who refused to accept all that it contained. The Conventicle Act of 1664 made imprisonment or transportation to the colonies the penalty for taking part in dissenting worship. This was further enforced by the Five Mile Act, which prohibited any clergyman or schoolmaster from coming within five miles of a city or corporate town, unless he took an oath that he would not at any time endeavor to make any alteration in government either in Church or State. Since the municipalities were centers of Puritanism, this still further prevented those of that conviction from enjoying preaching or teaching of their beliefs. By the Corporation Act, which was passed in 1661, the Dissenters were made ineligible for municipal offices, since only communicants in the Anglican Church might hold them. Thus the very Presbyterians who had in large measure been responsible for the Restoration were disfranchised.

Charles II's attitude toward religion

With these laws the King and many at his court were not in sympathy. Not a few were pervaded with a spirit of rationalism or scepticism, and were averse to persecution. Charles himself was Catholic at heart, and desired to tolerate and promote that religion among his subjects, and hoped to secure toleration for them by obtaining it for the Puritans as well. On a number of occasions, by issuing a royal Declaration of Indulgence, he suspended the parliamentary religious statutes. This proved of little effect, and caused friction with Parliament, which regarded such declarations as an infringement of its powers. Gradually, as a result of the advance of scientific thought there grew up within the Anglican Church itself, a Low Church

party which advocated toleration and befriended the Dissenters, who were likewise aided by the Whig Party, when it came into existence. However much Puritanism was suppressed, it left its impress upon the country, as is evidenced by the practices of family prayer, Bible reading, and strict observance of Sunday.

English policy in regard to Dutch

Commercial rivalry continued after the Restoration to cause friction with the Dutch, and resulted in further maritime encounters. The chief cause for national fear, however, was the rising power and ambition of Louis XIV, together with the rapid development under Colbert of French commerce. As a result the Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden was negotiated (1668) to halt the advance of the French forces along the Rhine and in the Spanish Netherlands, thus safeguarding both the balance of power and Protestantism.

Treaty of Dover, 1670

On the other hand, Charles II, who had lived much of his life in France, and had French blood in his veins, admired the absolute government which Louis had erected, and, since the grants made by his Parliament were scanty, the prospect of a pension which the French King offered was tempting. Accordingly, in 1670, Charles consented by the Treaty of Dover, in return for a French subsidy, to assist Louis to conquer and divide the Netherlands, and, by a secret agreement arranged separately, Louis agreed to furnish Charles with money, and if required, with troops to enable him to declare himself a Catholic, and eventually raise the Catholics to power in England. To aid in holding Charles to his engagements to France, Louis sent the English King a beautiful French mistress, Louise de Keroualle, who was politically loyal to Louis and kept him duly informed of English state secrets.

Defeat of Charles' policies

Unfortunately for Charles, England's expenses in the war were greater than he had expected, and lack of money forced him to depend on Parliament. That body, which was led by the Declaration of Indulgence which he issued in 1672 to suspect the King's intentions regarding the Catholics, forced him to recall that document, and, as a price for the subsidy which they granted, secured his consent to the Test Act (1673) which barred Catholics from government offices. This compelled the King to dismiss from office a number of his ministers. Charles, moreover, warned by the opposition which he had aroused, tactfully abandoned his Catholic schemes, and sought an alliance with the Anglican gentry. The following year, he gave up his French alliance in which he had been at first sustained by national desire to crush Dutch trade rivalry. Parliament had come to realize that destruction of Dutch independence and French possession of Amsterdam would, if realized, prove a danger both to English maritime supremacy and to Protestantism. Charles, as an evidence of his good will, now chose as his chief minister the Earl of Danby, who was leader of the majority in the Cavalier Parliament then in session. Danby, as long as he was in power, kept the country

friendly with Holland. To draw relations closer between the two countries, he arranged a marriage between Mary, the daughter of Charles' brother James, and William of Orange.

Formation of Country Party

Since the Cavalier Parliament had been in existence for over fifteen years, it was expected that new elections would soon have to be called. It was realized that a general election would probably result in the choice of members who were more favorable to the Dissenters and more opposed to the Court and the Catholics. Accordingly, both Charles and Danby were anxious to prolong the Parliament then in session as long as possible. Danby also attempted to make use of Parliament's continued sitting to unite the Court, the Cavaliers, and the Church into a solid political group, and so to crush his political and religious opponents that a new Parliament would result only in maintaining his majority. Accordingly, he rigidly applied the Clarendon Code. In the fight which ensued during the parliamentary session of 1675, against Danby and the Court policy, the Country Party, which had for some years been in formation, was definitely organized among the Lords by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and by William Sacheverell among the Commons. Standing for parliamentary supremacy and toleration, it later became known as the Whig party.

Popish Plot

The Whigs were, temporarily at least, given an opportunity to profit over their rivals by making use of an incident called the "Popish Plot." When Charles had abandoned his Catholic designs, the English Catholics centered their hopes in his brother James, who was a Catholic, and who became leader of the Roman faction, for Charles was now regarded as an obstacle to the realization of Catholic hopes. At this juncture an adventurer by the name of Titus Oates disseminated the story that there was a plot to set fire to London, raise a rebellion in Ireland, and attack England with a French and Irish army, at the same time massacring the Protestants, and murdering the King. In the interests of the design, it was said, James' private secretary had corresponded with Louis XIV's confessor, and a Jesuit meeting had been held in London. Although upon investigation little evidence could be discovered to support Oates' assertions, it was found true that James' secretary, Coleman, had been in correspondence with the French King's confessor. This, together with the mysterious death of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, a justice of the peace engaged in the investigation, and what was known or suspected of Charles' earlier dealings with France, aroused popular fear to a frenzy, which Shaftesbury was not slow to foment and turn to his political advantage. The resulting excitement led to the careful guarding of the city against the danger of fire or an uprising, to the passing by Parliament of further measures to exclude the Catholics from office, to arrests and unfair trials in which many innocent victims suffered, and which also turned national sympathies to the Whigs and resulted in large parliamentary majorities in their favor.

Exclusion Bills

A further consequence was an attempt on the part of Shaftesbury's party to secure a bill from Parliament excluding James from succession to the throne. Even the Tories, the political group which Danby had organised, although they opposed a break in the succession, desired to limit James' powers. To prevent an exclusion bill which had passed the Commons from going to the Lords, Charles in 1679 prorogued Parliament. He shrewdly hoped, by repeated adjournments either to check the opposition by wearing it out, or to drive it to violent action which would discredit it. In this he proved highly successful, for, after two exclusion bills which passed the Commons were blocked by repeated prorogations and by opposition in the House of Lords, the Whigs decided to come to the Parliament which the King, in 1681, convened at Oxford, accompanied by armed bands, and force through the Exclusion Bill, limit the King's right to prorogue or dissolve Parliament, and form a Protestant association to govern the country under Charles' illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth.

Charles II's victory over Parliament

The King, warned in time of his danger, made such careful arrangements for defense that the contentions of his political opponents came to naught, and he was able to dissolve Parliament after a session of only eight days. Already public opinion was disgusted by the intimidation of moderate men by London mobs, and by the Whigs' refusal to compromise on the Exclusion Bill. Many of the more moderate citizens, fearing that a fresh civil war was imminent, had swung to the Tory side, and the attempt to impose the Exclusion Bill by armed force greatly accelerated this tendency. The King and his supporters swept all opposition before them. Persecution of Protestant dissenters was renewed, and upon discovery of a plot to assassinate the King and his brother, the Whig leaders were arrested or driven from the country. By remodeling the charters of nearly seventy boroughs, the King gained control of their councils and excluded Whigs from them, thus assuring that no Whigs should be chosen to Parliament from these places.[1] During the last four years of his reign Charles did not even trouble to summon Parliament.

First English parties

It is important to notice that this struggle over the Exclusion Bill had been the occasion for the development of the first English parties. When Charles kept proroguing Parliament to stop its passage, he was petitioned from all over the country to summon it again. His supporters replied with counter-petitions expressing "their abhorrence of such petitions." From this, the two great parties, the one organized by Shaftesbury, sometimes designated as the Country Party, and the other by Danby, came to be known as the "Petitioners" and "Abhorrers." These names soon were changed to those of "Whigs"

[1] The King through the courts sued out writs of quo warranto obliging the boroughs to show cause why their charters should not be forfeited. Then they were allowed to retain them on condition that the election of their chief officials be submitted to royal approval.

and "Tories." The Whigs favored parliamentary supremacy and the pretensions of the bourgeoisie as opposed to the royal prerogative, were interested in mercantile affairs, believed in religious toleration, and desired to support the Dissenters. The Tories on the contrary turned to the Crown and believed public welfare to be best promoted by the exaltation of the royal prerogative. Caring little for commerce, they desired to uphold the rights and privileges of the landed class, and insisted on maintaining the rights of the Anglican Church.

Expansion of British Empire under later Stuarts

During Charles II's reign, important steps were taken toward the expansion of the British colonial empire and trade interests. The navy which Cromwell had established was maintained; the Navigation Act of 1660 was passed. The new East India Company's charter was granted; the foundation of a colonial department was organized in a special committee for trade and the plantations formed from the Privy Council; Tangier in North Africa and Bombay in India were acquired as a result of Charles' marriage with a Portuguese princess. The King and the statesmen who surrounded him lent their hearty approval and support to new projects of colonization.

As has been seen, European statesmen of the time were filled with envy and admiration by the success of the Dutch in acquiring great wealth through trade. It was hoped that new colonial ventures, while encouraging English industries and commerce, would bring rich returns to the government's coffers from the customs, while the King and those he wished to favor might recoup their fortunes, which many of them had lost during the Civil War. English settlements had been established, during the reigns of the first Stuarts, in New England, Maryland, and Virginia on the North American Continent, as well as in Barbados and the Bermudas, and, during the Cromwellian régime, in Jamaica. These colonies were widely scattered and separated from one another. The gaps between them needed to be filled in, and the English hold in North America more firmly consolidated. Much was done towards closing the gap existing between Virginia and the English West Indian colonies by the settlement of the region now known as the Carolinas, which was named in Charles' honor, and granted by him to a group of proprietors who had distinguished themselves during the Restoration. These comprised Clarendon, Shaftesbury, Berkeley, Carteret, and General Monk, who was known as Albemarle. To Monk were likewise granted the Bahama Islands. The expectation was to make the new colonies rich centers for the production of almonds, silk, and wine.

Even more important for the future of the English colonies was the seizure from the Dutch, in 1664, of New Amsterdam. Out of the conquests made from the Dutch were formed the colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. This not merely helped fill the gap between the New England and the southern colonies, which was completely stopped at a somewhat later date by the occupation of Pennsylvania by William Penn, but it gave the English the best

harbor on the Atlantic coast, and, next to the St. Lawrence River route, the best route into the interior fur-trading country. Charles gave the proprietorship of these rich colonies to his brother James, who was also made governor of the Royal African Company, organized during his reign to carry on slave trade between Africa and America. James performed excellent service as Lord High Admiral in reorganizing the English fleet. Nor did the King forget his cousin, Prince Rupert, who had staunchly fought for the Stuart cause both on land and on sea. The Hudson's Bay Company was formed to exploit the fur region lying around Hudson Bay, and Rupert was made its first governor, and was largely responsible for its success. From all this, it is clear that the royal family and statesmen of the Restoration did much as founders and organizers of the British Empire.

It must likewise be noted that Charles carried out in the colonies organized during his reign the principles of toleration which he was prevented by Parliament from putting in force in England. When James succeeded him as King, he attempted, though unsuccessfully, to systematize the administration of the North American colonies by doing away with the local colonial governments and uniting all the American colonies in one large dominion.

James II's Catholic policies

Although James had early shown considerable executive ability, as soon as he became King (1685), his natural obstinacy, tactlessness, and lack of judgment became apparent. He openly professed Catholicism, and spent the three years of his reign in endeavoring to further its interest. Failing to persuade Parliament to repeal the Test Act, he managed, after removing the Solicitor General and four judges, to obtain a court decision in favor of his policy. At once he appointed a number of Catholics to his Privy Council, issued dispensations allowing Catholics to hold English Church benefices, and filled the See of Oxford with a Catholic sympathizer, while he kept the Archbishopric of York vacant, with the obvious intention of placing a professed Romanist there. The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission was established to replace that of High Commission abolished by the Long Parliament. Catholics in several instances were given high posts at Oxford and Cambridge, and a Roman propagandist press set up at one of those institutions. Roman Catholic chapels were opened throughout the land. A Jesuit church and school were established in London, and monks openly walked the streets to the great anger of the people.

James' methods

In an attempt to gain supporters for his policy, James privately interviewed Dissenters, promising them toleration in return for their backing. In 1687 he issued, upon his own authority, a Declaration of Indulgence which not only granted all his subjects freedom of worship, and suspended the religious penal laws, but, going further than Charles II had ventured, removed all tests which prevented Catholics from holding military and civil positions. Still desiring to secure, if

possible, parliamentary sanction for his actions, he decided to pack a new Parliament with his adherents. This appeared feasible, since, by the suspension of the tests, Catholic peers might return to the Lords, and enough new ones could be created to give the King a majority in the Upper House. To secure control of the Commons the municipal councils, once changed by Charles II, were again remodelled. Many lord-lieutenants who refused to influence the elections in the counties in the King's favor were discharged. All government officials, if they did not render their support, were in danger of dismissal. Where special opposition was encountered, troops were quartered. Such strenuous efforts, though the King appeared too blind to realize it, were sure to arouse the country's resistance.

Arrest of seven bishops

However, before a new Parliament met, matters had been brought to a climax. James on April 27, 1688, issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, and this time ordered the bishops to distribute copies throughout their dioceses, and the clergy to read them from their pulpits for two successive Sundays. Upon this, Archbishop Sancroft and six bishops petitioned the King, protesting against his orders, which they refused to obey. James had them arrested and brought to trial for libel, but they were speedily acquitted, amid popular excitement which swept the whole country, by a jury which dared to stand out against the royal will.

Birth of James' son

A further incident which brought resistance to a head, was the birth about a month later of a son to the King. Since James was nearly sixty, it had been hoped that ere long he would be succeeded on the throne by his daughter Mary, a good Episcopalian and the wife of the Calvinist Stadtholder, William of Orange. This hope of a peaceful change in government was now dispelled, and it was feared that a Catholic dynasty might be permanently imposed on the country much against its wishes. There was, furthermore, constant anxiety concerning the danger that the King would succeed in his designs of controlling Parliament, and might even establish Catholicism as the national faith. He had, moreover, ever since the beginning of his reign, a considerable standing army which had been raised to suppress Monmouth's rebellion. It was also suspected that he contemplated using Irish and Scotch troops, and that he was in alliance with Louis XIV. The commercial classes, on their part, realized that as long as James remained in power he would be apt to seek Catholic and dynastic alliances rather than those which were in the country's economic interests.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688

Revolution of 1688

It was only natural, therefore, that seven of the great leaders from both parties sent a message to William of Orange urging him to take advantage of a situation in which nineteen-twentieths of the people would welcome him as a deliverer; James' army, filled with

dissension, could be counted upon to do little to oppose him. William on his part desired to overthrow James, who was allied with the French King, in order to divert English resources toward the defeat of Louis XIV, the great enemy whom he had made it his life work to crush. He landed with a small Dutch force at Torbay, November 5, 1688; the whole country began rising in his favor, and the officers of the royal army deserted their posts. James, after a vain effort to recover his position by making last minute concessions, fled to France, which William was only too glad for him to do. Thus a revolution which proved of momentous import was wrought without bloodshed.

Bill of Rights, 1689

A convention parliament having been summoned, it decided to offer the crown to William and Mary upon the acceptance of certain conditions stipulated in a declaration of rights which the next year, 1689, was enacted into the Bill of Rights. The power which the preceding Kings had assumed of suspending and dispensing with the laws, levying taxes and maintaining a standing army without the consent of Parliament were declared illegal, as were also the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission and other courts of a similar nature. Subjects might no longer be prosecuted for petitioning the King, and parliamentary elections were to be free. Members of Parliament might not be tried in any court outside that body for their remarks in Parliament. Excessive bail or fines and cruel and unjust punishments were no longer to be permitted. It was further provided by the Bill of Rights that Catholic sovereigns should be disqualified from reigning in England, and in case the monarch married a Catholic, his subjects were thereby absolved from their allegiance.

Political consequences of Revolution of 1688

The settlement which followed the Revolution of 1688, was for a number of reasons of the utmost importance. It brought to an end the long struggle between the Kings and Parliament, which had distracted the nation's attention and prevented it from engaging in a vigorous foreign policy. As Macaulay remarks, "it finally decided the great question whether the popular element . . . should be destroyed by the monarchical element, or should be suffered to develop itself freely, and to become dominant." Whatever disputes were outstanding between the King and the people were decided against the monarch before the new sovereigns were permitted to ascend the throne. Thenceforth, the administration had to be conducted according to the wishes of the national representatives, and no reform upon which they were agreed might obstinately be resisted by the sovereign. By setting aside the old line of Kings and accepting another after it had consented to the conditions imposed, Parliament not only became the dominant power in the State, but it also brought an end to divine-right monarchy in England, thus striking a blow at a theory which had common acceptance elsewhere in Europe.

Mutiny Act

Parliament not only had won a victory in the successful assertion of its power, but also through the control which it exerted over

finances it was able from this time onward constantly to maintain its position. The King no longer had a large revenue at his complete disposal, but was limited by a fixed parliamentary grant allotted for specified purposes to which it must be devoted. The wars in which the nation engaged required the continuous session of Parliament to provide appropriations, while a Mutiny Act (1689) which was enacted for only a year at a time required annual sessions in order to sanction the use of courts martial in the army, which were necessary to maintain discipline. No English King from 1689 to the present time has ventured to govern without Parliament, or contrary to its wishes, although bribery and corruption have been employed in the attempt to make Parliament submit to the royal will. That Parliament should properly represent the popular wishes, the Triennial Act of 1694 provided that a general election be held every three years.

Religious consequences of Revolution of 1688

By the Toleration Act of 1689, Protestant non-conformists were given the right of public worship. Catholics, however, obtained no legal toleration, and from time to time new laws were passed against them. However, thanks to William's moderateness and to the more tolerant spirit of the times, private Catholic worship was scarcely ever interfered with, and even some public chapels continued to hold Catholic services. So far as holding public office was concerned, Dissenters and Catholics alike were debarred from local and national offices, and both were excluded from the universities.

Economic consequences of Revolution of 1688

Under the Tudors and Stuarts the Crown had been the leading authority in the state in economic affairs. This was particularly true as concerned commercial and colonial concessions and their regulation. By the Revolution of 1688, Parliament instead became the directing power in these matters. This change, although in the long run it was probably for the best, resulted, since the Commons were not trained for their task, in considerable mismanagement. Special interests through persuasion and bribery were able to secure concessions. The East India Company bribed both members of Parliament and their constituents. Mercantile interests which emphasized "the benefits of trade to industry and the producer" rather than a "cheaper and better supply to the consumer" dominated Parliament. As a result selfish and narrow policies "so far as general welfare was concerned" were adopted.

Colonies under new economic control

The last years of Stuart rule had been characterized in the colonies by disregard of colonial rights and interests and by favoritism and corruption under governors of a lower stamp than those which had been appointed during the early years of the Restoration. Although the control which Parliament came to exercise over colonial affairs after the Revolution of 1688 resulted in relieving the colonial assemblies of the "caprices of the sovereign and his favorites," it likewise resulted in a more complete application of the mercantile system in the interest of English manufacturers and merchants, and

in the appointment of the type of governor who would take greater pains to enforce English economic regulations. Even narrower was Parliament's policy towards Ireland.

Revolution of 1688 and foreign relations

The Revolution of 1688 saved England from reverting to policies which would have been contrary to its economic interests. It likewise established, for a considerable period of time, peaceful relations with the Netherlands. It drew the country into a struggle with France, whose commercial and colonial growth under Louis XIV was beginning to threaten English maritime development, and whose support of Stuart absolutism and Catholicism menaced British institutions.

Economic Developments

At home the way was prepared for greater commercial expansion by union with Scotland (1707), the establishment of uniform currency through a complete recoinage (1696) of the country's money, the formation after the Dutch example of a national bank, and the reduction, during Walpole's ministry, of the tariffs.

National bank

William III was unable to meet his war expenditures, as had previously been done, by borrowing from the goldsmiths or from other moneyed men on the security of the returns from future taxes. This was impossible since the amounts needed exceeded what could be guaranteed by tax returns. At the same time much surplus capital existed in the country with too few chances for investing it both safely and profitably. Accordingly, the scheme was devised (1694) for the formation of a banking company to make a permanent loan to the government of $5,832,000 in return for a guaranteed yearly interest of $486,000. Upon the basis of this annual return, it issued bank notes, which, since they were accepted by the government in payment of taxes, readily circulated at their face value.

Political effects of founding of bank

Not only was the founding of the bank of the utmost importance to the government economically; it also had important political consequences. Since the moneyed interests had loaned their money to the government, they were definitely interested in maintaining the settlement of the Revolution. If James II or his heirs returned, there was danger that they might repudiate the large debt incurred by the government which had supplanted them. This was a vital factor in maintaining on the English throne the German sovereigns of the Hanoverian line who otherwise did not enjoy great popularity.

National debt and sinking fund

The foundation of the bank was also the beginning of the national debt upon which annual interest is paid from the tax returns. Although, somewhat like the French Regency, the English government, in an effort to retire some of its indebtedness, experimented, contrary to the advice of the Bank of England and the leading financiers, with a speculative concern called the South Sea Company with disastrous results to investors, due to Walpole's wise measures the calamity was alleviated and public credit was soon restored. It was

also due to him that the sounder method of establishing a sinking fund for gradually retiring the debt, or at least reducing the amount to reasonable proportions, was adopted. The fact that this able financier for over twenty years remained in charge of the financial administration during the critical period of England's economic expansion had much to do with establishing that nation's financial stability.

Importance of sound financial institutions

The regular and sound methods of finance which were thus established in England, as well as the parliamentary control of expenditures which existed there, proved a vital factor in the stability of the English government, in the successful outcome of its foreign policies, and in the continuous economic development which characterized the nation. The lack of these very things in most European governments of the time (particularly in France and Spain, both of which had aspired to dominate the European world, resulting in their case in poor credit and financial crises) led not only to their ultimate failure to attain the positions to which they aspired, but to the decline of their governments and the severe domestic suffering with which their wars afflicted them. From such calamities England largely, if not entirely, escaped.[1]

Tariff reduction

Besides his great success in the management of finances, Walpole, who served as Prime Minister from 1721 to 1742, succeeded in giving England a long period of peace during which industry and commerce made rapid strides. By removing the export duties from one hundred and six articles produced in England, as well as the import duties on raw materials, drugs, and naval stores, Walpole greatly stimulated business. He desired to go further, and to replace the duties levied on foreign imports which were re-exported by an excise tax on those actually consumed in the country, thus making London the great center of the European carrying trade, as the Dutch by following these same methods had helped to make Amsterdam. While succeeding in his plans so far as tea, coffee, and chocolate were concerned, his excise tax met with such popular opposition that he was unable further to extend his plan.

Development of Cabinet Government

Question of parliamentary control of ministry

It was also during Walpole's ministry that the Cabinet System, with its Prime Minister and ministry responsible to Parliament, was fully developed, thus completing the English constitution. From the time of Magna Carta, attempts had been made to control the choice and action of the King's ministers. Although for a considerable time during the fifteenth century Parliament had succeeded in appointing and supervising the King's Council of ministers, the only control it had usually been able to exercise was the impeachment or attainder of the ministers.

[1] Captain Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, 227, states that the reason why France was exhausted by the War of Spanish Succession, while England prospered, was the difference of wealth and credit at the command of the two governments.

King's Cabinet Council

During Charles II's reign and that of his brother James II, the custom arose for the King to seek the assistance and advice of a small committee, or Cabinet, usually chosen from the larger Privy Council. Meanwhile, as has been seen, parties were being formed. William, when he came to the throne, at first sought to secure a political balance by choosing members of both parties for his Cabinet; then he came to see that he could secure greater support for his policies if he selected his Cabinet entirely from the Whigs, who were in the majority in the House of Commons. The King, however, continued as the government's real head, frequently acting independently, or seeking the opinion of outside advisers, and even at times taking action contrary to the opinions of his own Cabinet ministers.

Development of cabinet under first Hanoverian Kings

It remained for Walpole, the leader of the Whig majority in the House of Commons under the first two Hanoverian Kings, George I and George II, to take the sovereign's place at the head of the Cabinet, and to receive the designation of Prime Minister. It also happened that he was more responsible to and depended more on the majority party in the Commons than on the King, and the Cabinet acted as a unit under him. Since the King no longer directed the government, he was no longer considered responsible for it, and the Prime Minister from now on composed the royal message delivered at the opening of Parliament.

This development was due to a number of causes. In the first place, George I, a German prince, ignorant of the language, customs, and domestic affairs of his new kingdom, was glad to entrust them to Walpole's capable hands, and absented himself from the Cabinet meetings. His son, George II, did likewise. Moreover, under Walpole the House of Commons became the leading house and party discipline was established.

George III's attempt to destroy Cabinet government

Although, in the long run, the Cabinet system of government became a striking success and during the nineteenth century was adopted by other European nations, in the eighteenth century, because of the corrupt party politics by which it was at first maintained, because of the long monopoly of power which it gave to the Whig party to the exclusion of their rivals, and because of the unrepresentative character of the then existing Parliament, it failed to enjoy the popularity which it later came to possess. Consequently, when an assertive type of King ascended the throne in 1760 in the person of George III, there appeared an opportunity for him to recover the authority which the first Hanoverian Kings had lost. In this he was also encouraged by the fact that the Cabinet had not been established by legislative action, and since it was apparently an expedient to bridge over the difficulty arising from the accession of foreign sovereigns to the throne, it was little understood by the people, and did not possess so powerful an appeal to their loyalty as did the monarchy. Already there had been talk of going back to the old system of nonpartisan control, and Pitt, disgusted with the cor-

rupt politics which prevailed, had attempted, though with little success, to form a cabinet composed of the best men selected from both parties, which should promote national rather than partisan interests.

George III's political methods

Accordingly, George III set about to break up the Cabinet system and the party organization upon which it was based, and to recover the powers which his grandfather and father had so weakly abandoned. When Walpole fell from office, the strong Whig organization became weakened by party splits. George, by the employment of bribes, pensions, royal patronage, control of borough corporations, and creations of new peers, sought to build up in Parliament a group of supporters called the "King's Friends," strong enough to maintain the ministers selected by the King. He also took a personal interest in the measures discussed in Parliament, and by the use of "threats, titles, offices, sinecures and lucrative contracts" influenced the voting according to the royal wish. For a while, he was successful in his designs, but instead of bringing about any reform in the representative system and the public service, his efforts resulted in increasing parliamentary and official corruption, in enlarging the national debt, and in interfering with individual liberty, and finally were instrumental in the loss of the American colonies, which catastrophe was in turn decisive in bringing about the failure of the King's attempts at personal rule.

English government an oligarchy

Although England surpassed most other nations of the time in the representative character of its political institutions, in reality, like the Netherlands, its government was not a democracy, but an oligarchy. Local government was not popularly controlled, but all important offices in the counties were filled by the gentry, and those in the boroughs were largely under their influence. In the House of Lords the large landed-proprietors almost exclusively predominated, while the House of Commons was nearly as much controlled by them. So completely were the elections to Parliament influenced by the great proprietors and the King that they were usually a farce. So much was this the case that in 1761 contests occurred in only two English counties, and in sixteen boroughs; in some places no contests occurred during a whole century. Seats were flagrantly bought and sold for prices ranging from twelve thousand dollars to about thirty thousand dollars for a single election. Many times they came to be regarded as private property, and wealthy officials returning from India purchased them for the social position they conferred and the opportunity they afforded for gaining favors or titles from the Crown. Vast sums were expended in bribery. The elections of 1768 held in Westmoreland and Cumberland are said to have cost each side about two hundred thousand dollars.

Representation and suffrage

In the boroughs, the requirements for suffrage were such that only a few privileged persons might vote; and in the counties the forty shilling freehold requirement had the same effect. It is estimated that under these conditions only one in fifty could vote. Since the

seventeenth century no reapportionment of seats had been made, and boroughs which had few, if any, inhabitants, sent members to Parliament, while populous cities were deprived of proper representation. From this it is evident that although England led other nations in the laying of the basis of parliamentary and personal liberties, it remained for the great reforms of the nineteenth century to give it real democracy.

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CHAPTER XVIII

CONFLICT OVERSEAS

Rivalry Between the English and the Dutch

Commercial competition as cause for war

In the preceding chapters it has been seen how the ambitions of rival dynasties so led to warfare that it came to be accepted as a matter of course that an aspiring monarch should make his throne invincible and win glory for himself by defeating rival powers and expanding his own frontiers. It has likewise been observed that religious differences combined with political ambitions to furnish a fruitful cause for war. Commerce, like religion, although both would seem to demand peace for their development, has filled the world with strife. This has been due to the desire of each nation to seize as much as possible of the wealth of undeveloped lands, in order, when industries have grown, to provide markets and sources of new materials.

Characterization of overseas rivalries

In this struggle the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries each has its distinct character. In the sixteenth century, the Spanish and the Portuguese after a series of far-reaching discoveries claimed and sought to defend a monopoly of the New World of America, the African coasts, southern Asia, and the East Indies, as well as the seas which led to these territories. Attacked by buccaneers and crippled toward the close of the century by the defeat of the Armada, the power of these nations was weakened and the way was prepared for the entrance during the seventeenth century of the English, Dutch, and French into the field of overseas commerce and colonization. The seventeenth century is characterized by the decline of Portugal, and by the further weakening of Spain's colonial monopoly. Its possessions still remained in its grasp, but immobile, in a condition of arrested development. The century likewise is distinguished by the great commercial maritime struggle between Holland and England, ending in the decline of the former. The eighteenth century witnessed a duel between France and England for overseas dominion and trade, ending in British domination of the seas and destruction of French colonial power, and ending also, partly as a sequel to that struggle, in the loss, through a revolt assisted by France, of England's most important American colonies. Indirectly associated with this struggle was that intermittently waged by the English to secure for themselves the trade of the Spanish colonies.

Dutch and English in East Indies

During the seventeenth century the Dutch had more capital at their disposal than any other nation, and their trading interests overseas were placed in the hands of two trading companies whose shareholders were drawn from every province and every class and

which were energetically supported by the government. As a result, they long excelled their English and French rivals in the struggle for commercial greatness. Although arriving about the same time as the English in the East Indies, by the employment of forceful methods they had practically succeeded in monopolizing the Spice Islands, leaving to the English the occupation of trading posts on the continent of India and at Ormuz on the Persian Gulf.

Dutch and English on Atlantic Ocean

Although the Dutch and the English were commercial rivals on the Atlantic Ocean, the need of resisting the pretensions of Spanish monopoly had kept the two nations from engaging in open strife there until the middle of the seventeenth century. Here, as elsewhere, the Dutch interests were solely commercial. They had little or no concern for colonization; they were far more at home at sea than in the American forests. After occupying the most strategic position for trade on the Atlantic coast south of the St. Lawrence, they showed little ambition to acquire further territory.

Dutch in West Indies

Avoiding conflict in the West Indies with the French and the English, who were at first largely engaged in buccaneering and later in sugar producing, they turned their attention to smuggling, and later to carrying the sugar and other commodities raised in the islands belonging to other nations, and in disposing of European goods to the planters. They developed in Guiana a sugar colony of their own, and seized from the Portuguese and attempted to exploit northern Brazil. It was, however, their attempt to monopolize the trade of the Atlantic and gain complete control of the slave trade which brought them into serious conflict with their English maritime rivals.

Dutch absorption of Atlantic trade

Working from New Amsterdam, centrally located on the North Atlantic coast, and from the few islands such as St. Martin, St. Eustatius, and Curaçao which they had selected in the West Indies with an eye to their suitability as trade bases rather than as plantation colonies, the Dutch sought to monopolize the trade of the Atlantic area. They succeeded in securing nearly the whole of the intercolonial trade of America and of the English sugar trade, besides becoming the planters' source of supply for European goods.

Navigation Acts and Dutch Wars

Naturally it appeared to Englishmen that their own ship-owners should profit from the trade with colonies which England had gone to the trouble of founding. Together with the harsh treatment which they had received from the Dutch in the East, this determined the government to pass the Navigation Acts of 1650 and 1651, excluding the Dutch from the English carrying trade. The resulting blow to Dutch shipping was so great that it was threatened with ruin and such resentment was aroused in the Netherlands that it was a leading cause of the First Dutch War (1652–1654), the great naval engagements of which resulted in severely shaking but not destroying Dutch sea-power. It is said that this war inflicted more injury on Dutch commerce than did the eighty years of warfare with Spain,

reducing their trade as it did to about one-third of its former volume, thus bringing ruin to many merchants. Like the earlier English victory against the Armada, the successful outcome of their contest with the Dutch enabled the English to maintain and expand their colonies in America, which, although the Dutch did not aspire to territorial expansion in the New World, might have been won by the French if England's sea-power had been crushed.

Source of friction in continued Dutch prosperity

In spite of the setback which they had received, the Dutch continued vigorously to expand their trade with the result that their wealth rapidly increased. This aroused the envy and combativeness of their rivals, who in 1660 and 1663 passed two more Navigation Acts, strengthening those which had preceded and adding the requirements that the chief colonial products must be sent to England and that no manufactured goods should be purchased directly by the colonists from other European countries.

Friction over slave trade

Meanwhile, a new source of discord had arisen in the African slave trade. The English had founded companies in 1618 and 1630 to carry on this trade, which, however, met with slight success. The French were also engaged in the traffic. Upon the foundation of their West India Company in 1621, the Dutch endeavored to secure for themselves the whole of the slave trade, and for twenty years, having seized many of the Portuguese stations, they controlled the major part of it. When Charles II came to the throne, he not only allied with the Portuguese, but he also organized a strong company for the slave trade in which he became financially interested, and over which he placed his brother James. Known at first as the Royal Adventurers to Africa and later replaced by the Royal African Company, this company began to found posts in competition with the Dutch, and through their operations furnished a leading cause for the new maritime war with the Dutch which occurred in 1664.

Second Dutch War (1664–1667)

Not only were the Dutch African posts vigorously attacked by the English, but Dutch fleets of merchantmen were illegally seized, and New Amsterdam was taken before war was actually proclaimed. In this stoutly fought naval war, both sides won victories and suffered defeats. By the Treaty of Breda (1667), which closed it, the English retained New Amsterdam, but restored Surinam to the Dutch, and promised to relax the Navigation Acts. Five years later in 1672, England and the Netherlands were once more at war.

French attacks on Dutch commercial supremacy

Meanwhile, France was engaged in freeing itself and its colonies from the commercial control which the Dutch sought to exercise. High duties were imposed, and decrees were issued forbidding the French West Indies to trade with the Dutch, upon whom they had earlier depended for their very existence. The Dutch found in French West Indian waters were driven off, and a French West India company was founded to carry on the trade of these colonies. Cayenne was captured from the Dutch in 1664. The Senegal company, organized by the French in 1672, captured Gorée and Arguin from the Dutch.

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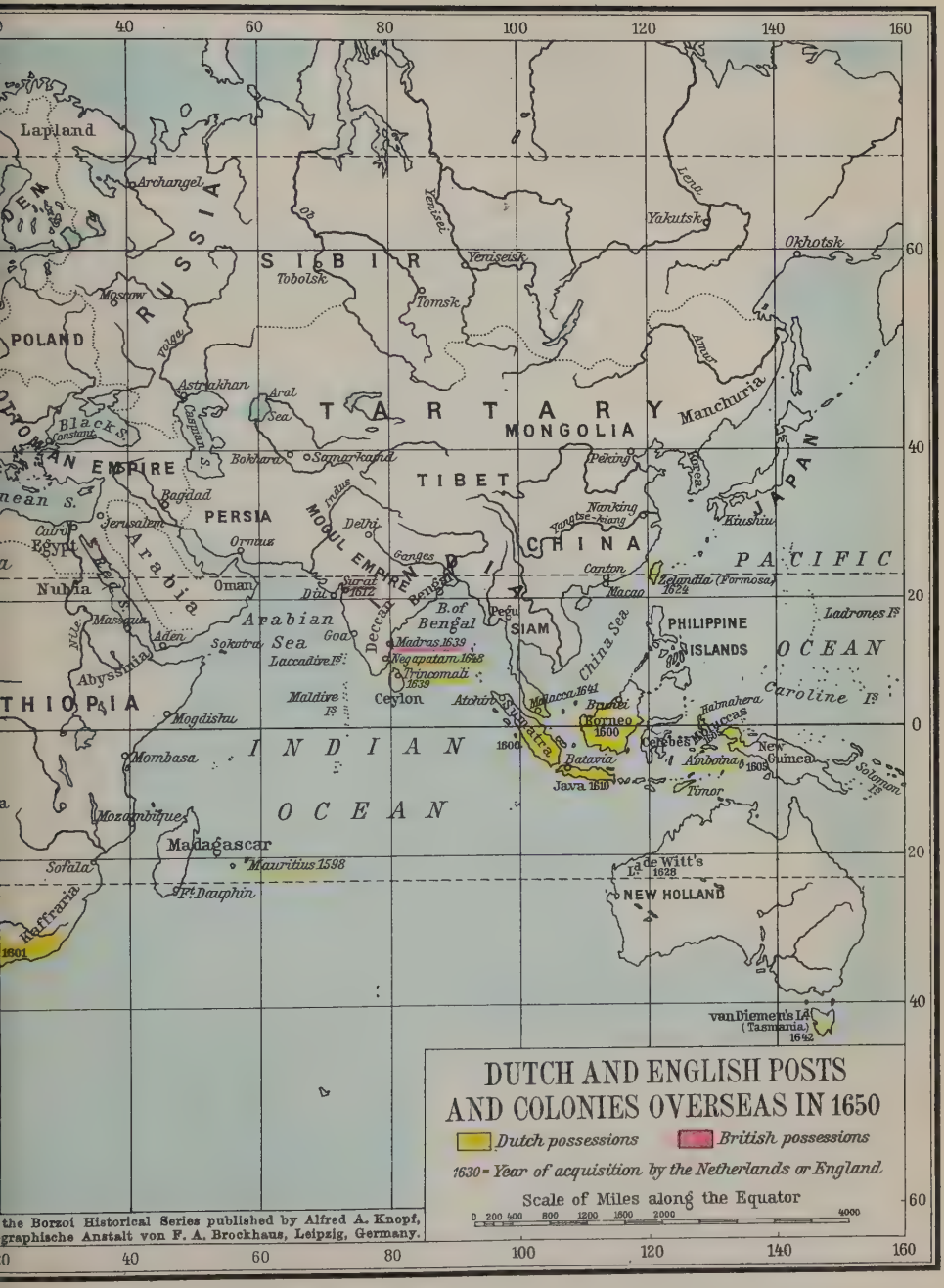


DUTCH AND ENGLISH POSTS AND COLONIES OVERSEAS IN 1650

Dutch possessions — British possessions

1630 = Year of acquisition by the Netherlands or England

Scale of Miles along the Equator

0 200 400 800 1200 1600 2000 4000

the Borzoi Historical Series published by Alfred A. Knopf,
graphische Anstalt von F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, Germany.

gaining control over the African trade from Cape Blanco to the Gambia river.

Decline of Dutch commercial power

Due to wars, navigation acts, hostile tariffs, and large captures of cargoes by enemy privateers, as well as to other causes noted in a preceding chapter[1], the Dutch gradually lost their hold upon the world's commerce. However, in the eighteenth century they still led in the whale and herring fisheries in the North Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea. They were the greatest traders along the Guinea Coast; they occupied important posts in the West Indies and carried sugar to Europe; and above all, throughout the century they dominated the spice trade. Although the Dutch had been able to retain much of their commerce, France and England, then the greatest European states, had, after a persistent effort lasting for about forty years, taken from them their maritime and commercial supremacy; London replaced Amsterdam as the world's chief commercial emporium.

Economic Background of the Struggle Overseas Between France and England

Extent of commercial rivalry between England and France

France and England, two powers moved by similar commercial and colonizing aims, were left facing each other in four different parts of the world, India, Africa, the West Indies, and North America. A struggle arose for the control of fish, furs, naval stores, negroes, sugar, tobacco, indigo, and various Oriental and tropical products.

Growth of French fish and fur trades

By the end of the seventeenth century, the English found themselves outdistanced by the French in the fisheries. They were, moreover, excluded from disposing of fish in French markets, and were losing those of the Iberian countries and Italy. Desire to check this growing French superiority in the fish trade proved a leading motive, especially in New England, for the seizure of Acadia. The rapid extension of the French fur trade through Canada, the Great Lakes region, and the Mississippi valley, and the threatened French invasion of the Ohio and Mohawk valleys, were clearly giving them the advantage in that valuable colonial ware; while their encroachments in the pine forests of Maine might well be regarded as endangering the mast trade.

Growth of French sugar trade

Of even greater importance was the danger to the highly-valued English sugar trade. England after the Restoration not only supplied the home market with sugar, but so large were its exports to other countries that it also might hope to monopolize the European market outside France. Although the French raised enough sugar after 1670 for domestic consumption, they did not until the end of the century export much to other countries. From this modest position, between 1701 and 1725 they developed their trade so rapidly that they were everywhere underselling the British sugar on the

[1] *Supra*, pp. 325-329.

Continental market, and the British West Indies were declining in prosperity.

Competition in slaves

Such factors as the occupation by the French of fresh sugar land in Santo Domingo, governmental assistance, lower duties, and permission to send the product directly to other countries without first shipping to the mother-country, as was required in the case of English sugar, largely accounted for the advantage secured by France; the matter of labor supply and that of provisions and lumber for the plantations were likewise involved. Both nations depended upon the west coast of Africa for slaves. During the first part of the eighteenth century, the English Royal African Company, largely through mismanagement, began to lose its hold upon the slave trade. Thereupon, the French extended their activities, reaching to the very gates of the British forts and factories and appropriating much of the supply upon which the English depended. This not only made it more difficult for the latter to provide their own sugar plantations with the necessary labor, but it likewise diminished the supply for the slave trade that England was carrying on with the Spanish colonies according to the terms of the "asiento" which it had secured at the Treaty of Utrecht.

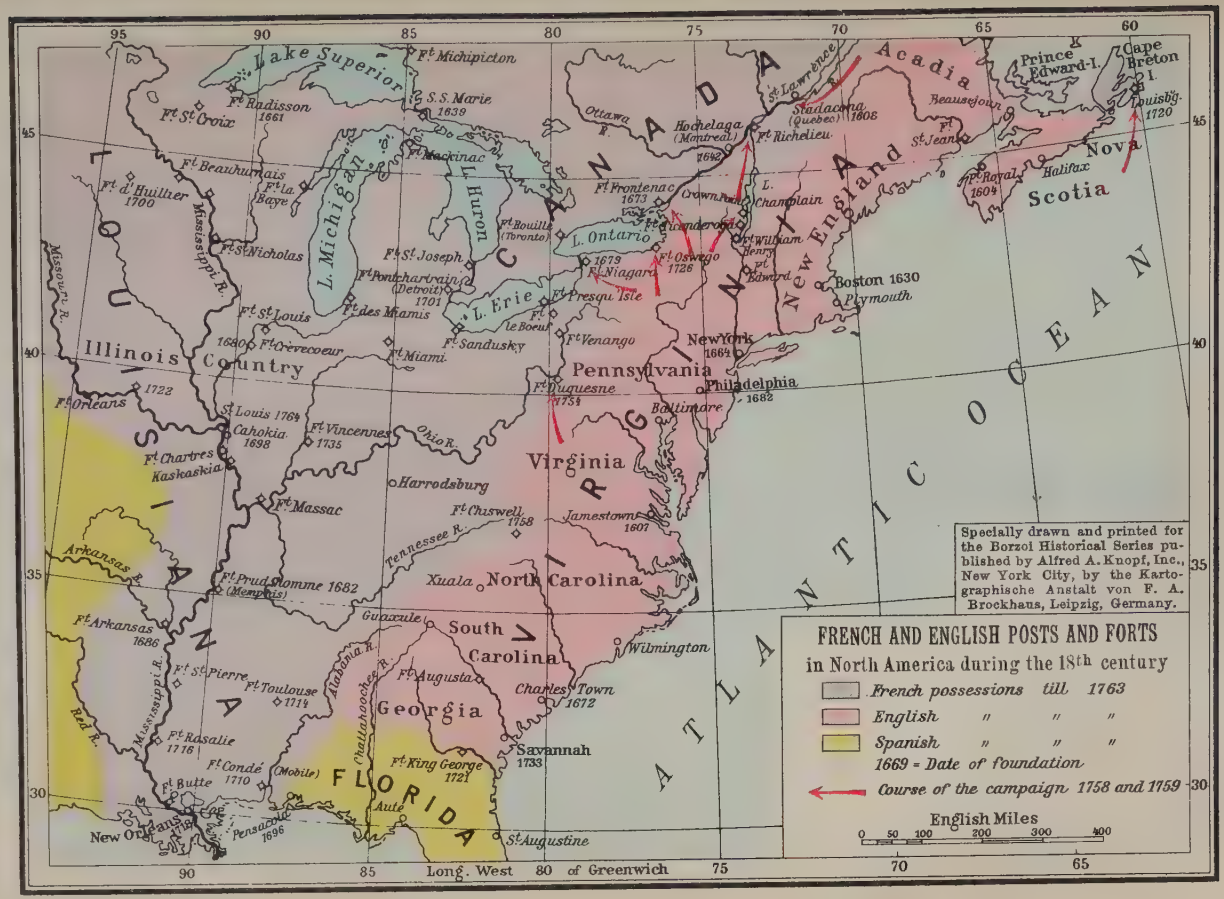
Trade of northern English colonies with French West Indies

The English had much the best supply available of the provisions and lumber required by the plantations, but they seemed in a most exasperating manner to be losing their advantage to the French. Colbert's attempt to develop Canada as a source of supply for these requirements had never met with success, but the need was supplied by the growth of a lucrative trade between New England and other English Atlantic seaboard colonies and the French West Indies.

Since the English plan was to build a self-sustaining empire in which one part supported another, such a trade with a commercial rival was looked upon with great disfavor. The planters of the English West Indies desired a market for their sugar in the northern colonies and wished to retain for themselves the food supply these colonies afforded. The home government's income from duties was diminished and both it and the planters resented the loss of trade[1] and the aid given a commercial rival. On the other hand, the northern English colonies had developed so considerably that the English West Indian planters were unable to buy all the beef, flour, and lumber they desired to sell. Moreover, they could obtain from the French their sugar, and especially molasses[2] to be used in the manufacture of rum, much cheaper than from the English planters. In an attempt to remedy the situation, the Molasses Act was pushed

[1] The northern English colonies sometimes disposed of their products to the French and bought their sugar from them. They likewise sold their produce to the English planters for money, which they then used to buy sugar and molasses from the French who sold them cheaper. Thus, the English planters were both denuded of their coin and deprived of a market.

[2] So little demand was there for molasses in the French market, or for the rum produced from it, that it was a drug on the market in the French West Indies.



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through Parliament by the influence of the English sugar planters. It placed heavy duties on sugar, rum, and molasses imported from the French colonies to the British northern colonies, but it allowed the English colonists to dispose freely of their commodities to French planters. The act proved to be a failure, because French and Dutch sugar and molasses were smuggled in large quantities into the northern colonies.

Rivalry between French and English in India

Meanwhile, in India, the French had established posts in the Carnatic and the Bengal region near those erected by the British. In 1741, an able governor-general in the person of Dupleix appeared upon the scene, who, through strengthening French influence with the native princes, aspired to monopolize Indian commerce and ultimately found a great French colonial empire there.

Relation between commercial rivalry and Franco-English colonial wars

The dangers of French competition were dwelt on by British pamphleteers, who spread the belief that France was getting the better of England and was threatening English commercial leadership in nearly every part of the world. It was inevitable that continued commercial and colonial rivalry between these two powers would end just as it had with the Dutch—in war. Thus the commercial conflict which had steadily been gathering intensity from 1700 to 1750 "merged . . . into that great military and naval struggle known as the Seven Years' War."[1]

The War of Jenkins' Ear

Interlude in overseas warfare and its renewal in 1739

Although commercial rivalry was keen, the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) had been followed by a period of twenty-five years of peace, and when active warfare was resumed it did not at first occur between England and France, but between England and Spain. After a long diplomatic controversy, hostilities broke out in 1739. It was the first war waged between European nations the entire operations of which took place in America and its waters.

Friction between England and Spain

The war was purely commercial in its causes. The permission which had been given the English by the Treaty of Utrecht to send one vessel of 500 tons each year to dispose of British manufactures to Spanish colonists had been greatly abused. The ship in question had been accompanied by a small fleet of others, which just outside Porto Bello put merchandise on board until, it was said, as much had been disposed of as five or six of the largest galleons might carry. There continued to be a large amount of other illegal trade.[2] It was

[1] See for further information those excellent articles by C. M. Andrews: "Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry, 1700–1750" in *The American Historical Review*, vol. xx, Nos. 3, 4, to which this account is largely indebted.

[2] Much of this was carried on through the activities of English factors stationed in Spanish America. Even English warships engaged in the contraband trade. Jamaica became the center of the contraband trade and the Central American coast afforded many opportunities for smuggling. Both private traders and the South Sea Company engaged in this illegal trade and the highest Spanish officials and clergy became interested in it. Not only merchandise, but also slaves were smuggled.

estimated in 1739 that England enjoyed as large a part of Spanish colonial commerce by illegal means as did the Spaniards in authorized trade. As a result of these activities, the English sea captains were constantly quarreling with Spanish coast-guards and revenue officers, who were better organized and equipped when the Bourbons took charge of the Spanish government and so became much more assertive than they had been before. British vessels were overhauled and searched even outside Spanish waters, and their crews and officers were frequently mistreated. In 1738, it was reported to Parliament that in the last few years as many as fifty-two vessels "had been plundered by the Spaniards."

A further cause of friction was the founding in 1732, in territory claimed by Spain, of the English colony of Georgia as an outpost between the Carolinas and the Spanish in Florida. This appeared to be a threat to Spanish possessions as well as an encroachment upon Spanish missions and Indian trade.

Growing war sentiment

For a while, Walpole, who was pacifically inclined, exerted his best efforts to secure a peaceful settlement of the difficulties between England and Spain by securing a commercial treaty legalizing English trade with the Spanish colonies. In this he failed, and the conviction grew in England that the matter could best be settled by war. Finally, in 1739, the struggle was precipitated, in spite of the great Prime Minister's efforts for peace, by the incident of Captain Jenkins, who declared to Parliament that in searching his ship the Spanish officials had cut off his ear and cast insults at the English King.

War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1748)

The war commenced with the capture by Admiral Vernon of Porto Bello, the great market town on the Isthmus of Panama. This was followed by unsuccessful attempts on Carthagena and Santiago. Meanwhile, Anson sought to emulate Drake's great exploit of raiding Spanish commerce on the west coast of South America and met with the same fortune; he lost all but one ship, but he captured the Manila treasure-galleon, and sailed around the world to reach England nearly four years later with his rich prize in tow. While these naval operations were in progress, Oglethorpe, advancing from Georgia, attacked the Spanish forts in Florida, taking a number of them but failing to capture the main Spanish stronghold, St. Augustine. Two years later, an expedition which the Spanish prepared for an attack on Georgia, and another which the English directed against Florida, both met with failure.

Second Family Compact (1743)

Meanwhile, as a result of trade rivalry the feeling between England and France had been growing more tense. Finally in 1743, by the Second Family Compact between the Spanish and the French Bourbons, their countries became allied. France agreed to assist in recapturing Gibraltar and Minorca for Spain, and the latter promised to transfer the "asiento" from England to France. The struggle which followed between the French and the English may be divided according to its location into the two main areas of America and India,

with the seas which bordered them; the contest had its European counterpart in the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), mostly fought on German soil.

Struggle Between France and England in America

After the French had ceded Acadia with its stronghold of Port Royal to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht, so slight was their hold upon the coast that the sea approach to their colony of Canada appeared in danger of being closed. Accordingly, they erected at the vast expense of $5,850,000 the great fortress of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island. This was to serve as a protected port for French vessels sailing between France, Canada, and the French West Indies, a rendezvous for French trans-Atlantic fishers, a point of departure for French privateers in the war against English commerce, and a strong factor in the control of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In spite of the fact that this fortress was thought to be the strongest on the Atlantic coast, in 1745 it was captured by a colonial force sent by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, assisted by a British squadron. Great enthusiasm was aroused among the English colonists at the success of their enterprise, which removed a danger to their fisheries and commerce. They began at once to raise a large expedition to follow up this first victory by the conquest of Canada. In England, this enterprise was warmly favored by the First Lord of the Admiralty and by William Pitt, then Paymaster of the Forces. Preparations for it, however, were so delayed, through the hesitation of the Pelham ministry then in power, that it was never assembled. French naval power, however, was wrecked in 1747 by the victories of Anson off Cape Finisterre and Hawke off Belle Isle, and for the time being the safety of the English colonies was assured.

Capture of Louisburg (1745)

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) concluding the War of Austrian Succession restored Louisburg to the French in return for the cession of Madras in India to England, and the Austrian Netherlands, which the French had seized, to Austria. The sacrifice of American colonial interests, after the expenditure of so many lives and so much money in making the conquest, aroused among the American colonists a spirit of discontent with the mother-country which never entirely died out. The war, moreover, while it had failed to settle many questions which had to be decided, had inflicted great commercial losses, since it had cost the British over three thousand vessels, and their French and Spanish adversaries even more.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748)

Properly to understand the final struggle for America between the French and the English it will be necessary to discuss the relative strength of their positions. Most important of all for ultimate British success was the fact that upon the outbreak of war the British navy was able to gain command of the sea. Since "everything used in war, from the regular fleets and armies themselves down to the powder and shot, cannon and muskets, swords, bayonets, tools and

Importance of sea-power in colonial struggle

tents" had to be brought from Europe, the power which controlled the seas had a decided advantage over its opponent. Furthermore, French commercial and military relations with the Indians were endangered by English sea-power, since the guns, knives, beads, and other commodities which the Indians desired in exchange for their furs came from overseas. It was therefore almost certain that the victors at sea would increase their strength in America, while those who lost would become weaker.

French and English positions in America

Beginning with the narrow outlet on the sea at Louisburg the French colonies extended in a long, thin line of scattered posts and settlements for about a thousand miles up the St. Lawrence River to the Great Lakes, another thousand miles across the Lakes, and about two thousand miles along the Mississippi River to its mouth. Over this vast territory were thinly spread about a hundred thousand Frenchmen. Extending in a more compact mass for about two thousand miles along the Atlantic seaboard, and hemmed in near the seacoast by the Appalachian mountains, the British colonists were twelve times as numerous as the French.

Comparative advantages in positions of French and English

While the French colonies possessed the military advantage of a unified direction under the absolute control of a governor-general, the English colonies were divided into twelve or thirteen different governments, "jealous of one another, and indisposed to united effort." Both James II's attempt to form a united "military province" in America by combining the government of New England and New York under the governorship of Andros, and the later attempt, at the Albany Congress of 1754, to form a union for defense between the colonies failed of realization just when there was most need of organization against the French. The superior resources of the English colonies were thus unorganized for the struggle, and the slowness of the colonial assemblies in voting war funds and troops made the campaigns ineffective.

On the other hand, the waste and corruption of the French colonial government, and the incompetence and meddlesome interference of the last French governor, Vaudreuil, brought to naught the skilful strategy of the great French general, Montcalm. The facts that the French government in its paternalism had devoted greater attention to the defense of its possessions, and that the French possessed the alliance of most of the Indians were counterbalanced to a marked degree by the daring self-reliance of the English colonists and the continued friendship for them of the strong Iroquois nation.

Influence of European Wars upon colonial struggle

However the strength might be divided between the two powers in America, the fate of the struggle depended to a marked degree upon the outcome of European wars—upon the aid which England was able to give to Frederick the Great in his war against the French and Austrians, upon the success or failure of the British fleet in blockading the French forces within French ports, upon the outcome of

the struggle for the Mediterranean Sea, as well as upon the fate of the West Indies and India. The length of the contest, which lasted eight or nine years, bears witness to the fact that the antagonists were rather evenly matched.

Acadia and Ohio valley as centers of trouble

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle did not mean an end of hostilities so far as America and India were concerned. Almost continuous fighting prevailed until 1763, and while England and France were nominally at peace in Europe some of the greatest battles were fought overseas. Two centers of trouble existed in America—Acadia or Nova Scotia, and the Ohio valley. Since the boundaries of Acadia had never been satisfactorily defined,* and the commissioners appointed at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to settle the matter could not agree, a source of conflict was present which, since they were anxious to recover Acadia, the French were not slow to make use of. They incited the Abaniki Indians against the New England settlements, and the French settlers of Acadia against the English. When England demanded that the Acadians take an oath of allegiance, they obstinately refused. Thereupon, in 1755, when it was evident that another war would soon break out, the English governor, after the Acadians had once more refused to take the oath, deported them from the colony to Canada and the settlements farther south. To maintain their hold upon Acadia, and counter-balance Louisburg, the English in 1749 built on its northeastern coast the strong naval station and fortress of Halifax.

The French claimed all the lands drained by the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi River and its tributaries, while the English insisted that all the lands ever occupied by the Iroquois Indians were theirs. As neither side would compromise, the matter ultimately had to be fought out. The real clash arose over the Ohio valley. Aside from its worth as a fur country, it was essential that the French possess it in order to safeguard the connection between Louisiana, the Great Lakes, and Canada, which would be seriously endangered by an English occupation of the Ohio valley. On the other hand, its possession by the French would confine the English east of the Appalachian mountains, cutting them off from the interior fur trade, and perhaps leading to French attempts to drive the English into the sea.

Struggle between French and English for Ohio valley

The French had already established Fort Frontenac on the north shore of Lake Ontario, Fort Niagara on the Niagara River to protect the course to Lake Erie, and Detroit still further west. In 1753, they began their occupation of the Ohio valley by building Fort Presque Isle on the southern shore of Lake Erie, and Fort Le Boeuf on French Creek, which flowed into the Ohio River. Meanwhile, in 1751, the Ohio Company, formed by Virginian colonists and English capitalists, was granted a charter by King George II conferring upon it half a million acres of land along the Ohio. Hearing of the French advance into the region, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Wash-

ington to Fort Le Boeuf to protest against the French occupation, but was met by the French commander with a firm though courteous refusal to leave the territory.

Upon Washington's return, Dinwiddie at once prepared for war. He sent messengers to the Indians of the Ohio valley to ask their aid against the French, and sought the coöperation of the governors of Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, Maryland, and New Jersey in sending reinforcements. New York and Massachusetts were requested to distract the French forces from the Ohio by a direct attack upon Canada. Nothing illustrated better the inconvenience in time of danger of the disunion of the colonies than did the failure of any of them to send assistance. Although a few frontiersmen were dispatched to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio, near where Pittsburgh now stands, the French speedily drove them out, and, destroying their hastily constructed fort, erected in its place Fort Duquesne. Somewhat later at Great Meadows they defeated the main Virginia expedition of several hundred men led by Washington. Upon news of the operations in America, both the English and French governments, although they still nominally remained at peace, sent reinforcements to America, the former under Braddock, and the latter under Dieskau. As soon as he arrived in Virginia, Braddock called a council of the colonial governors, at which it was arranged that he should attack Fort Duquesne; Governor Shirley, Niagara; Johnson, Crown Point on Lake Champlain; and Monckton, Fort Beausejour near Nova Scotia. All these enterprises except the last failed to capture the fortresses against which they were directed. Unaccustomed to American warfare, Braddock was ambushed by a force of French and Indians near Ft. Duquesne, and lost his life, while his troops were saved from extinction only through Washington's leadership.

Action in Europe

Meanwhile, although England and France still hesitated to declare war until the European alliances were arranged to their satisfaction, Admiral Boscawen had been ordered to intercept and capture as much as possible of the French fleet which had been sent to Canada with reinforcements. Admiral Hawke was directed to cruise off the French coast and capture all French ships whether merchantmen or warships, which he did to such good effect that before the year was ended three hundred vessels, worth six million dollars, had been captured. The French on their part, while still nominally at peace, made a sudden raid upon Minorca in 1756, and took that important Mediterranean naval station from the British. Thereupon, instead of concentrating all its forces to defeat England, France was strangely enough drawn into an alliance with its traditional enemy Austria to assist the Austrian Empress, Maria Theresa, to recover Silesia, which Frederick the Great of Prussia had taken from her in the War of Austrian Succession. More wisely for its own interests, England threw its main energies into the overseas struggle, and subsidized Frederick the Great to keep the French occupied in Europe.

In America, following Braddock's defeat (1755), the Indians of the Ohio valley joined the French side. They swarmed over into Pennsylvania and Virginia, attacking the settlers, and were only checked by Washington's scanty force, which attempted to defend the four-hundred-mile-long frontier. In the north the following year the great French general, Montcalm, who had just arrived from France, took Oswego, the English outpost on the southern shores of Lake Ontario guarding the routes into the Mohawk valley. Advancing to the head of Lake Champlain, he constructed the strong fortress of Ticonderoga, and proceeding thence the next year (1757) he succeeded in taking and destroying Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George, which guarded the entrance to the Hudson River valley.

Massacres and British defeats in America

In Europe France held the ports of the Austrian Netherlands, from which it might threaten England. By the possession of Minorca, which England had regarded as its chief Mediterranean base, of Corsica, and of Genoa, the French dominated that sea. The Duke of Cumberland had suffered a severe defeat, which for the time being left Hanover at the mercy of the French, and even Frederick the Great had been terribly defeated at Kolin.

Strong position of French in Europe

At this juncture when British fortunes appeared doomed to decline, one of England's greatest statesmen, William Pitt, secured control of the ministry, and brought glorious victory out of defeat. For four years, as Secretary of State for War, Pitt was virtually dictator, no one venturing to resist his will. He possessed remarkable ability in organizing and conducting the administration and a great mastery of detail, gained to a large extent by his eagerness to learn from all who had useful knowledge to impart. Like other great leaders, he had the ability to inspire other men, and to get work accomplished. He had a genius for choosing the right men for the tasks that had to be done and did not hesitate to sacrifice the usual rules of promotion to secure them. He had a vision which embraced the Empire as a whole and the possibilities for its future development.

William Pitt

Pitt's genius had its first opportunity of showing what it might accomplish in the campaign of 1758. Powerful blockading fleets prevented the French warships from leaving their naval bases on the French coast; a British squadron with its base at Gibraltar kept the French forces from departing from the Mediterranean. Thus English commerce and coasts were protected, while New France was prevented from receiving aid from Europe. Besides this, British fleets and land forces coöperated in a series of raids upon the chief French ports. These alarmed the French, and obliged them to withdraw about thirty thousand men from the campaign in Germany. Large subsidies were advanced to Prussia. An army of German mercenaries in British pay, and nine thousand British troops under the brilliant leadership of the Duke of Brunswick defeated and cleared the French out of Hanover, thus protecting Frederick's flank and

Campaign in Europe (1758)

distracting French attention from the American campaign. A small expedition meanwhile seized Senegal and Gorèe, and thus secured the French trade in gold, ivory, and slaves, which had threatened to cripple that of England.

Preparations for American expedition

The main purpose which Pitt had in mind, however, was to defeat the French in America. The American colonists were requested to raise twenty thousand men, England standing the expense of armament, equipment, and rations, and making an advance toward the payment of the troops. Encouraged by these promises, and filled with the spirit with which Pitt inspired them, the colonists raised nearly twenty-three thousand troops. In England itself, a militia act had been passed to provide for home defense, thus relieving the regular troops for overseas service. Enlistments were made among the Highland clans so recently in rebellion, thus turning to good use their splendid fighting abilities.

Campaign in America (1758)

An attack was planned against Louisburg and, if successful in its capture, the expedition was to advance up the St. Lawrence River. A second expedition was to capture the French forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point and, proceeding up the Champlain valley, coöperate with the first force in its advance into the St. Lawrence valley. A third army was to recover Oswego and capture the French forts on the Great Lakes. The fourth expedition was to penetrate through the Pennsylvania forests, seize Fort Duquesne, and gain control of the Ohio. To carry out this masterful plan Boscawen, Amherst, Wolfe, Howe, Bradstreet, and Forbes, active commanders who had proven their ability, were selected.

All except one of these expeditions were successful; Louisburg, the "lungs" of French America, the connecting link with the sea, was lost to the French; the capture of Oswego and Fort Frontenac severed Canada from Louisiana, which separation was completed by the loss of Duquesne. The single failure of British arms was due to Abercrombie, a member of the old school of inefficient commanders, whom Pitt had retained in charge of the Champlain expedition, but had supplemented with a "brilliant young soldier," Howe, as second in command, who unfortunately was killed in the first engagement. Although possessing fifteen thousand men to Montcalm's force of about four thousand, Abercrombie failed to take Ticonderoga after sacrificing many of his men in fruitless charges against the enemy's strong position.

England in danger from French attack

The year 1759 opened with an attempt on the part of France, under the direction of Choiseul, to regain its lost position. Realizing the importance of naval power in determining the outcome of the struggle, he sought, though for the time in vain, to bring Spain into the war in order to secure an equality with England in naval power. Failing in this, he planned an invasion of England itself to divert English forces from more distant operations. Fifty thousand veterans were to be transported to England in flatboats under the protection

of the French navy; another force of thirty-six thousand men, guarded by a Swedish fleet, was to attack Scotland.

In this hour of danger Pitt did not allow himself to be diverted from his plans, and in place of sending fewer troops to America or Germany he dispatched more than ever. Calling out the militia, he further appealed to the people to protect their country with such effect that many regiments were raised, and a wave of patriotism perhaps greater than had ever been known before swept the land. It was the British fleet, however, which made the French invasion of England impossible by preventing the French fleet from uniting to control the Channel. Off the coast of Portugal Boscawen met, and nearly destroyed, the French Mediterranean squadron hurrying northwards to coöperate in the enterprise; Hawke annihilated the other French fleet at Quiberon Bay.

Importance of British sea victories

This victory was of the utmost importance to the result of the whole struggle between the two nations since it not only assured the safety of England itself, but also enabled the British to send reinforcements and supplies to America and India, while the French were prevented from doing so; inevitably victory was assured to British arms. Due to the possession of naval supremacy, England was likewise able, by the capture of Guadeloupe, to strike a blow in the West Indies, considered by both nations the richest center of their overseas trade. Pitt was, however, unable to prevent the French privateers from capturing more than two thousand five hundred British vessels between 1756 and 1760. New ships, though, were constructed faster than the old ones could be taken, and England secured a supreme position in the world's carrying trade; the French flag was nearly swept from the seas, and neutral Dutch and Spanish vessels trading with the French were seized in large numbers.

Success in Hanover

In Hanover the British forces under the brilliant leadership of the Duke of Brunswick defeated French armies almost double the numbers of their own forces.

Campaign in America (1759)

In America, expeditions were dispatched to complete the conquests of the preceding year. Prideaux succeeded in taking Fort Niagara, situated between Lakes Ontario and Erie, thus completing England's hold upon the Great Lakes. Amherst captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point, but advanced so slowly through the Champlain valley that he failed to coöperate with Wolfe in seizing Quebec. The latter succeeded in taking this seemingly impregnable stronghold garrisoned by fifteen thousand French soldiers under the skilful direction of Montcalm; Wolfe's victory was due both to his own great ability and daring and to the interference with Montcalm's plans of defense by the French governor Vaudreuil.[1] Both Montcalm and Wolfe were killed in the capture of the place. French power in North America came to an end with the capture next year of Montreal.

[1] See William Wood: *The Passing of New France*, 92–142, for a discussion of this point.

Struggle between France and England in India

Character of India

The struggle between the French and English took place not only in Europe and America but also in India, a land of great size—as large as the whole of Europe less Russia—and of great diversity of physical conditions and peoples. Although possessing an ancient civilization, India, due to the disunited character of its peoples, proved an easy prey to outside invaders. "Split up," as it was, "into a multitude of peoples differing more widely from one another in racial features and complexion, in language, and even to a great extent in religion, than do all the peoples of Europe,"[1] where no less than two hundred and twenty-two distinct languages were spoken, and where the caste system more profoundly divided the people than elsewhere in the world, India was extremely slow in developing national sentiment. Here was boundless wealth for those who knew how to exploit it.

Foundation and decline of Mogul Empire

In the early years of the sixteenth century, Mohammedan invaders from central Asia founded the Mogul Empire, whose power, extending over Northern India, was for several centuries the main factor in Indian affairs. The Moguls succeeded in organizing an effective tax system, upon whose returns they established a luxurious court at their capital at Delhi. They at first were tolerant of the various religions and customs of their subjects, thus conciliating the Hindus, who were much in the majority. They divided the great territories they controlled into districts called "subas," which were placed under the absolute control of governors called "nawabs." During the second half of the seventeenth century, the Emperor Aurangzib conquered southern India, but failed to establish real authority in his new territories. He produced anarchy in place of an orderly government, and so strained his resources by warfare that his hold upon northern India was weakened. By the time of his death in 1707, his throne was undermined, and the power of his dynasty steadily declined during the reigns of his successors, until many of the great governors in reality became independent princes acknowledging only nominal allegiance to the Mogul. Many of the governors, moreover, proved incapable of maintaining complete control of their own provinces with the result that throughout much of the country, native chiefs or "rajas" became practically independent rulers, and adventurers found little difficulty in carving out dominions for themselves.

Mahrattas and Afghans

Superimposed on these discordant conditions was the rising power of the Mahrattas and the invasions of the Afghans. The Mahrattas, Hindus inhabiting the mountains and uplands of the western coast, were skilful horsemen. They formed large bands and raided nearly every part of India, plundering right and left, and levying blackmail upon those who feared their attacks. While it appeared for a time that they might gain control of the whole country and set up a new dynasty, they proved incapable of organizing their conquests, and finally,

[1] Sir Valentine Chirol: *India*, 31.

in 1761, they were terribly weakened by the defeat they suffered at the hands of the Afghans, from which they did not for a long time recover. The Afghans who, in 1739 and 1759, invaded the country, likewise seemed to be on the point of establishing a dynasty, but, apparently content to plunder and devastate, soon retired to their own country.

English and French in India

It was in the midst of this turmoil and anarchy which beset the land that the English and French determined the issue as to which should dominate Indian trade. The British company's activities were centered around Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta—each managed independently of the others; the French possessed two main posts, Pondicherry near Madras and Chandernagore near Calcutta. Although they had both begun operations as peaceful traders under the protection of native rulers, due to the disorder which had developed they found it necessary to establish forts and maintain armed forces. These were to a large extent composed of trained natives, called "sepoys," officered by Europeans. All during Louis XIV's wars the traders in India had remained at peace with each other, but there was a growing feeling of distrust among the English engendered by the rapid rate at which the French were pushing their trade. At last, during the War of Austrian Succession, hostilities commenced with the capture of Madras by the forces of the French Governor-General, Dupleix, and a French fleet under La Bourdonnais. French prestige was greatly enhanced among the natives by this accomplishment, and consequently its undoing according to the terms of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle caused the French in India much chagrin, and lowered them in the estimation of the natives.

French control over southern India

Meanwhile, Dupleix thought he saw the opportunity to build up French influence by interfering in native politics; he hoped ultimately to establish an empire which would assure French hold on the trade of India, and would result in crowding out the British. Upon the Mogul conquest of southern India, most of it had been formed into the "suba," or province, of the Deccan over which the Nizam of Haidarabad became "Soubahdar" or Viceroy. In 1748, the reigning Nizam died, leaving the succession in dispute. Dupleix promptly came to the support of one of the claimants, and the English Governor of Madras of the other. The result was highly gratifying for the French, since their candidate, Mozuffer Jung, became Nizam. Subordinate to the Nizam was the coastal province of the Carnatic, in which both English and French factories in southeastern India were located. Over this presided a native ruler called a nawab. The occupant of this position proved to be an English sympathizer; hence Dupleix at once began to scheme for his removal and the substitution of another man, Chunda Sahib, who would owe everything to the French. This he succeeded in accomplishing.

In recognition of Dupleix's services the new Nizam made him governor of the territory south of the river Krishna; Dupleix lent him a strong company of French and sepoys under the command of the

Marquis de Bussy. This served the double purpose of maintaining Mozuffer Jung against the attacks of pretenders and the Mahrattas, and in keeping him dependent upon the French. After this fashion southern India came under the French control.

Fall of French power in southern India

Dupleix's triumph, however, was short lived. Both the English and French companies had desired to remain at peace, and to devote their energies to trade; when, however, the Nawab, deposed by French influence, appealed to the English at Madras for aid, a small force of five hundred men under a young Englishman, Robert Clive, delivered a surprise attack upon Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, which they succeeded in taking, and afterwards in defending, for nearly two months against ten thousand men. French control was further weakened by the English victory at Trichinopoly, and by the capture and death of Chunda Sahib, the Nawab they had placed in power. Just at this juncture, Dupleix, who had been acting without consulting the French company, and had caused greater expenses than were desired, was recalled in disgrace.

Although the French at the time of Dupleix's recall still had the better of the situation in southern India, and upon the outbreak of the Seven Years' War sent to India a fleet and an army of one thousand men under an Irish exile, Count Lally de Tollendal, their efforts like those in America were doomed to failure for lack of sea-power. Although he met with success at the opening of the campaign, Lally was constantly hampered by the superiority of British naval forces in Indian waters. To deliver an attack in force upon Madras he withdrew Bussy and his army which had been stationed at the Nizam's court at Haidarabad, thus running the risk of that potentate's defection, which occurred soon afterwards. Lally, moreover, lacked Dupleix's tact, and by his arrogant and inconsiderate attitude alienated many of the natives who already were veering to the British side. After besieging Madras for two months, he was obliged by the approach of a British fleet to abandon it. Although unable to receive reinforcements or supplies, Lally bravely continued the struggle for two years longer against great odds; he finally suffered a crushing defeat in 1760, at Wandewash, and soon afterwards was obliged to surrender the French posts in southern India.

Affairs in Bengal

Meanwhile, until 1756, peace had existed in Bengal, the other main trading region in India; but early in that year the old Nawab, who had given the region a firm rule, died, and Suraj-ud-Dowlah, a youth of nineteen, of a degenerate and tyrannical disposition, succeeded him. Determining to destroy the power of the Europeans in his domain, he took occasion, on the British refusal to surrender a wealthy Hindu who had taken refuge with them, and their rejection of his demand to stop fortifying Calcutta, which they had been preparing against a probable French attack, to march against that place with an army of thirty thousand men. He succeeded in taking Calcutta, and the one hundred and forty-six Englishmen who were captured were im-

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prisoned for the night in a small guard-room, called the "Black Hole." So crowded was the room that by morning one hundred and twenty-three of them had died of suffocation. With a small force, and a fleet of ten vessels, Clive came hurrying from Madras and retook Calcutta, defeated the Nawab's army, and compelled him to promise restitution and compensation for the injury he had done. However, Suraj had no intention of fulfilling his promises; instead he entered into negotiations with the French. At this time it became known that war had been declared in Europe, and that Lally was on his way to India. Since the forces in Madras had been used to recover Calcutta, leaving Madras unprotected, Clive was anxious to settle affairs in Bengal, so that he could return to strengthen that post. He accordingly attacked and took Chandernagore. Then, aware of Suraj's treachery, he listened to a proposal by one of the Nawab's generals, Mir Jaffier, to desert his master in case a conflict came about. In return it was stipulated that he should be placed upon the throne, and grant the British about fifteen million dollars for their services and as compensation for past damages. Although there was considerable fear that Mir Jaffier could not be depended upon, Clive risked a battle at Plassey (1757) with the Nawab, his own forces numbering only three thousand as against fifty thousand troops in the enemy army. He won a great victory, the Bengalese forces running away before his artillery. Mir Jaffier was placed on the throne, and became a mere puppet of the British; the region directly around Calcutta came under the direct rule of the English, who thus obtained their first extensive territory in India.

Final peace between England and France was not concluded until 1763, although negotiations had begun much earlier. In a last effort to recover her position, France succeeded in bringing Spain, which had hitherto remained neutral, into the war. Thereupon, the British captured Havana, Manila, and the Philippines and secured great treasure from the Spanish on the seas.

Peace of Paris (1763)

Finally, in 1763, the great struggle was brought to an end by the Peace of Paris. France gave up Canada, Nova Scotia, and all the territory east of the Mississippi River, except New Orleans, as well as Minorca in the Mediterranean Sea. It retained its fishing rights in North America, and two small islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, to use as fishing stations. In the West Indies, England returned to France three of her best sugar islands, Martinique, Guadeloupe and St. Lucia, keeping the less important islands of Tobago, St. Vincent, and Dominica. In India, France was allowed to keep its trading posts on condition that it did not fortify them, and that it recognize English control in Bengal and the Carnatic. In western Africa, England returned Gorèe but retained Senegal. Spain ceded Florida to England; Cuba and the Philippines were returned to Spain, and France turned over to it all French claims to territory west of the Mississippi River.

Although England's gains were larger than in any preceding war, what it took was moderate in comparison with what it had in its

power, since it had both the French and Spanish colonial empires at its mercy. Before peace was concluded, Pitt was forced from power and his policy, which aimed at the exclusion of France as far as possible from the overseas trade in which it rivaled England, was not carried out by his successors when the opportunity lay in their grasp. Although it lost its great colonial domains, through the recovery of its fishing rights, its important sugar isles, its African slave station, and its posts in India, France still possessed the foundations of a commercial empire, and it was not crippled so seriously that it was unable to strike once more at England during the American Revolution.

No matter how much England refrained from demanding, the issue of maritime power and world trade had been decided in its favor, and Pitt definitely turned England's destinies from European affairs to the development of a commercial and colonial empire overseas.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A Comparison of the Conditions in the English Colonies with Those Existing in the Colonies of Other Nations

Self-government

Freed from the danger of attack from the French colonies or from the Spanish in Florida, with seemingly unlimited territories at their disposal, with a large and constantly increasing population, the English continental colonies might, it would seem, hope for a prosperous future. When the overseas dominions of other powers are regarded, the English colonists had been fortunate in other respects. They were the only colonies at the time and, except for a few nations, the only peoples which had institutions for self-government. While the Portuguese, Spanish, French,[1] and Dutch colonies were autocratically ruled by their home governments, all the English North American colonies were at an early date given representative assemblies and other organs of local self-government. While the home government through the King's Privy Council, assisted by various committees and boards in England and by royally-appointed governors and judges in the colonies, did seek to exercise some control over colonial affairs, and while Parliament, as its powers grew, passed some laws which applied to the colonies, for the most part they made their own laws subject to royal veto. It was of inestimable value in a new land where conditions greatly varied from those in Europe that those living on the spot and understanding the circumstances should have this opportunity. The exercise of such powers likewise had the effect of developing a spirit of self-reliance and political responsibility such as did not exist among the inhabitants of other overseas lands.

English colonial governors

Although graft and inefficiency did exist at times among their administrative officers and although those positions were frequently filled by court favorites, on the whole it may be said that the English colonists were more fortunate in their administrators than those of other nations.[2] In this connection it may be noted that except for occasional ecclesiastics the Spanish viceroys were usually military men with little civil training and that practically none of colonial birth[3] was appointed to that high office, while in the English colonies

[1] The French colonies in the West Indies were granted assemblies during the eighteenth century; elsewhere their colonial government was autocratically conducted. Some municipal government came to be allowed in the Spanish and Dutch colonial towns.

[2] Credit, however, must be given to the Spanish system which through its "visitadores" and inquiry into the governor's conduct on his retirement sought to provide for good government.

[3] There was only one native viceroy ever appointed for New Spain.

it was not unusual to select a leading colonist as governor.[1] The close watch which the English colonial assemblies exercised over their governors and the dependence of these officials upon them for their salaries, while leading to much friction and at times impeding business, did prevent the extensive waste, graft, and mismanagement which afflicted French Canada under some of its intendants.

Religious toleration

The religious toleration which the English colonial policy sanctioned also distinguished it from other colonial policies.[2] Whereas in England conformity was enforced, the settlers overseas were allowed by their home government to worship as they chose; and British America became a refuge for religious and political dissenters. On the contrary, only those Spaniards who could prove their orthodoxy and devotion to the state were allowed to leave Spain, and these were zealously watched over by the Inquisition after their arrival. Huguenots, who would have made admirable colonists and who might perhaps have turned the scales in the New World in favor of the French, were excluded from Canada.[3]

Conditions of settlement and land holding

Whereas in the Spanish and French colonies landed estates controlled by a colonial nobility and clergy monopolized the country, and feudal conditions resembling those in Europe were imposed, settlers in the English colonies were not restricted to the same extent, and land was generally available there at a small quitrent or purchase price, and taxes were light.[4] Much greater freedom for settlement where the greatest advantage might be derived, and for migrating from one colony to another or into the interior, was allowed in English than in Spanish America, where settlers were restricted in their movements by governmental regulations. Neither was society in the former held apart in distinct castes as in the latter, and wealth was more evenly divided.

Although they irritated the colonists, and in many cases hampered their trade, English commercial restrictions were as a rule not more

[1] Four out of ten of the royal governors of Massachusetts were colonists, and others may be found in the other colonies.

[2] The Dutch established religious toleration in their colonies, and the French permitted dissenters to settle in the French West Indies. That some religious intolerance existed in the English colonies, especially in New England, was due to the action of the colonists themselves, not to that of the English government.

[3] Before 1627 the trade of Canada was in the hands of Huguenot merchants, and French Protestant traders were in the colonies. In that year the Catholic Church succeeded in persuading the government to exclude all Protestants from Canada, and they were thereafter debarred.

[4] Large estates abounded, however, in the middle colonies, and some embracing thousands of acres existed in the southern colonies; as Jameson remarks, at the outbreak of the Revolution "in New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, entails and primogeniture flourished almost as they did in old England." (J. Franklin Jameson: *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*, 56.) Leroy-Beaulieu, in the discussion which he gives the matter in his *De la Colonisation Chez les Peuples Modernes*, I, 102–105, expresses the opinion that the land system in the English colonies was far superior to that employed at the time by other nations in the opportunities it afforded the settler and the promotion it gave to colonization.

Commercial regulations

severe, and frequently far less exacting, than those of other powers. The world over, Dutch colonists were never considered except insofar as they might assist the trade of the great Dutch companies, whose policy was to buy as cheaply and sell as dearly as possible. As has been seen, the growth of Spanish America was hampered by concentration of commerce in a limited number of ports, prohibition of inter-colonial trade, the fleet system, and fairs. Although during the eighteenth century, French trade restrictions were sometimes less severe, and duties lighter than those of the English, the French colonies were during the greater part of the seventeenth century and much of the eighteenth seriously retarded by the monopoly of trading companies. Certain British laws definitely favored colonial trade and provided bounties for some colonial industries.

Fundamental Causes for the American Revolution

Growth of spirit of independence

In spite of the fact that conditions in the English colonies were probably better than in those of other nations, there existed factors which almost inevitably brought on the crisis that resulted in the separation from the mother-country. Their rapid growth and prosperity engendered pride and self-satisfaction; the constant practice which they had in self-government made them feel that they were well capable of managing their own affairs without outside interference; the common struggle against the French, and its satisfactory outcome, relieved them, as they thought, of further dependence upon England for protection; all these factors tended to give them a sense of political entity and self-sufficiency, if not of nationhood.

Heterogeneity of population

Added to this growing sensitiveness was the fact that the colonists were largely indifferent to England. The majority of the English settlers were descendants of religious or political dissenters, or of indentured servants, or even of paupers and criminals, who had no reason to feel much devotion to England as a motherland. It must, moreover, be recalled that a large and constantly increasing section of the colonial population,[1] especially in the middle colonies, was composed of various foreigners, such as Germans, French, Swedes, and Dutch, who had no cause for attachment to England. To these must be added the Scotch-Irish, who had memories of English oppression.

Colonists different from people in England

It has to be noted, moreover, that the distance which separated the colonies from England, the fact that the colonists were free to develop new institutions in a primitive land, and that dissenters and radicals had come to America, leaving behind those who were more conservative, tended to create a people and institutions which differed considerably from those in England. While in many ways their political ideas were more progressive than those of the homeland, their isolation from European affairs tended at times to make their viewpoint narrow and self-centered.

[1] Probably as much as two-fifths.

Throughout colonial history many irritating clashes between governors and assemblies had tended towards estrangement. Little understanding the parliamentary revolution which had taken place in England in 1688, the colonists had resented the part which Parliament afterwards sought to play in colonial affairs. Since they had their charters from the King, and were accustomed to recognize no other English authority, they regarded Parliament's policy as usurpation and undue interference. While common action with England against the French had some tendency to arouse good feeling, the irritation caused by attempts to obtain colonial contributions to the war expenses, and the contempt which English officers, even in the case of such a distinguished soldier as Wolfe, displayed towards colonial troops aroused antagonism.

Sources of misunderstanding and irritation

Perhaps the greatest source of friction, however, was English commercial regulations. As will be recalled, the first Navigation Act of 1651 provided that overseas goods or products must all be sent to England, or other parts of the Empire, in ships owned by Englishmen or colonists, whose masters and the majority of whose crews were English, while imports from any part of Europe had to be brought in English vessels, or in those of the nation by which the product was produced. This act was intended to promote the growth of English shipping, and break the hold that the Dutch had on colonial commerce; it was supplemented by the Act of 1661, which required that the ships must be not only British-owned, but British-built. Since the establishment of such a monopoly of transportation free from foreign competition tended almost inevitably to make freight rates higher, and since the Dutch had better facilities for carrying goods at cheaper rates, these Acts undoubtedly were to some extent a detriment to colonial trade. The colonists, however, were partly at least recompensed by the aid these measures gave to the important New England ship-building industry and by the investment of British capital in colonial fisheries, ship-building, and trade.

Navigation Acts as source of conflict

The requirement that certain enumerated commodities, such as sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, dye woods and, later, rice, pitch, tar, and turpentine must all be sent directly to England, rather than to other lands, is more open to criticism. It was clearly in the interests of the mother-country, which was thus given a middleman's profit and the benefit of heavy duties. If he disposed of them in England, the colonist was forced to sell his goods on a glutted market at lower rates than he would have obtained if he had been free to sell wherever he might secure the best returns. Although he was given a rebate on the duty if his wares were reëxported within a short time to other countries, he was put to the expense and delay of warehousing them, and sending them to their ultimate consumer by an indirect route.

Enumerated articles

The "Molasses Act" of 1733, aimed to protect the English sugar planters, would have proved a great detriment to the New England traders if they had not successfully avoided it by wholesale smuggling.

Molasses Act (1733)

Restrictions on colonial industry

Likewise annoying to the colonists were the provisions which required them to purchase all European manufactured goods through British merchants. The prohibition of colonial manufacture of such articles as hats and finished iron products might have proved a serious hindrance if, due to the lack of capital, high prices of labor, and lure of abundant fertile land, most of the colonists had not devoted their attention to agriculture rather than to manufacturing. A source of real discontent and many bitter quarrels with colonial governors lay in Parliament's prohibition of the issue of colonial paper money to relieve the scarcity of a circulating medium of exchange which would enable debtors to pay their debts.

Compensatory commercial advantages

As opposed to these annoyances and detriments under which the colonists labored may be mentioned certain compensatory advantages, such as the fact that the British market was protected for the colonial trade in enumerated commodities by heavy duties or prohibitions on foreign products which might compete with them. The production of certain colonial articles was aided by English bounties. The colonists were able to, and did extensively, send non-enumerated commodities directly to other countries, and the duties on those which had to be sent to England were, at least in part, remitted upon their reshipment to other European nations. Although the colonists were obliged to buy their manufactured goods from British merchants, these were generally better made and cheaper than could have been obtained from other nations, and if foreign goods were bought through England, the duties which had been paid were largely refunded upon reëxport to the colonies. American commerce, moreover, "prospered under the protection of the British flag" and with the acquisition of new imperial possessions its markets were broadened. Colonial merchants were greatly favored by English merchants in the liberal credits extended, which they would have had great difficulty in securing from foreign houses.

Critical nature of situation

The government believed itself justified in seeking trade advantages from its colonies to compensate for their defense, and endeavored, according to current mercantile ideas, to build up a self-sufficing empire in which one part should assist another. Attempts to enforce such a system, however, were sure to produce friction. By disregarding the commercial laws, the colonial smugglers encouraged a spirit of disrespect for English law, which inevitably led to trouble when the government sought more strictly to impose its will in colonial affairs. It was certain that the colonies, as they grew to a state of maturity, would feel that their economic development was seriously cramped by such regulations, and that they would resent them more and more as their feeling of self-sufficiency and independence increased. Reliance, moreover, on a frankly mercenary policy for imperial union was not likely to arouse great loyalty for the mother-country.

It was certain that the prevailing system could not last indefinitely without some change or adjustment if Great Britain meant to retain

its Empire intact; after its new conquests from France the problem assumed an even more complicated form. Were there statesmen far-sighted and great enough, was British political opinion generous enough, was the government well enough informed about the situation in the colonies to find a satisfactory solution of the imperial problem? Could England be expected to do more than she had done when no experience existed anywhere in the world of a more liberal policy than had already been applied?

Difficulty in way of satisfactory solution

It has to be realized that there could be little hope in that day of such an arrangement of mutual "liberty and equality" as now exists between England and its dominions; mercantilism, which regarded colonies as mere dependencies existing for the profit of the mother-country, was too prevalent everywhere, only gradually disappearing after many years of experience and widening democratic sympathy. Nevertheless, since the colonists held until hostilities had started, that they did not wish separation, it would seem possible that if the situation had been handled with more understanding, skill, and willingness to compromise, differences might have been so adjusted that the colonies could have been retained. Therefore, it is most important to understand the prevailing political situation both in England and America.

At this most critical period in the history of the Empire, England was ruled by a corrupt and unrepresentative Parliament and a King, George III, who as has been seen sought to restore royal power over the nation. A narrow aristocracy of wealthy bourgeois origin, arrogant, selfish, greedy, and corrupt, formed the governing caste which comprised less than one-fiftieth of the population. Absorbed in their own class interests, they cared little for the concerns of those less fortunate. To them the rights of property appeared far more important than the claims of humanity. As a rule these manor lords who sat in Parliament were narrow-minded and only partially informed. They were filled with a profound reverence for the constitution, a zeal for legality, and a persistent hostility to reform. The world in which they lived was narrow and conventional and they proved capable of understanding little besides their own class interests.[1]

Political conditions in England

Under these circumstances both Parliament and the ministers failed to understand or regard sympathetically the colonists' interests. Franklin writes, "Every man in England seems to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America . . . . . and talks of 'our subjects in the colonies'."[2] As C. M. Andrews points out,[3] the colonial agitators who preceded the Revolution were looked upon as dangerous radicals, and for radicalism only one remedy, coercion, was thought by the British authorities to be practical. The tendency of the age was

Ignorance of colonial situation

[1] C. M. Andrews: *Background of the American Revolution*, 188–191.

[2] Franklin, *Writings* (Smyth, ed.) V. 17, 21.

[3] Andrews, op. cit. 200–206. The following treatment of this matter is largely based on this work.

against compromise. Most of the members of Parliament regarded colonial discontent not as an indication of genuine distress which should be relieved, but as evidence of ingratitude "towards the best of Kings and wisest of ministers"; while Parliament, proud of the position of leadership which it had won in the state, regarded the colonial appeal to natural law against their authority as a meaningless and dangerous subversion of sacred British institutions.

This conviction was strengthened by the reports of royal governors, who were unable to see anything but anarchy in the colonial movements. Strictly adhering to the letter of the law, the government's legal advisers supported coercion and affirmed Parliament's right to legislate for the entire Empire, whether or not the people affected had the right to vote.

Political situation in colonies

On the other hand, the frontier environment of the colonists developed a fearless, self-reliant individualism. Since so few laws existed, individual liberty came to be regarded as freedom from all governmental restraint. The three thousand miles of sea which separated the colonies from the mother-country weakened its hold upon them, and strengthened their conviction that, living so far away from the center of government, they should have a right to control their own affairs without outside interference. The settlers were led through the influence of their new environment to forget both the power of and their need for British government, and when "moral and intelligent colonials" visiting England observed the frivolity of the ruling class, whatever respect they had entertained for English institutions was lessened. In their American environment, they produced a doctrine of certain inalienable natural rights based on "right, reason and honesty" and independent of established "law, conviction and tradition."[1]

Division of American opinion

It is, however, a mistake to regard American sentiment as united on the issues which caused the Revolution. While the colonists all desired a large degree of colonial autonomy, they differed as to how far home rule should be extended. Moreover, conditions in the plantation colonies, in the commercial districts of the north, and in the inland frontier regions so differed that their inhabitants were variously affected by English regulations, and consequently did not always react to them in the same manner.

Since the merchants of the commercial colonies of the north experienced the most serious effects from the application of the new imperial policies which were instituted by Great Britain, they led the "colonial movement of protest," desiring merely to secure favorable commercial treatment and repeal of hampering regulations. Withdrawal from the Empire was contrary to their interests and desires. While they had sought to use the radicals to bring pressure on the mother-country to accomplish these results, as soon as they realized that the movement was leading to an attempt to secure independence, they drew back and sought—too late—to exercise restraint.

[1] C. H. Van Tyne: *The Causes of the War of Independence*, 313, 320.

The leading professional men and practically all the royal office-holders generally remained loyalists, as did the large landed-proprietors, especially in the middle colonies, the Carolinas, and Georgia. On the other hand, many Virginia planters led the opposition in that colony to the British government.

The radical elements long were in the minority. The younger lawyers, the newspapermen, the workingmen of the port towns combined, under the leadership of Samuel Adams and others, with many of the farmers of the rural districts, to form a party of action. Slowly, isolated communities of the back-country were won to the patriot cause, and control of committees originally organized by the merchants of the coast towns fell into the hands of the radicals, who directed the movement towards independence.

Immediate Causes for the American Revolution

Aftermath of Seven Years' War

It was the Seven Years' War and its aftermath which brought to a head the forces which had gradually been tending toward a break between the colonies and the mother-country. While it removed the danger which had kept the colonists steadfast in their allegiance to England, and at the same time filled them with a new sense of their power and importance, it created problems which forced the British government from its accustomed attitude of laxity and indifference regarding colonial affairs to an attempt to impose an imperial jurisdiction over them, after a century's neglect and vacillation had permitted the colonies firmly to establish their own institutions.

Problem of new annexations

By the annexation of Canada, the Great Lakes region, and the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains, instead of the profitable French sugar isles as many English mercantilists had desired, the British government assumed not only the burden of administering and defending a greatly increased Empire, but also of proving by the development of the newly annexed territories that its choice had been a wise one. A serious problem was presented which absorbed the attention of British ministries down to the Revolution. Many of the existing colonies through their charters laid claim to land west of the Appalachians and keen interest in western lands, from which large profits were expected, had already been aroused among leading Americans, with the result that land companies for the new development had been formed. The British government, on the other hand, desired to reserve the territories recently acquired for the purpose of founding new colonies which would bring more profit to the mother-country. At the same time, the interests of the fur-traders, with which settlement of the new region was likely to interfere, and the rights of the Indians, whose infringement was already causing trouble, were of even more immediate concern.

Problem of defense

The government was forced to take action by a great uprising in 1763 of the Indians of the Northwest, led by the great chief Pontiac, which showed the need both for a settled Indian policy and for greater

defense of the western frontiers. Since the Indians had been alarmed at the prospect of losing their lands, the government for the time being forbade white settlers to go west of the Appalachians until proper negotiations for land could be conducted with the natives. Anticipating further trouble from the Indians, and not certain but that the French might later seek to recover their lost colonies, the authorities decided that it was necessary to maintain a force of regulars in America instead of trusting to the haphazard methods of the preceding century, which more than once had threatened to cause the loss of England's possessions. Accordingly, the government planned to keep a force of ten thousand regulars permanently in the colonies. Such a course was expensive and the state was already "laboring under a war debt" of nearly $631,800,000 and the expenses for army and navy had mounted from $340,200 to $1,701,000; therefore, although England assumed the initial expense of the new forces, it believed itself justified in seeking to raise from the colonies themselves at least part of the money required for their future maintenance.

Grenville's attempted enforcement of customs laws

Just at this juncture, Grenville, a conscientious but tactless man, who possessed "little knowledge of colonial life and spirit," and who had had no previous experience in dealing with American affairs, was given charge of the ministry. In his search for revenue, he investigated the commercial system and was greatly shocked at the wholesale manner in which the colonists had avoided its regulations, and in which customs officers had neglected their duties. The worst infractions appeared to be those against the Molasses Act of 1733. Accordingly, he reduced the duty on foreign molasses by half, hoping that by removing the prohibitive rates he might stop smuggling and raise some revenue. He likewise imposed duties on indigo, coffee, wines, silks, and calicoes imported into the colonies, and increased the number of enumerated articles which must be sent to England. He accompanied these measures by a tightening up of the enforcement of the customs laws, by appointing trustworthy collectors and seeing that they went to their posts, by instructing the governors to enforce the law, by setting up a vice-admiralty court for all America to correct the laxness of the existing courts, and by commissioning naval vessels to supplement the revenue cutters.

Effect of Grenville's measures

This employment of the navy and appointment of more British officials seemed, as Egerton says, "to emphasize the fact of the dependency of the colonies, just at the moment when they were beginning to be conscious of national strength." Moreoever, the English commercial policy which before had proved annoying, now seemed to the colonial merchants, who became greatly aroused over the question, to threaten ruin; much the more so since they had depended upon the markets of the foreign West Indies to dispose of their surplus products and to secure a sufficient supply of molasses to manufacture the rum which they traded for furs with the Indians, and

for slaves on the west coast of Africa. From trade in these products, likewise, they had secured their supply of ready money with which they had bought British merchandise. The shortage of money was still further aggravated by the Currency Act of 1764, which forbade the colonists to make up the deficiency in money by issuing paper notes. Thereupon, an economic depression occurred in New England and the middle colonies.

Stamp Tax

Meanwhile, realizing that the new customs of 1764 would come far from meeting the part which he believed the colonies should contribute to the expenses of the army and the civil administration in America, Grenville sought some other method of obtaining money from them. Until then England had levied no direct taxes upon its colonies. Grenville now decided to make the attempt, and selected a stamp tax, "the lightest known form of a direct tax," to be imposed on all pamphlets, newspapers, bills, bonds, leases, licenses, deeds, policies, and diplomas, as the most likely to bring in a revenue without inflicting a heavy burden upon the colonists. He waited a year after announcing his new tax, and asked the advice of the colonial agents in London before submitting the bill for it to Parliament.

Colonial attitude toward Stamp Tax

Not only did the tax affect all colonial business, but it appeared to the colonists as constituting a clear infraction of their liberties, and as establishing a precedent which they could not allow. Through the long years in which they had been left largely to manage their own affairs, they had come to regard their Assemblies as their governing bodies, and had never recognized the power of Parliament to legislate for them except in commercial matters. Their political ideas, which held to the view that every citizen should have a voice in the government and in determining taxation through his representatives, were far in advance of English conditions, where, ruled by a corrupt and unrepresentative Parliament, the great majority of the people had no direct voice in the government or in choosing its members. Since the colonists had no representation in Parliament, and under the circumstances could have none, and since they had long been accustomed to consider their Assemblies as the only taxing power, they regarded direct taxation of the colonies by Parliament as unlawful.

Up to this time they had "worked out their own destinies, with little aid or interference from the outside," and now, especially since the French had been expelled from America, they believed they could attend to their own defense without English assistance. If England needed colonial help in defending the colonies, why did it not apply in the usual way to the colonial Assemblies, instead of to Parliament, whose authority in their internal affairs the colonies had always been unwilling to admit? Not understanding the larger view of imperial defense which had prompted the British government, and seeing no immediate need of the regulars in America, the colonists came to the conclusion that, like the navy and the new admiralty court, the soldiers were a part of the British plan for enforcing the customs laws

and whatever other arrangements regarding the colonies the home government desired to make.

Lying likewise at the root of the opposition to the Stamp Tax as well as to the Townshend Acts which followed, was the fact that "the colonists bitterly resented being taxed at any time, in any way, or by any body."[1] Grenville proposed to Franklin in London that the colonists prepare a plan of their own for raising the equivalent of the Stamp Tax, but Franklin candidly admitted that the colonists would not tax themselves for support of British forces and agents. Taxes had been light, but even so they were unpopular. The requirement that they must be paid in hard money, which was always scarce, was sure to cause difficulty. The colonist came to regard it as an unjust attempt on England's part to drain him of his little ready money for which he had worked hard. Colonial merchants and planters were, moreover, deprived of the currency necessary to meet their obligations in England.

Opposition to Stamp Act

Strenuous opposition to the new commercial legislation and its enforcement had already appeared; now a universal cry of protest against the Stamp Tax arose throughout the colonies. A Stamp Act Congress, at which twenty-seven delegates from nine of the colonies were present, met in New York. The new-tax collectors, not daring to sell their stamps, resigned. Colonial merchants boycotted English goods, refusing to purchase any more, or to pay their debts. British merchants and manufacturers were so affected by the refusal of colonial dealers to whom they had extended credit to pay their obligations, as well as by the stagnation of trade resulting from the cessation of American demand, that Parliament listening to their protests thought better of its action. A new ministry having come to power, the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, and the duties of the Sugar Act lowered. At the same time, to avoid seeming to yield too much to colonial pressure, a declaratory act was passed asserting that Parliament had the legal right to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

Quartering Act

Although there was great rejoicing among the colonists at the repeal of the Stamp Tax, and many professions of loyalty were heard, the colonies were soon irritated again by the passing of the Quartering Act requiring them to furnish the English garrisons in the colonies with lodging, fuel, and lights. This, it was asserted, was "virtually an act for imposing taxes in the colonies," and in New York the Assembly boldly refused to provide for the troops as specified.

Townshend Acts

In 1767, Charles Townshend, who at the time was leading the ministry, secured the passage of the Townshend Acts, which laid duties on glass, paper, painters' colors, lead, and tea. His ostensible purpose was to obtain a colonial contribution toward the support of the troops stationed in America and toward the salaries of judges and governors. Inasmuch as the colonists had objected to direct taxes,

[1] H. W. Faulkner: *American Economic History*, 153.

these were to be external duties levied at the ports. However, since the colonists had made up their minds not to be taxed at all by the British Parliament, and since they desired to maintain, as had been their custom, a restraint upon the executive and judicial officers by controlling their salaries, they again refused to obey the law, and once more resorted to a boycott of British goods, which proved so effective that importations fell five hundred thousand pounds and such distress was caused in England that the act was repealed in 1770.

Tea Tax and Boston Tea Party

Not desiring to surrender entirely the principle of taxing the colonies, the government retained a tax of three pence a pound on tea. Several years later, in 1773, to assist the East India Company, which was in financial difficulties, it refunded to the company the entire duty on tea which it brought to England and later exported to the colonies. Even with the three pence tax which the colonists had to pay, this made their tea cheaper than that purchased by British consumers. It was further arranged that all middlemen should be eliminated, and that the company should carry the tea to America in its own ships and dispose of it through certain chosen consignees, who "were to act as branch agencies of the company." In this way, the independent colonial merchant would be eliminated from the trade by the company's agents, who controlled the supply and could sell the commodity more cheaply. The colonial merchants were greatly aroused over the matter not only because they would lose their trade in the commodity in question, but also because they feared that monopolies in other articles might be granted to the East India or similar companies, and their trade would be ruined. Hitherto they had exerted a conservative influence upon colonial action. Now they joined forces with the popular party which objected to the tea on the grounds of the principle of taxation involved. Everywhere the agents met with refusal to allow it to be landed. In Boston a group of colonists disguised as Indians dumped fifty thousand dollars' worth of tea into the harbor.

Coercive measures

Besides refusing to buy British goods when the government had attempted to tax them, the colonists had resisted seizures by the customs officers, and they had even ventured to burn the *Gaspee*, a naval vessel on customs duty. But the destruction of British merchandise by the Boston Tea Party brought matters to a climax. Rather than enter into negotiations with the colonists for payment of the damage which had been done, the government decided to use, at once, coercive measures against Massachusetts. By the Boston Port Bill, that city was closed to all trade until it paid for the tea which had been destroyed. The seat of government was to be moved from Boston to Salem. Moreover, in disregard of its charter, Massachusetts was made a royal province with appointed, instead of elected, councilors, judges, and other officials; town meetings were strictly limited in their functions. The Quartering Act of 1765 was revived, and it was arranged that in case charges were brought against them, royal officials should be tried in England. This seemed to indicate the establishment

of an arbitrary government maintained by force, over which the colonists would have no control.

Quebec Act

At the same time, all the colonies were aroused over certain provisions of the Quebec Act which had not been passed with the intention of infringing their interests, but which, nevertheless, seemed to do so. The territory between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes was annexed to the Province of Quebec. The intentions of the government in passing this act had been to associate the French settlers of this region with those in Canada, and more especially to keep out settlers from the seaboard colonies so that the territory might be preserved for the fur trade. The act was resented by the colonists because it disregarded the charter claims of Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut to the western territories, and disappointed land speculators. It set up an autocratic government there, and recognized the Roman Catholic Church both of which were distasteful to English colonials.

Colonial reaction

The government had believed that Massachusetts would be intimidated by a display of force and that the other colonies would not give it their support; but as soon as the acts affecting that colony were known in America, a congress to which every colony, except Georgia, sent delegates was assembled in Philadelphia, September, 1774. A declaration of rights and grievances was drawn up, which, while denying the legislative supremacy of Parliament, agreed to accept its regulation of trade. The repeal of certain laws was demanded, and a petition to the King and an appeal to the English people was prepared. The boycott against British goods was revived, and the stopping of all exportations to England and the West Indies was threatened in case England did not concede what the Americans demanded. Purchases of British goods were reduced from $12,587,400 in 1774 to $976,860 in 1775, crippling British factory towns and seaports, which responded as on previous occasions by flooding Parliament with petitions.

Proposals for conciliation

Pitt exerted his powers to prevent a war, since he realized that France and Spain would doubtless make use of the occasion to avenge the defeat they had suffered in the Seven Years' War. Both he and the great orator, Edmund Burke, in 1775 proposed schemes for the conciliation of the colonies which Parliament rejected. The Prime Minister, Lord North, introduced a resolution for conciliation, releasing from taxation any colony which provided its quota for common defense and civil administration. This resolution, although adopted, came too late to do any good.

War spirit in England

Although many Whigs in Parliament opposed coercion, on the whole a war spirit prevailed which the King encouraged by refusing to receive the petition which the Continental Congress had sent him. Massachusetts was declared in a state of "rebellion," which Parliament pledged their support to quell, and the army and navy began preparations for service in the colonies. The Boston Port Act was extended to nine colonies.

Meanwhile, Massachusetts had set up a revolutionary government, and called out its militia, and on April 19, 1775, there took place the first skirmishes at Lexington and Concord which opened the war. It was not, however, until twelve months later, after Congress had petitioned the King a second time, that the Declaration of Independence was drawn up (July 4, 1776). This was the work of the radicals who desired to end all British and colonial hope of reconciliation.

Opening of hostilities

The War—1776–1783

During the campaign of 1776 the Americans took Ticonderoga in the Champlain valley, and drove the British from Boston; but the American army on Long Island, under Washington, was forced to withdraw by a British fleet and army which came to occupy New York. Washington's forces were driven up the Hudson, and compelled to retreat through New Jersey to make a stand behind the Delaware River, from which refuge they emerged on Christmas night, 1776. Unexpectedly crossing the icy river in boats, they took by surprise the Hessian troops stationed at Trenton, and almost immediately followed this success by another against the British at Princeton. Thus, for the time being, the colonial capital, Philadelphia, was saved from British capture, although Lord Howe in command of the British forces at New York occupied it the following year.

Campaign of 1776

Meanwhile, the British formed the plan of isolating New England from the other colonies through gaining control of the Hudson valley by a combined military operation from Canada and New York. The English, however, were kept from advancing southward from Canada in 1776 by Arnold's flotilla on Lake Champlain. This gave the colonial forces opportunity to gather, and when, in 1777, Burgoyne finally forced his way southward through the Champlain valley, Howe, instead of marching from New York to join him, diverted his troops to occupy Philadelphia. Burgoyne, pressed by the American forces and lacking supplies, was obliged to surrender his army at Saratoga (October 17, 1777).

This victory was a turning point in the war, since it encouraged the French, who had secretly aided the colonists, openly to ally with them, send troops to America, and engage British attention in other parts of the world. One year later, the Spanish entered the war, followed by the Dutch.

Vital consequences of Saratoga

Of the utmost importance in deciding the American Revolution was this aid given the colonists by France.[1] Hardly had the French minister, Choiseul, signed the Treaty of Paris in 1763, than he bent

French aid in Revolution

[1] Opinions as to why France came to the aid of America vary. J. J. Jusserand, in his *With Americans of Past and Present Days*, 19, 20, contends it was largely through enthusiasm for the American struggle for liberty. The government's interest in the struggle, however, according to E. S. Corwin: *French Policy and the American Alliance*, 49, 50, and to C. H. Van Tyne: "French Aid Before the Alliance of 1777," in *The American Historical Review*, XXI, 20–40, was to recover the position and prestige which had been lost in the Seven Years' War.

his efforts to reforming the army and restoring the navy to its former strength. Scores of spies were dispatched to England and to America to watch sentiment, to keep the French government informed as to conditions, and to gather useful military information. Those in America did what they could to spread dissatisfaction with the English government.[1]

Soon after the Declaration of Independence, France gave secret aid to the colonists, supplying them with gun-powder, arms, and manufactured articles necessary for the war. Ninety per cent of the powder used by the American forces during the first years of the war was imported from France and Holland, mostly by way of the West Indies.[2] There is little doubt that if these supplies had not been available, the Revolution would have collapsed in its first years, and, while perhaps New England and Virginia would have continued a local struggle for a time, according to Lecky's opinion, "the peace party would have soon gained the ascendant and the colonies been reunited to the mother-country."

The French alliance following the battle of Saratoga gave the American cause prestige, and also resulted, as has been seen, in bringing Spain into the struggle and diverting English energies to various parts of the world. The French forces, especially the fleet under De Grasse, were vital in forcing Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, and the need of contending with the coalition of European powers was mainly instrumental in deciding the English ministry to negotiate for peace without expending further efforts to recover the American colonies.

Southern campaign

After a vain attempt to forestall the French alliance and win back the colonists, by promising in future to impose no direct taxes, and to recall all her objectionable decrees, England developed a new plan of campaign. This involved securing possession of Georgia and the Carolinas, where the Loyalists were numerous, and using these colonies as a base to advance northward, gradually rolling back colonial resistance. Although Cornwallis gained control of Georgia and South Carolina, and of their chief ports, Savannah and Charleston, he met with stubborn resistance in the interior of North Carolina. In 1781 he led his army, now considerably reduced in numbers, into Virginia, hoping to subdue that colony by a series of raids, and then to close in on the American forces to the northward, catching them between his own forces and those of Clinton in New York. Outmaneuvered by Lafayette, he turned to the seacoast to secure the support of a British fleet. He occupied the peninsula of Yorktown. Here, with the aid of a French fleet and army, besides his own forces, Washington succeeded

[1] When the Revolution began, France even had its spies in the British Parliament. See VAN TYNE, *op. cit.* 20–40, for a graphic account of the activity of these spies.

[2] See O. W. STEPHENSON: "The Supply of Gunpowder in 1776," in *American Historical Rev.*, XXX, 271–281; J. F. JAMESON: "St. Eustatius in the American Revolution," *Ibid.*, VIII, 683–709.

in completely surrounding him and in forcing him to surrender his army on October 19, 1781.

War outside America

Meanwhile, England was seriously concerned in defending its interests against the French, Spanish, and Dutch, in nearly every part of the world, and even in the homeland itself. Faced in 1779 with the danger of a direct attack upon British shores by a Franco-Spanish fleet bearing sixty thousand men, and having to cope with threatened rebellion in Ireland, with Spanish and French attacks in the Mediterranean which resulted in the loss of Minorca, and with French fleets in the East and West Indies which threatened British possessions in those parts of the world, England's problems were by no means confined to America. Her assumption, moreover, of the right to search and seize all neutral vessels engaged in trade with America, or in carrying contraband of war, aroused the whole European world against her. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark went so far in opposition as to form the "Armed Neutrality of the North" to resist, forcibly if necessary, these British practices. They were later joined in this effort by the Holy Roman Empire, Prussia, Portugal, and Naples.

Peace decision

At the time when disaster met British arms at Yorktown, although George III was as obstinately resolved as ever to continue the struggle, it was felt that the situation in Europe, Asia, and the West Indies was so precarious that no further troops could be spared for America. The Whigs, moreover, some of whom had not sympathized with the government in its war against the colonists, and believed in concluding peace with America in order to deal successfully with the European coalition which was opposing England, forced Lord North's Tory ministry from power, and commenced negotiations. Although at first they put forth every effort to secure a peace which would still enable them to retain the American colonies, it soon became apparent that neither France nor America would consider anything short of American independence. However, before the peace treaty was signed in 1783, Rodney's victory over the French fleet off Martinique, and his destruction of the Spanish squadron off St. Vincent, restored British naval supremacy, and enabled England to retain the most of its possessions outside the American colonies.

Results of the American Revolution

Treaty of Versailles (1783)

As matters were finally settled, the American colonies obtained their complete independence with territories extending westward to the Mississippi River and southward to the northern frontier of the Spanish Floridas. French possession of St. Pierre and Miquelon in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was confirmed, and France also secured Tobago in the West Indies, the return of Senegal in West Africa, and its trading posts in India. Spain kept Minorca, which had been taken from the English by French and Spanish forces, and besides secured East Florida, which it had lost in 1763.

Creation of new nation

In a number of ways the American Revolution exerted a vast influence upon the world's history. A new nation of great potential power, the United States, was created. Its citizens had views of world affairs unlike those of Europeans, and they developed democratic institutions more advanced than those of the older lands. Here men of diverse types and tongues found a refuge from the disturbances of Europe and greater opportunities for making a livelihood, and were molded into a strong, aggressive nation known for its enterprise and inventiveness.

Influence of American Revolution on French Revolution

The American Revolution proved of great importance in encouraging liberals the world over. To Frenchmen particularly, it seemed to prove that the theories of their philosophers might be realized, and it was therefore one of the factors which led to the French Revolution. Furthermore, the expenses which France had incurred in the war, and the aid the French had given America were final blows to the already tottering French finances, and precipitated the crisis which brought about revolution. The American Revolution likewise furnished some impulse, though indirect, toward the revolutions in the early years of the nineteenth century in the Latin-American countries.

Agitation against slave trade

The great agitation against the slave trade, which was finally abolished in 1807, had its beginnings with the American Revolution. The Declaration of Independence had declared "all men free and equal." Upon the termination of the Revolution, the American states, with the exception of the Carolinas[1] and Georgia, prohibited the importation of negro slaves, and some states, particularly those in New England, passed acts for the abolition of slavery itself. Sympathy excited by the plight of many slaves who had accompanied their masters, ruined by the Revolution, to Nova Scotia or England, and had later been abandoned without support, led, in 1787, to the foundation of the colony of Sierra Leone as a refuge for freed slaves.

Growth of settlement in Canada

Although the immediate effects of the Revolution as "the first successful revolt of a colony against its mother-country" decidedly discouraged further colonial expansion, certain circumstances connected with its outcome had the opposite effect. As many as twenty-five thousand Loyalists left the United States at the conclusion of the war and settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and about ten thousand more in that part of Upper Canada lying between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron, founding there a city named Kingston, in memory of their loyalty. England rewarded the Loyalists' devotion with liberal gifts of land and a parliamentary grant of $19,440,000 to assist them to get started in their new homes. Thus the nucleus of fresh English settlements in North America was formed, and the French majority among the settlers of Canada was in some degree counter-balanced.

Of even more interest is the first settlement of Australia, which may be considered a product of the American Revolution. Throughout

[1] South Carolina, in 1787, prohibited the importation of slaves for a number of years, and North Carolina in 1786 imposed a higher duty on those imported.

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many convicts had been sent to the American colonies, and by the time of the American Revolution, England was annually transporting two thousand of them to America. When disposal of criminals in this convenient way was made impossible by the Revolution, the government was suddenly confronted with a difficult problem. The prisons were filled to overflowing. Thousands of prisoners were crowded into unsanitary hulks ready for their journey to an unknown destination. Meanwhile, investigations of possible sites for convict settlements were conducted. Offers were made to the Russian government to send some to Crimea, and some were actually landed in western Africa, with such fatal results from the unhealthy climate that that project was abandoned.

Founding of Australia

Just at this juncture, a plan was proposed to the government to form a settlement of Loyalists and convicts in New South Wales, a country recently explored and most favorably reported on by Captain Cook. The plan met with a favorable reception, since it appeared to provide for the convicts and also to afford an opportunity for advancing British empire and commerce. The first fleet bearing convicts to the newly projected settlement sailed on May 13, 1787. It comprised eleven ships carrying five hundred male and two hundred and fifty female convicts, and two hundred and ninety officers, marines, and extra hands. In this rather inauspicious manner was begun the settlement of the great Dominion of Australia.

The Revolution struck a decided blow at the mercantile system, diminishing the respect in which it was held, and leading to the ultimate, though not immediate, substitution of more liberal policies. The facts that American shipping increased fivefold within twenty years after the Revolution, and that trade with England instead of diminishing became larger than before proved a fertile object lesson to British statesmen.

Effect of Revolution on mercantile system

The Revolution was instrumental in causing the failure of George III's attempt to establish personal rule. The government had been discredited not only by the loss of the nation's most valuable colonies, but likewise by the increase of the national debt in the amount of $486,000,000.

Influence of Revolution upon English politics

The loss of the American colonies produced little immediate liberalization of British colonial policy, which remained, well into the nineteenth century, "distinctly autocratic and paternal in character." However, some progressive changes were made in the governments of Canada, Ireland, and India.

Alterations in colonial government

In place of attempting forcibly to assimilate the French-Canadians by imposing English institutions upon them, the government, by the Quebec Act of 1774, allowed them to have their own religion and civil laws. In 1791 Canada was divided into two governments, those of Upper and Lower Canada, largely coinciding with the settlements of English and French. Besides a legislative council, nominated by the Crown, each government was granted an Assembly, elected by

the people, which possessed the privilege of self-taxation. While the home-government did keep the right to impose commercial duties, the income from them was placed entirely at the disposal of the Canadians.

So far as Ireland, which was virtually a colony, was concerned, under threat of an uprising and in the stress of the American Revolution, in 1780 it was granted trade concessions and legislative independence in local affairs, which it continued to enjoy until 1801.

In India, advance in methods of British administration is evidenced by the Regulating Act of 1773, and by the India Act of 1784. By the former, the British government, which began to realize that the East India Company's rule had resulted in considerable corruption and the amassing of wealth at native expense, made the first move toward the transfer of the government in India to the Crown. Authority over all the English posts in India was henceforth to be centered in the Governor of Bengal. The natives were afforded greater protection by the erection of a new supreme court to deal with their cases. A close check on the conduct of the Company's government was kept through the requirement that all political and military dispatches must be submitted to the Secretary of State. By the act of 1784, the direction of all Indian political affairs was vested in a new state department called the Board of Control, presided over by a cabinet minister. The ministry in future were to nominate both the Governor-General and the other higher officials in the Indian service.

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PART VI

THE DECLINE OF OLD AND THE RISE OF NEW POWERS IN CENTRAL, NORTHERN, AND EASTERN EUROPE

CHAPTER XX

CENTRAL AND NORTHERN EUROPE

The German States

Never in history had a country been more terribly affected by warfare than was Germany by the Thirty Years' War. Its population had been reduced to from two-thirds to a half what it was at the opening of the great struggle. Two-thirds of the houses in most of the cities were uninhabited. The inhabitants of the formerly prosperous town of Augsburg are said to have numbered eighteen thousand at the close of the war instead of eighty thousand as at its opening. The population of Berlin sank from twenty-five thousand to six thousand; while thousands of villages disappeared entirely. Commerce and industry were ruined. The trade which had once made the Hanseatic cities of northern and western Germany prosperous was taken by the Dutch and the English; that of southern Germany was "absolutely dead." While other nations of Western Europe were founding extensive colonial empires and building up their national power through rich overseas trade, Germany lay in ruins, incapable of taking any part in these enterprises. The middle classes were filled with discouragement and "resigned to passive obedience."

Social and economic effects of Thirty Years' War

Germany was devastated from one end to the other. Whole districts of the country had returned to wilderness over which wolves roamed. Four-fifths of all domestic animals had disappeared. Plundered time and time again by passing armies, decimated by famine and pestilence which had followed in their wake, the people driven to desperation had sometimes resorted to cannibalism and had formed in bands that lived by robbery. Now that peace had been concluded, their sufferings were far from over; disbanded soldiers continued to roam over and plunder the countryside; many of the old landlords had been killed or driven from their possessions, and had been replaced by a hard-hearted "military aristocracy" which appropriated all the money still left in the country and showed no mercy to their poor dependents. Under these circumstances the peasants were deprived of all energy, and no longer ventured to aspire to industry or liberty.

In many parts of the country both religion and education had almost disappeared together with the priest and the pedagog. "Ignorance, superstition," and "belief in witchcraft" hung like a cloud over the intellectual horizon, and manners and morals were coarsened and corrupted. The universities were nearly extinct, and little if any literature was produced. Intellectual inertia prevailed for nearly a century after the war, and the Renaissance in German intellectual life which came in the next century may largely be attributed to the

Intellectual and moral effects of Thirty Years' War

immigration of French Protestant refugees and the introduction by other means of "French taste, French teachers and French literature."

Political effects of Thirty Years' War

Since the Thirty Years' War had not been a national struggle and had given occasion for the hostility of one principality toward another, and for the constant interference of foreign powers, the idea of a united German nation was completely stifled and Germany became even more than before "a confused association." The association consisted of over three hundred sovereign states and the territories of fourteen hundred independent noblemen and knights, who, as direct vassals of the Emperor, owed him nominal dependence, but were practically independent sovereigns.

By the Treaty of Westphalia, which had closed the war, the little that remained of imperial authority had been practically destroyed by the recognition of the sovereignty of the individual states, which gave them not only complete control of their internal affairs, but also permitted them, without consulting the Emperor, to make treaties with other German states and European countries. Thus "the great vassals who in France and England had been subdued, and were simply subjects of the highest rank, had succeeded in Germany in becoming full-fledged sovereigns."

So far as the Imperial Diet was concerned, its time was spent in quarreling, and its proceedings became more and more dilatory. Since now the states had the power to deal directly with the Emperor as equals, the Diet was thought to be a useless expense. Its existence, however, did tend to prevent domestic warfare, since it gave an opportunity for the princes to confer with one another.

With no real national unity, the Empire was powerless before other countries, and possessed little or no influence in European affairs. Germany became the convenient battle-ground for great European wars; French Kings plotted with the German princes in an endeavor to secure the imperial crown for themselves and to keep Germany weak. In 1658, encouraged by Louis XIV, who "posed as the defender of the old constitution of the Empire" against imperial pretensions, a confederation of German states near the Rhine was formed.

Princes as most important political factor

From what has just been said concerning Germany, it is clear that in dealing with the period from the time of the Peace of Westphalia to the middle of the nineteenth century we must study the various German states rather than the Empire as a whole. It was the princes who possessed what power and what wealth remained in the country. From them alone could be expected any improvement of conditions. All factors favored the establishment of a series of absolute governments modeled in many cases on that of France.

Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover

Of the three hundred or more German states there were five of sufficient importance in the history of the time to require mention. These were Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Austria, and Brandenburg-Prussia. Bavaria had played an important part in the Thirty Years' War on the Catholic side. However, following the war its condition became so

backward that it was sometimes called the "German Spain." Although its Electors made some efforts to rescue their state from the condition into which it had fallen, during the eighteenth century its energies were dissipated in war with Austria, which it regarded as its principal enemy despite the fact that both states were Catholic. During a whole century and a half, it experienced scarcely forty prosperous years. Saxony, which had been the home of Luther and the center of the Protestant Revolt, appeared for a while likely to gain power and influence as the leading Protestant state in Germany. It lost this opportunity, however, because its Elector chose to be almost constantly allied with Catholic Austria against Protestant Brandenburg; toward the end of the century, he even became a Catholic himself. The state, moreover, was burdened with war and heavy taxation to support the ambitions of its rulers, who for many years were also Kings of Poland. Although it was a state of considerable importance, Hanover is chiefly interesting because its Elector in 1714 became King of England, and for over a century Hanover and Great Britain were associated in the rule of their common sovereigns.

Importance of Austria and Brandenburg-Prussia

It was, however, Austria and Brandenburg-Prussia which were the determining factors in German history. Eight million and a half out of the twenty-five million people within the Empire were ruled by the Austrian Hapsburgs, while two million two hundred and eighty thousand acknowledged the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg as their sovereigns.

Austrian Hapsburgs

As has been seen in an earlier chapter, the emperorship, although nominally elective, came nevertheless to remain in the Hapsburg family, and for over three centuries the Emperors were chosen from the House of Austria.[1] The imperial title, however, constantly concerned them less and less, and their own hereditary dominions more and more. These were greatly increased by the annexation, in 1699, of nearly all Hungary, which, with the exception of its western rim, had been held by the Turks. At that same date, Transylvania, Croatia, and Slavonia had been added, and, in 1774, Bukowina. This had resulted in bringing many Slavs and Magyars under Hapsburg rule, while the acquisition of the Belgian Netherlands, Naples, and Milan had added many Belgians and Italians to the already heterogeneous populations under their control. The racial problem thus created was a constant source of weakness. Due, however, to the prestige of a glorious family history, the possession of the emperorship, their many connections through matrimony, their extensive domains, and the military forces at their disposal, the Austrian Hapsburgs continued to play a considerable rôle in European affairs, although their imperial title of itself gave them little power.

Hapsburg interests, however, no longer coincided with those of the German nation, and their territories were now to a considerable extent outside the Empire's boundaries. They had failed to create a

[1] Except in 1742.

Origin and rise of the Hohenzollerns

strong, united Germany. That task was instead to be accomplished in the nineteenth century by a power purely German in its interests and outlook, the Hohenzollerns, rulers of Brandenburg-Prussia. The Hohenzollerns like the Hapsburgs had originated in southern Germany. From the ancestral castle on the heights of Zollern they derived their family name. Through a lucky marriage in 1192, Frederick III of Hohenzollern became burggraf of the wealthy city of Nuremberg. Due to assistance rendered the Emperor Sigismund, the Hohenzollerns were granted, early in the fifteenth century, the march or border province of Brandenburg, and the title of Elector.

Prussia

Lying outside the Empire to the northeast, was a territory called Prussia. Here, during the Middle Ages the crusading order of Teutonic Knights had conquered and Christianized a Slavic people called Borussi or Prussians. In 1466, they were forced to cede outright the western part of their territories to Poland, but continued to hold East Prussia as a feudal dependency of that power. When the Reformation occurred, the grand master of the order, then Albert Hohenzollern, turned Protestant. He disbanded his order and transformed their territory into a duchy over which he ruled as duke. The Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg intermarried with those of Prussia, and in 1618 they acquired East Prussia from their relatives, although it was still subject to Polish suzerainty. Through another lucky marriage they secured, in 1666, the duchy of Cleves in western Germany with its dependencies of Mark and Ravensberg.

Acquisition of territories as result of Reformation and Thirty Years' War

Through their acceptance of Lutheranism the Hohenzollerns had obtained rich ecclesiastical territories in northern Germany, and as a result of the Thirty Years' War they secured the important bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Magdeburg together with the eastern half of the duchy of Pomerania. The Emperor's control over them was greatly lessened and they became the principal Protestant power in Germany, just as the Hapsburgs were recognized as leaders of the Catholic cause.

Brandenburg-Prussia and its great rulers

The establishment of Brandenburg-Prussia as a great power is due to the statesmanship of three of its sovereigns, the Great Elector Frederick William (1640-1688), Frederick William I (1713-1740), and Frederick II, known as the Great (1740-1786).

Great Elector

The Great Elector received a foreign education at the University of Leyden in Holland, and married into the Orange family. The object lesson of Dutch industry and skill was not lost on the young ruler, for when he ascended the throne he paid considerable attention to restoring the prosperity of his territories, which had been sadly depopulated and impoverished by the Thirty Years' War. Dutchmen were persuaded to come to Brandenburg to drain marshes, dig canals and teach the people cattle raising.

When, in 1685, the Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV, the Elector offered such favorable terms to the Protestants who left France that he induced large numbers of them to come to Brandenburg. These

Huguenots in Brandenburg-Prussia's development

exerted a marked influence upon the country's development. Huguenots trained in the French armies, then the finest in Europe, enrolled as officers and privates in the Elector's forces, and laid the basis for cadet schools; while pupils of Vauban taught the arts of engineering and fortification. French architects and engineers assisted in the construction of public buildings, and in the restoration of devastated towns. One refugee became chamberlain and tutor of the Elector's sons; another became pastor of the court church at Berlin; a third became his personal physician, and was instrumental with other French doctors in founding the Superior College of Medicine.

Especially welcome were the Huguenot artisans who, liberally encouraged by the Elector, set up many manufactures such as those of woolen goods, hats, stockings, and gloves to such good purpose that, while previously these articles had largely to be imported, there now came to be considerable exports to other Baltic lands.[1] To these refugees likewise may be attributed the encouragement of gardening, and the introduction of valuable vegetables and fruits. Many of them were men of some means and brought much-needed capital to impoverished Brandenburg.

Governmental organization

Of even greater difficulty was the task which confronted the Great Elector of welding the institutions of his scattered states into a coördinated whole, and of curbing his restless nobility. Each of his main possessions, Brandenburg, Prussia and Cleves, had its own Diet, officials and army. By forceful and arbitrary methods he strictly subordinated them all to his own Crown Council. In spite of many protests and some resistance, he asserted his authority to levy heavy taxes throughout his territories, obtaining thereby the means to raise and maintain an army far "out of proportion to the extent and resources of his lands."

Foreign wars

By the employment of these forces and the use of clever intrigue, he made his state a power to be reckoned with in northern Europe. Interfering in a war between Sweden and Poland, he prevailed upon the King of Poland to surrender all suzerainty over East Prussia. Allying with the Dutch against Louis XIV, he so defeated Sweden, which was then in alliance with France, that that country's hegemony over the Baltic Sea was undermined.

Brandenburg-Prussia a "kingdom" (1701)

Although Brandenburg-Prussia was rapidly becoming an important state, it was not until 1701 that its ruler, the Elector Frederick III, secured recognition as "King." This he obtained as the price of support rendered the Emperor in the War of the Spanish Succession, and by the Treaty of Utrecht, which concluded that war, acknowledgment of his title was given by other European powers. It is interesting to note that Frederick chose the title of "King in Prussia" rather than that of "King of Brandenburg." This is accounted for by the fact that Prussia was an entirely independent state lying outside the Holy

[1] They also established the first paper factory, the first factory for printing cloth, and they taught the making of candles and plate glass.

Roman Empire, of which Brandenburg was a member. Henceforth, the territories united under the rule of the Hohenzollerns were known as the "Kingdom of Prussia."

Frederick William I

While the Great Elector had succeeded in laying the foundations of Prussian greatness, it remained for King Frederick William I, known as the "drill-sergeant" King, to create its political institutions, and thoroughly discipline the nation for the great tasks which lay before it. Frederick William I was a man of extraordinary energy and talent for administration. He was intensely practical and possessed a decided aversion to everything and everybody which he considered "useless or superfluous." He had a perfect "horror of abstraction, and conceived everything in a concrete fashion." He possessed much good sense, fortified by a mind stored with the smallest details. He was simple, honest, and frank, and detested duplicity in others. He was, on the other hand, harsh, brutal, and domineering, a despot to all who surrounded him, a taskmaster almost impossible to satisfy. He believed himself invested with a semi-divine power, and concerned himself with everything. In his own forceful words, "Salvation belongs to the Lord, and everything else is my affair." He was always in a hurry, as if he believed himself to be filling a mission for which his life was too short, and, not sparing himself, he drove all around him to constantly greater exertion. In his administration, he appears to have been guided mainly by three ideas; in the first place to impose "order, discipline, and work" on his subjects; in the second place to secure economy; and in the third to establish a strong military organization.

Frederick William I's financial measure

No sooner had he ascended the throne than he cut the court expenses by dismissing many useless officials and by reducing the salaries of some of those who remained. Much of the splendid gold plate and other furnishings which his father had accumulated was sold. A budget for all public expenditures throughout the kingdom was drawn up, and every item scrupulously examined by the King; nothing might be spent without his consent.

Creation of Prussian bureaucracy

Still further to prevent waste and promote efficiency, he reorganized his government, forming a central governing board called the "General Upper Finance, War, and Domain Directory" composed of his ministers, some councillors, and secretaries. Subject to this board were local and provincial boards. The King not only created the new administration, but he also drew up a careful series of instructions as to how his officials were to conduct themselves. In these he enjoined diligence and punctuality. If ministers or councillors should arrive an hour late at council meetings, unless they were incapacitated by illness they were to be fined 100 ducats; if they should miss a session entirely without legitimate excuse, they were to lose six months of their salary. All business in hand must be settled before they adjourned their sessions. They were instructed to avoid "red-tape," and warned "not to be sleepy." They were to be exact and ceaselessly devoted to their tasks. The budgets were to be made up with the utmost thor-

oughness and punctuality, and all "irregular expenses," "all sudden calls on the treasury" were to cease. Officials had never so constantly been made to feel personal responsibility for their actions and to have it so sternly forced upon them. The ministers were to keep themselves minutely informed about the parts of the country under their charge, and in doing so were to be aided by a multitude of secret agents. All officials were chosen with the greatest care. While favoritism, sinecures, bribery, inefficiency, and waste prevailed in practically every European country at the time, by these reforms Prussia secured an able, hard-working, and conscientious bureaucracy, and the traditions were established which have ever since given the Prussian civil service "ability, zeal, and integrity." On the other hand, the Prussian administration may be criticized for centering everything so completely in the sovereign that if he proved incapable the whole system would suffer.

Judicial reforms

Closely connected with the King's desire to secure good government were his efforts to see that the law courts functioned properly. Justice, previously "slow and costly," was to be rendered "rapidly, impartially, and with clean hands" to everyone regardless of rank or station. Injustice, moreover, was prevented by the King's keen supervision over every official and every department. He took care that the taxes should be just, and that everyone, even the royal princes, should pay his share. He avoided the waste and oppression caused in other countries where the taxes were farmed out. In Prussia all were collected by carefully supervised public officials. Such measures as the abolition of serfdom on the royal estates, provision for the poor, the expulsion of vagabonds, and the measures taken to promote agriculture and industry further illustrate the King's attention to good government.

Attention to military affairs

Frederick William I's primary interest, however, was his army, which he regarded as necessary for an ambitious foreign policy. The economies and efficiency of his administration, as well as the promotion of the state's economic resources, all had the primary purpose of enabling his small kingdom to become a great military power. The King himself was "a soldier to the core" and took great pleasure in drilling his grenadiers in person. As a result of the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, the army had fallen in popular estimation. To create respect and desire for military service the King donned and constantly wore the uniform of his army, and expected those who closely surrounded him to do likewise. Army officers took precedence over civil officials, and the sons of the nobility were compelled to enter the King's service. Berlin became "the Sparta of the North" and its general atmosphere was compared to that of a frontier town, where most of the inhabitants were in the garrison.

The King's chief hobby was tall soldiers. Europe was ransacked to find them, and frequently very high prices were paid for them. Sometimes almost a thousand recruiting officers were employed beyond the

frontiers enlisting them. The King, however, came to see that this method of raising an army was unsatisfactory. He divided Prussia into cantons, upon each of which a regiment depended for its recruits. As a result of these measures, a most efficient standing army, which was enormous in comparison to the size of Prussia's population, was secured.

Frederick the Great

It remained for Frederick William I's successor, Frederick II, known as the Great, one of the world's most famous generals, to use this army. Whereas his father had been Prussia's drill-master and organizer, Frederick was its great genius. He excelled as military strategist and tactician, as diplomat, as economist and financier, and as organizer and administrator. He not only profoundly influenced his own time, but also the thought and action of his successors. Although the versatility of his genius resulted in a variety of activities, his reign was filled with so much warfare in which his ability was so marked that he is especially known for his military prowess.

Pragmatic Sanction

The occasion for his first warlike ventures was provided by the death in 1740 of the Emperor Charles VI without male heirs. Foreseeing a contingency similar to that of the Spanish succession in 1700, when the Spanish branch of the Hapsburg House had become extinct, Charles had, before his death, secured at considerable expense, from the states of the Empire and the different European powers, acceptance of an act called the Pragmatic Sanction. This guaranteed the continuance of his territories under Hapsburg rule, and, in default of male heirs, recognized his daughter Maria Theresa as his successor. It would have been better if Charles had instead spent his money in improving his army as the King of Prussia had done, for no sooner had he died, leaving an exhausted treasury and an ill-prepared army, than in spite of previous pledges the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria, Philip V of Spain, and the King of Sardinia laid claims to parts of the Hapsburg heritage.

Frederick seizes Silesia

The opportunity seemed too good for Frederick the Great to miss. He laid covetous eyes upon the rich Austrian province of Silesia, largely inhabited by Germans, which, if secured, would about double the population under his sway. Silesia was not only rich and populous, but extending northward as it did toward Berlin, it possessed great strategic value. Not waiting for a reply from Maria Theresa to his demand that she surrender Silesia to him in return for his recognition to her claims to the remainder of the Hapsburg inheritance, Frederick marched his army into Silesia and captured its capital, Breslau.

War of Austrian Succession

Meanwhile, the Elector of Bavaria aspired to become Holy Roman Emperor. He hoped to acquire Bohemia, and in this project he was supported by France, which aimed at weakening the Hapsburgs, and sought to secure for itself the Austrian Netherlands. Spain, Sardinia, and Saxony entered the war against Austria; England, already engaged with Spain in the naval War of Jenkins' Ear, and fearing French aggression in the Netherlands, subsidized Maria Theresa and sent

troops to keep the French from the Netherlands, and to defend Hanover against Prussia. Holland likewise took the Austrian side.

Progress of war

Under these circumstances, Maria Theresa was unable to drive Frederick from Silesia, and was obliged, in 1745, definitely to cede that territory to Prussia. Thereupon, Frederick withdrew from the war. Against the French and Bavarians, the Austrians were more successful. Although at first it appeared as if Maria Theresa was completely at the mercy of these enemies, her people in Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia rallied to her support. Bavaria was completely overrun and the French had to retreat across the River Rhine. They managed, however, to prevent the Austrians from crossing that river, and during the last years of the war, under Marshal Saxe, they waged a vigorous offensive in the Austrian Netherlands, and even carried the war into Holland. Meanwhile, both Saxony and Sardinia changed over to Austria, and Spain refused to fight anywhere except in Italy, where it was seeking to recover from Austria some of the territories it had formerly held.

Treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748)

By treaties signed in 1748 at Aix-la-Chapelle, the War of the Austrian Succession was terminated, leaving still unsettled, so far as Austria and Prussia were concerned, the question of German leadership, and so far as England and France were concerned, that of overseas supremacy. To this extent it was only a truce. The acquisition of Silesia by Frederick the Great was guaranteed; while all other territories occupied by the warring nations were restored to their former owners. Austria had at least the comfort of seeing Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine, become Holy Roman Emperor.

"Diplomatic Revolution"

No sooner was the war finished than Maria Theresa set about preparing for another one to recover the territory which she had lost, and to turn the trick upon Frederick by dismembering his kingdom. Having strengthened her administration through the formation of a strong central council, reapportioned and increased taxes, and enlarged her military forces, she looked abroad for allies. These she was not slow in finding. She was soon sure of the support of Saxony and Russia, and then made the bold venture of winning France, the Hapsburg's traditional enemy. Strange to say, by a veritable "diplomatic revolution," the Austrian envoy, Count Kaunitz, through enlisting the aid of the King's mistress, Madame de Pompadour, finally swung France over to an Austrian alliance.

Frederick, however, was not to be left without friends, for Great Britain had come to an understanding with him regarding Hanover, and when in 1754 the colonial struggle between France and England recommenced, it was only natural that the latter power should take the opposite side in the European conflict.

Seven Years' War

The war that ensued, known as the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), was fought out both in Europe and overseas. From the magnitude of its operations, and the number of nations involved, it deserves to rank as one of the great wars of history. Never did a general show greater

skill than did Frederick the Great. Beset on practically every side by the advancing Russian, Swedish, French, and Austrian armies, he maintained himself by concentrating his forces to destroy first one of his opponents, and then rushing to meet the next and repeating the operation. He was able to do this since the movements of his enemies were much slower and were not carefully coördinated. He likewise possessed the advantages of an interior position.

Frederick the Great as general

His methods are characterized in the first place by painstaking attention to the armament and supplies of his army; "by their careful instruction and methodical mobilization; and by profound study of the plans of campaign." Once on the battlefield "he knew how to execute with audacity and precision the most unforeseen and boldest maneuvers." "He sought every occasion to take a bold offensive, to disconcert the enemy by his rapid concentrations, by his unexpected changes of position on the open battlefield, and by his threats of envelopment."[1] It is said that Napoleon later carefully studied and profited from Frederick's methods.

Frederick's difficulties

In spite of all Frederick's skill, he was forced during the last five years of the war, by his own dwindling forces and by the superior numbers of his enemies, to adopt the defensive. He was reduced to the practices of enlisting recruits in enemy countries, of pardoning deserters, and of enrolling prisoners of war, and he was obliged in 1750 to see Berlin captured by the Russians. He was saved from annihilation by the English subsidies and diversion of French armies in Hanover and overseas, and by the sudden withdrawal of Russia in 1762 upon the accession to the throne of an admirer of Frederick's military genius in the person of the Tsar Peter III.

Treaties of Hubertusburg and Paris (1763)

By the Treaty of Hubertusburg (1763) the European phase of the Seven Years' War came to an end. Austria consented to an irrevocable cession of Silesia to Prussia, and that nation through the war had gained for itself the position of a first-class European power. The same year the treaty of Paris, as has been seen, terminated the war between Great Britain and France and its ally, Spain, with the result that while the French colonial empire was greatly diminished, Great Britain became the world's principal colonial and sea power.

Frederick secures West Prussia

Frederick still further strengthened his territories by coöperating in 1772 with Catherine the Great of Russia in seizing part of Poland. His share was West Prussia. Its acquisition joined Brandenburg with East Prussia, and added to Prussia's influence on the Baltic.

Repairing Prussian war losses

The strain, however, which had been placed upon Prussia's resources by the many years of warfare into which it had been plunged had been so great that it was nearly ruined, and Frederick had to devote special efforts to restoring its prosperity. To replace the losses of the Seven Years' War, which had amounted to nearly half a million men, he established an agency at Frankfort-on-the-Maine to recruit emigrants from southern Germany, and another at Hamburg to stop

[1] Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire générale*, Vol. VII, 255.

PRUSSIA TO 1786
AND AUSTRIAN HAPSBURG POSSESSIONS
Brandenburg at death of Frederick I. 1440
Acquisitions 1440 - 1499
" 1499 - 1619
" under the Great Elector 1640 - 1688
" " Frederick III. (I.) 1688 - 1713 and Frederick William I. 1713 - 1740
" under Frederick the Great 1740 - 1786
Austrian Hapsburg Possessions
1614 = Year of acquisition (1624) = Year of loss
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
English Miles
0 20 30 40 50 100
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Austrian Netherlands
K. of DENMARK
Schleswig
Holstein
Hamburg
Bremen
Electorate of Hanover
Brunswick
Münster
Mark
Cologne
Berg
Jülich
Aix-la-Chapelle
Liège
Prince-Bishopric of Liège
Luxemburg
Trèves
Mayence
Palatinate
Darmstadt
Frankfort
L.G. of Hesse-Cassel
L.G. of Hesse-Darmstadt
Saxon Duchies
Würtemberg
Strasburg
Basel
Constance
Zurich
SWITZERLAND
Savoy
K. of SARDINIA
Piedmont
Milan
D. of Milan
VENETIAN R.
C. of Tyrol
Innsbruck
Augsburg
Munich
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Brussels
Antwerp
Ghent
Calais
Dover
English Channel
Lille
Amiens
Paris
Reims
Metz
Strasbourg
Fontainebleau
Orléans
Troyes
Langres
Bourges
Nevers
Dijon
Chalon
Clermont Ferrand
Lyons
Geneva
Bellinzona
Aosta
Chambery
Verona
Milhausen
Montbéliard
Helgoland
Kiel
Lübeck
Lüneburg
Schwerin
Altmark
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Minden
Bielefeld
Osnabrück
Hanover
Brunswick
Cassel
Marburg
Fulda
Rossbach
Erfurt
Coburg
Bamberg
Würzburg
Nuremberg
Ansbach
Anhalt
Mannheim
Nordlingen
Ulm
Danube
Rhine
Meuse
Moselle
Seine
Loire
Saône
Rhône
Ems
Weser
Elbe
Aller
Leine
Fünen
Zealand
Horsens
Flensburg
Slesvik
Groningen
Emden
East Friesland
Oldenburg
Lingen
Tecklenburg
Ravenstein
Liège
Namur
Limburg
Aix-la-Chapelle
Cologne
Jülich
Berg
Mark
Paderborn
Münster
Osnabrück
Minden
Bielefeld
Hanover
Brunswick
Halberstadt
Magdeburg
Altmark
Lüneburg
Bremen
Oldenburg
Hamburg
Lübeck
Holstein
Kiel
Helgoland
Zuider Zee
Norwich
Dover
English Channel
Calais
Lille
Amiens
Paris
Reims
Metz
Strasbourg
Fontainebleau
Orléans
Troyes
Langres
Bourges
Nevers
Dijon
Chalon
Clermont Ferrand
Lyons
Geneva
Bellinzona
Aosta
Chambery
Verona
Milhausen
Montbéliard
Basel
Constance
Zurich
Innsbruck
Augsburg
Munich
Ansbach
Nuremberg
Bamberg
Würzburg
Coburg
Mannheim
Mayence
Darmstadt
Frankfort
Fulda
Marburg
Cassel
Rossbach
Erfurt
Saxon Duchies
Hesse-Cassel
Hesse-Darmstadt
Würtemberg
Strasbourg
Stuttgart

14
16
18
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22
24
54
52
50
48
46
Memel
Tauroggen
1691
Niemen
Kovno
Tilsit
Königsberg
Pregel
Gross Jägersdorf
East Prussia
1618
Serrey
1691
Lithuania
Grodno
Johannisburg
1656
1772
Ermeland
Elbing
Marienburg
Danzig
1654
Lauenbg.
Bütow
1654
Kolberg
Rügen
Bornholm
(Danish)
Further Pomerania
1648
West Prussia
1772
Marienwerder
Soldau
Lomzha
Netze District
1772
Bromberg
Thorn
Vistula
Bug
Brest Litovsk
Warsaw
KINGDOM OF
POLAND
Lublin
Sandomierz
Neumark
1455
Stargard
Arnswalde
Prenzlau
Netze
Warthe
Posen
Kalisch
Warthe
Czenstochowa
Oppeln
Beuthen
1603, 1742
Ratibor
Cracow
Vistula
San
Przemysl
K. of Galicia
Breslau
1742
Glogau
Liegnitz
Leuthen
Mollwitz
Schweidnitz
Landeshut
Hochkirch
Dresden
Kottbus
Sprottau
Saxony
Prague
Leitmeritz
Elbe
Eger
Kolin
Chotusitz
Glatz
Austrian Silesia
Prussian Silesia
Oder
Oder Berg
1603 (1807/21)
K. of Bohemia
Olmütz
M. of Moravia
Iglau
Brünn
Budweis
Znaim
Moldau
Trencsin
Leutschau
Kaschau
Munkacs
Tarcza
Archduchy
of Austria
Krems
Vienna
Presburg
March
Waag
Schemnitz
Miskolcz
KINGDOM
Lunz
Wiener Neustadt
Danube
Komorn
Waitzen
Buda
Pest
Debreczin
Grosswardein
Körös
Enns
D. of Styria
Mur
Gratz
Raab
L. Balaton
Stuhlweissenburg
OF HUNGARY
D. of Carinthia
Klagenfurt
Drave
Marburg
Warasdin
Fünfkirchen
Maria Theresiopol
Szegedin
Arad
Maros
Temesvar
Save
Laibach
Agram
D. of Carniola
Görz
Trieste
Fiume
Croatia
Slavonia
Essegg
Neusatz
Danube
Theiss
Banat
Long. East 18 of Greenwich

those who thought to emigrate to America. Not satisfied with these efforts, he actually took peasants by main force from the frontiers of neighboring states. Artisans were induced to come by exempting them from military service for two generations as well as by other favors, and many industries were started. Hundreds of villages which had been destroyed were rebuilt, and to replace the plow teams, of which the country in some places had been so denuded that the plows had to be drawn by human power, seventeen thousand army horses were distributed among the people.

New importance of Prussia

The Prussian success in the Seven Years' War made Prussia a first-class European power and created that dualism in German power which made impossible German unity until either Prussia or Austria was decisively defeated. This was finally accomplished when Austria was humiliated in 1866. Prussia then proceeded to unify Germany.

Sweden

While Brandenburg-Prussia had succeeded in rising to a leading position in Germany, Sweden, which had created a great Baltic empire, and under Gustavus Adolphus had been recognized as the leading Protestant power, gradually declined until in the eighteenth century it lost its position as a great power.

Foundations of Swedish kingdom

Sweden, except for a few years, had from the time of the Union of Kalmar in 1397 throughout the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century been joined in a confederacy with Norway and Denmark under the control of the Danish King. In 1523, Gustavus Vasa expelled the Danes, and, a Diet having been convened, the Union of Kalmar was repudiated and he was chosen hereditary King of an independent Sweden. In order to secure resources to fill the empty treasury of the new state, and at the same time to punish the Catholic clergy who in the recent struggle had sided with the Danish King, Gustavus introduced Lutheranism and confiscated the church property.

Rapid expansion of its territories

Before Gustavus Adolphus ascended the throne in 1611, Swedish territories comprised not only Sweden proper but also Finland, acquired as early as the thirteenth century, and Esthonia, south of the Gulf of Riga, obtained in 1561. Through a war with Russia the new King in 1617 secured Ingria and Carelia, while in 1629 he forced Poland to cede certain coast cities. Having played a leading rôle in the Thirty Years' War, Sweden received, at the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), western Pomerania, which enabled it to control the mouth of the River Oder and the territories of Bremen and Verden, situated between the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, the principal German rivers flowing into the North Sea. Thus she was in a position to control the commerce of western and northern Germany, and her dream of making the Baltic a Swedish sea had been practically realized. Meanwhile, Sweden had even extended her activities to the New World, and a Swedish company, controlled by the government, had in 1638 founded a settlement on the Delaware.

Sweden's great position during seventeenth century

On the surface, therefore, possessing double the territory it does today, placed so as to control the commerce of northern Europe, with an army which had won universal respect, and an alliance with the great military power of France, Sweden appeared to have every prospect of realizing a prosperous future as the great power of the North. Certain weaknesses, however, existed in its position which prevented it from securing lasting greatness.

Weakness in Sweden's position

Those of its territories lying south of Sweden were largely inhabited by foreign peoples, whose allegiance had to be secured by the maintenance of a large army, which likewise was required to protect them from growing powers like Prussia and Russia, who coveted them. The maintenance of such an army was an exhausting drain on the population, which in 1645 did not exceed a million for Sweden and Finland together. Few people were available for military and colonization purposes if the development of the homeland were not to suffer. Almost continual warfare, moreover, exhausted what little wealth existed. The situation was made worse by the fact that the nobles, until they were finally compelled to disgorge some of their holdings, possessed most of the land and refused to pay taxes.

The resources of the country were not sufficiently developed to stand the strain of its imperialistic ambitions, or to profit from its territories so strategically located for commerce.

Although the French alliance and the fact that it possessed able sovereigns helped it to maintain its position as long as it did, their ambitious and warlike policies exhausted its resources, and the restlessness of various subject minorities gave occasion for confusion within and plotting of enemies from without. At the same time, with the decline of Louis XIV's power and his absorption in other interests, less support could be expected from its ally; while the strength of its greatest rivals in the North increased. During Charles X's reign, Sweden was launched on the ambitious project of completing its control of the Baltic by the conquest of Denmark and those Baltic provinces held by Poland and Brandenburg. After a war in which Sweden fought Poles, Prussians, and Danes, it emerged thoroughly exhausted with only slight territorial gains that far from compensated it for the effort.

Charles XII

Although Sweden somewhat recovered its prosperity under the wise and peaceful reign of Charles XI, it was plunged again into warfare upon the accession of the "Boy King," Charles XII. Hoping to take advantage of that monarch's youthful years, Poland, Saxony, Denmark, and Russia formed a coalition to divide between them the Swedish Empire. After campaigning in Denmark and Poland and displaying ability far beyond his years, Charles forced all to make peace, except the Russians. Charles had defeated the Russians in 1700 at Narva, and, having been overwhelmingly successful everywhere else, he determined to prosecute a vigorous campaign against Russia. He made the mistake, however, of marching his army far from its base

of supplies into the heart of Russia. Winter coming on, the Swedish forces moved southward to coöperate with their ally, Mazeppa, the Cossack leader. They were met, and completely overwhelmed, at Poltava (1709), by superior Russian forces reorganized under the able direction of Peter the Great. Charles managed to escape and fled for refuge to Turkey.

Sweden's exhaustion from warfare

In 1709, Denmark and Saxony again entered the war, and in 1715 Prussia and Hanover joined the array of Sweden's enemies. Sweden had been drained dry of its resources by the long struggle. The constant levies for the army depopulated the country districts and ruined agriculture; maritime commerce was completely interrupted. Since no revenue might be derived from the customs or Sweden's transmarine provinces, constantly heavier taxes had to be imposed upon the people until taxation became unbearable. Money had to be borrowed on unfavorable terms, until Swedish credit was so undermined that this was no longer possible. Humiliating peace terms finally had to be concluded, which deprived Sweden of all her possessions except Finland and a small part of Pomerania.

Denmark—Norway

Position of Denmark among northern nations

Before Sweden rose to a position of power, Denmark had been the leading Scandinavian state, and for over a century it had controlled the whole peninsula. Although in 1523, it lost its hold upon Sweden, it continued to rule the destinies of Norway until that land was transferred to Sweden at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Due to the customs receipts from the control of the straits connecting the Baltic with the North Sea, Danish finances were usually in a more prosperous state than those of Sweden. A considerable strain was put upon the national resources by the Thirty Years' War and wars with Sweden, but after peace had been concluded with that country in 1720, there were no wars during the remainder of the century, and this gave an opportunity for economic progress.

Danish progress was greatly retarded by the power of the nobility. Until the monarchy was made hereditary in 1660 and royal absolutism created in 1661, they had, as in Germany and Poland, taken advantage of each royal election to demand further privileges until they lorded it over everyone, including even the monarch himself. Quite in contrast with the condition of the free peasants of Sweden, who had a voice in the Swedish Diets, the Danish peasants were crushed in cruel serfdom under the heavy hand of the lords, and although a number of the Kings sought to alleviate their lot not much was accomplished. Danish population remained stationary at about half a million. Though unusually well situated for commerce, its main occupation was agriculture.

Danish colonies

Denmark ruled the ancient Norse colonies of the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Danish companies, encouraged by the government, made

attempts to discover the northwest passage and open trade with the west coast of Africa and the East and West Indies. These efforts resulted in little if any profit, although posts were established in India and Africa which were disposed of during the nineteenth century to England, and colonies were located in the Danish West Indies which in 1920 were bought by the United States.

Norwegian emigration

Of more interest was the Norwegian emigration during the seventeenth century to Holland and England. Considerable anxiety was felt by the Danish government at the large numbers of Norse who left the homeland to engage in service on Dutch and English vessels, taking their families to their adopted country. It was estimated during the eighteenth century that when the Dutch merchant fleets were in the home ports the number of "Norwegian, Danish, and Holstein sailors assembled in Amsterdam" amounted to eight or nine thousand. However, when the Dutch sea-power declined, and during the wars of the American and French Revolutions, Denmark-Norway developed a great carrying trade, and became an important maritime power. Norway was also known for its fisheries, its timber, and its free peasant population.

Switzerland

Foundation of Swiss Confederacy

To the south of Germany lay the Swiss Confederation. The Swiss had once been part of the Holy Roman Empire. Their Confederation originated as one of the leagues which, as the Empire became weaker and less orderly, had been established for self-protection. Its nucleus had been the three forest cantons of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden which skirted Lake Lucerne. In 1291, these had formed "The Everlasting Compact," as a protection against neighboring lords, particularly the Hapsburgs, whose family castle was near by on the Aar River. For many years they stoutly resisted the attempts of the Hapsburgs to subdue them until, after inflicting several defeats upon their armies, the Swiss by the battle of Sempach (1386) freed themselves from the efforts of the Hapsburgs to exercise political jurisdiction over them. The Swiss acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emperor until 1499 when they defeated his forces. Their independence was formally acknowledged by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 "upon the basis of perpetual neutrality."

By the middle of the sixteenth century the original Confederation of three cantons had been enlarged to thirteen. The name of one of the original cantons, Schwytz, was applied to the whole Confederation, which came to be known as Switzerland. It was held together by treaties and agreements between the various cantons. Over it was placed a Diet, so strictly limited in its functions that each canton virtually preserved its own sovereignty.

Switzerland an example of peace

Within the Swiss cantons were people of three different tongues, German, French, and Italian. The cantons were likewise divided by the Reformation, part of them adopting Protestantism, and part re-

maining Catholic. Although religious strife existed for a while, peace was much earlier restored than in other countries, and the Confederation offered a striking example to other peoples by their ability to get along together though divided by race and religion. Such division, however, prevented them from interfering in the quarrels of other nations, and throughout the long wars which disgraced the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Switzerland remained at peace, isolated, and tucked away among its mountains, with the result that Swiss prosperity offered strong contrast to surrounding lands. The Swiss, however, were not lacking in martial ability, and for many years they made a regular business of hiring themselves out as mercenaries to other powers.

Swiss economic development

Basle, Zurich, and Geneva, lying along the trade routes of Central Europe, became natural commercial centers for the trade between France, Germany, and Italy. Geneva became one of the banking centers of Europe. Switzerland threw open its doors to refugees from various lands. As in the case of the Netherlands, this resulted in the introduction of many industries, including the manufacture of various textiles and of watches. As early as the sixteenth century, this latter industry, which has grown so famous, was introduced by French and Italian refugees to Geneva.[1] Basle "became the capital of the printing world and its presses, together with those of Geneva, Lausanne, and Yverdon, disputed with Holland the honor and profit of issuing books forbidden in France."[2] During Calvin's lifetime Geneva was the religious center of the Protestant world, and to his schools came scholars from nearly every country of western Europe. Switzerland was early noted for its cattle. Swiss cheeses during the eighteenth century had won such a reputation that they were sold even in the Levant and Egypt.

With the new interest in the beauties of nature inspired by Rousseau and other eighteenth century writers, tourists came to Switzerland in ever-increasing numbers to view the Alps, and ever since have proved a profitable source of revenue to Swiss inn-keepers.

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CHAPTER XXI

EASTERN EUROPE

Russia

Russia is a vast level country traversed by great navigable rivers, some flowing to the north, others to the south; the branches extending eastward almost meet those extending westward. Dividing European Russia from Siberia are the low-lying Ural Mountains, which furnish neither a barrier to eastward expansion, nor a considerable defense against the nomad hordes of Asia. To the east of them, stretching for mile upon mile until the Sea of Okhotsk is attained, are other plains with great northerly-flowing rivers. These vast Russian plains, "the most extensive on the planet," may be divided from north to south into "three parallel zones": the forest zone merging into the frozen mossy tundras of the north, a wide agricultural zone of marvelously fertile black earth in the center, and the grassy prairies to the south meeting the "vineyards of the Crimea and the Caucasus." *Geographical conditions*

Due to its level character and many rivers such a land was favorable to the growth and dissemination of a large population. Through it extended some of the great highways of the world with rich historical associations. From the Baltic down the great Russian rivers moved the Norse traders from Scandinavia to obtain valuable Oriental wares by trading in the Black and Caspian Seas areas. *Some geographical effects upon Russian history*

Down this pathway from the north also came warlike bands of Varingians, seeking adventure or plunder, or hiring out as mercenaries. Across the southern plains during many centuries of Russian history swept horde upon horde of Asiatic peoples, profoundly affecting Russian history and institutions, and tending to impart an Oriental character to the latter.

The early Slavs, to which people the Russians belong, are characterized as a peaceful, kind-hearted, hospitable, deeply religious, and liberty-loving people who lived mainly by agriculture. Their first home was in Podlesia, a marshy region lying somewhat north of the Carpathian Mountains. From here some moved westward and southwestward and formed the Slavic peoples known today as Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Croats. Others turned south and laid the basis of the present Slavic peoples of the Balkans. Those who were to found Russia moved to the north and east where they encountered Letto-Lithuanians, and the Finns, a Ural-Altaic race. The former they pushed to the borders of the Baltic, and with the latter they mingled to form the people called Great Russian. The mixture with Finnish stock gave large bony frames, high cheek bones, and a sallow tint. *Slavs*

It likewise added great power of endurance, more perseverance, and more enterprise to their character.

Early political organization

At first the Russians lived in scattered tribes, but as commerce with the Caspian and Black Seas became more developed cities such as Kiev, Lübeck and Novgorod were founded. Due to danger from robbers, armed bands usually recruited from Scandinavia were formed for the protection of the cities and their commerce. The chiefs of such bands sometimes became ruling princes of the towns. Sometime during the ninth century, the important city of Novgorod, so tradition says, feeling the need of outside help to organize a stable government and to defend itself against dangerous enemies, invited Rurik, a Varingian chief from Sweden, and his two brothers to come and rule over them. This they did, and, like the Normans in England, they laid the foundations of more stable political institutions. Because the Finns called the Varingians "Russ," the Slavic tribes which they ruled came to be known as Russi or Russians.

Rurik's successors gained possession of the other important cities. They failed, however, to unite them into a strong kingdom ruled by an hereditary sovereign. Instead, there was created a loose confederation of principalities, over each of which some different member of the Rurik family usually presided. In many ways these were more republics than principalities, since it was the popular assemblies which elected the princes to rule over them on condition that some member of the Rurik family be chosen; these assemblies continued to possess large legislative and judicial powers.

Founding of Moscow

Just as in Central Europe Austria and Prussia, originally border provinces, developed greater power and stronger institutions than the principalities which surrounded them, which circumstance finally enabled them to form autocratically ruled empires including neighboring states, so in Russia the densely wooded border province of Suzdal, northeast of old Russia, became the nucleus from which the great Russian Empire grew. Here was established the city of Moscow, named from a winding tributary of the River Volga, the Moskva, on which it was situated.

Establishment of autocracy

Because the grand princes of Moscow ruled a border province, and because the peasants who came to settle the new region were from the country districts of Old Russia, and had little or no experience of popular government, and were not prepared to insist on popular rights, Moscow received a more autocratic government than any other district in Russia. The princes were assisted in the establishment of royal absolutism by two factors, the Orthodox Church and the Tatars.

Church and establishment of autocracy

The Russians had been won to Christianity by the Greek Orthodox Church. Originating as it did in Byzantium, it naturally sought to promote in Russia an autocratic type of government similar to that in the Byzantine Empire, and it inculcated there the idea of divine-right monarchy.

Influence of the Tatars toward autocracy

The Tatars first reached European Russia during the beginning of the thirteenth century, and from 1243 to 1328 managed to control most of that country; later, until they were entirely expelled, they controlled only the eastern part. The Tatar Khan during this period of Tatar dominance chose the princes who ruled over the Russian principalities. He also exacted a poll tax from every Russian. The collection of this tax throughout the whole land was finally entrusted to the Grand Prince of Moscow. By thus imposing a common tax system and by acquiring autocratic power as agents of the Khan, the Grand Princes subordinated local and popular privileges to their central authority, which the Tatars upheld.

Molding of Russian autocracy under first Tsars

"Taught in statesmanship by the Tatars," "encouraged by the national Church," inspired by the example of the Byzantine Empire, the Grand Princes of Moscow busied themselves in securing the allegiance of all Russians. They destroyed in the process the old Russian principalities and their popular institutions and annexed their territories. No longer was their government shared among different members of the Rurik family, but the Grand Prince of Moscow became sole ruler. To wipe out all remembrance of previous independence not only were popular assemblies forbidden, but the leading families of formerly independent city principalities were obliged to come to Moscow to live, and Muscovite emigrants were sent to replace them in their old abodes. The people became virtually slaves to a monarch who had absolute power over their lives and their possessions.

Ever since their conversion to the Orthodox Church the Russians had recognized the Byzantine Emperors, known as Caesars or Tsars, as exercising superior temporal power over all Orthodox Christians and had thought of the Patriarch at Constantinople as their spiritual head. However, when in 1453 the imperial city was captured by the Turks, and the Slavs of the Balkans came under their yoke, Moscow was regarded by Russians as "the center of Orthodoxy," "the third Rome." The Grand Prince, Ivan III, took a Byzantine princess as his wife, adopted the imperial double eagle of the eastern Emperors as his emblem, and, when he so desired, called himself "Tsar." Even the Greeks and the Slavs of the Balkans, who now regarded the princes of Moscow as "the defenders of the faith," were wont whenever they appealed to them for aid against their Turkish oppressors to address them as "successors of the Byzantine Emperors," and the Russian clergy acclaimed them "Tsars of Orthodoxy." Under these circumstances, these potentates became more anxious than ever to play the rôle of autocratic sovereigns. An arrogance on the part of the ruler, and a subserviency on the part of his dependents, truly Oriental, came to characterize the Russian society of the time.

Conquest of Tatar Khanates

It was due to Ivan IV, commonly known as Ivan the Terrible, who reigned during the sixteenth century, that Russia was relieved of the last of the Tatars who had occupied it. Forming a strong army, a considerable portion of which was composed of infantry regiments

called "streltsi," he succeeded in 1556 in taking Astrakhan, and conquering the Tatar Khanates. Peace was established throughout the eastern frontier, and the road was now open to the land beyond the Ural Mountains.

Ruthless suppression of boyars

Ivan the Terrible is also known for his cruelty. In an attempt to destroy the influence of the old boyar nobility, whom he suspected of seeking to gain political power, he had many executed in the most ruthless fashion, and others banished to the frontiers. He appropriated their property until half the lands of the country were in his personal possession. He then created a new nobility to take the place of the old.

"Times of Trouble"

His death in 1584 was followed by nearly thirty years of strife and civil war, called the "Times of Trouble." These resulted from the dying out of the Rurik dynasty, and from the general discontent with prevailing conditions. The period was characterized by "the struggle of the boyars for power and for the throne," by the conflict between the lower classes and the lords, and by invasions of Poles and Swedes, who even succeeded for a while in occupying Moscow itself.

As was the case with the Wars of the Roses in England, the ruin of the aristocracy which had been begun under Ivan the Terrible was completed, and the chief influence in the state for the time being fell into the hands of the lesser nobility and the city middle class.

Establishment of the Romanov dynasty (1613)

Finally, in 1613, an assembly comprising representatives from fifty cities besides those of Moscow was called together and, rejecting proposals to choose a Polish or Swedish prince for ruler, they elected as Tsar a Russian noble, Michael Fedorovich Romanov. The Romanov dynasty thus founded remained in power until Nicholas II was forced to abdicate in 1917. The new Tsar, elected as he was, regarded the state as something more than his own "private patrimony" as his predecessors had done, and sought the aid of a national council in his government.

Establishment of serfdom

Russian conditions present a depressing picture during the reign of the first Romanovs. The land was devastated, impoverished, and in danger from hostile powers. The taxes were so heavy that traders were ruined and peasants in desperation fled to the forests or to the wide steppes of the south to join the Cossacks, or wandered still further into the vast stretches of the Siberian wilderness. So extensive was this movement that about the middle of the seventeenth century, to prevent the ruination of lords whose lands were becoming unproductive for want of labor force, the peasants were bound to the soil, and flight from service of a master was made a criminal offense. Thus in the seventeenth century, when in most parts of Europe serfdom was declining, it was legally established in Russia, where it was not abolished until the middle of the nineteenth century.

No check on autocracy

In the political realm, likewise, the hope for popular liberties was dissipated. Although national assemblies, more or less representative, were convened at various times throughout the century, these institutions, which at first seemed to offer hope that Russian government

might be given a broader basis than the autocracy, sank into insignificance, and finally at the end of the century entirely disappeared, leaving the Tsar assisted by his Council, or Duma, composed of the nobility and his officials, in sole control. Under the servile conditions which had been established throughout the land, local institutions lost their importance to the growing power of the central government officials and the landlords.

Russian isolation and backwardness

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Russia was an Oriental state isolated from the Baltic and the Black Sea, its natural maritime outlets, and hemmed in from the European world by Swedes, Poles, and Turks. The Tatars had allied it with Asia, thus separating it from the West. As their power had waned, Russia, following the line of least resistance, had expanded eastward, thus continuing the close association with the Orient. It had, moreover, unlike most European nations, received its religion and its civilization from Constantinople instead of from Rome, and was thus brought in contact with a declining, half-Oriental Byzantine civilization inferior in vitality to that of western Europe. All these factors were instrumental in retarding Russia's progress toward modern conditions.

Despotism, ignorance, and superstition characterized Russian society. Foreign travelers to Russia commented on "the vile subserviency to superiors and unbounded arrogance to dependent persons." The Tsar was a master as absolute, as much to be feared, as was the Tatar Khan, or the Sultan of Turkey. The greatest lords were his humble slaves, the persons and goods of all Russians his private property to do with as he willed. Lords, on their part, came more and more to regard their peasants as beasts of burden "to be used and abused at pleasure." If this were not enough to destroy all individual initiative among the Russian masses, the process was completed by the powers exerted by the village councils, or mirs, and the tyranny of the father of the family over his wife and children. The lash was everywhere employed, and beatings of wives and children highly commended. The harshest laws were enforced by the government, and the most horrible punishments were inflicted. Debtors were enslaved or tortured. Thrift and progress were discouraged by exaction.

Cut off from Europe and the sea, and subject to the insecurity resulting from arbitrary government, commerce languished. Although a small merchant class still managed to survive, the citizens of the towns generally resembled the peasants, wearing similar costumes, and living almost like them. Dwellings were generally crude wooden structures. Wooden dishes and spoons were used at meals, and rich and poor alike slept on benches or the floor.

In many respects, such as the long beards and flowing robes worn by the men, the harem-like seclusion of the females, the veils women wore on the streets, and the large retinues of household servants maintained by aristocratic families, Russians appeared more Oriental than European. Due to general ignorance, intellectual life was almost

non-existent, and polite society, because of the seclusion of women, was impossible. Russians were in marked contrast in this respect to the Slavs of Poland, where a brilliant and polished society was to be found. With puritanic severity, the Russian Church frowned upon even innocent amusements. Deprived of more elevating pleasures, all ranks of society reverted to debauchery and drunkenness, which became national vices.

Amidst the prevailing ignorance, the priests were ignorant. Russian religion became a mere matter of form, the securing of salvation by listening to long liturgies, the making many "prostrations and genuflexions," and the assiduous visiting of shrines. The Church wielded over the superstitious masses a power little less autocratic than that of the Tsar. Its position in the state was well symbolized by the "forty times forty" great churches with their innumerable cupolas and great domes of gold, silver, and blue which graced Moscow, the capital and holy city of Russia. Common belief, shared even by the Tsars themselves, in such things as diviners, sorcerers, werewolves, ghosts, and vampires is evidence of the rank superstition and ignorance which existed. Except for church architecture, religious writings, folk-lore, and heroic tales, little or no evidence of intellectual attainment existed.

Beginnings of Western influence upon Russia

When in 1553 three English vessels were sent under Sir Hugh Willoughby to search for a northeast passage to China, a direct though round-about connection was opened between Russia and Western Europe through Archangel on the White Sea. This resulted in trade relations with the English, and later with the Dutch. Under the first Romanovs, it came to be realized, somewhat as was the case later with Japan when it opened its doors to Europeans, that unless Russia were able to obtain some training in European ways, it would never be able to compete successfully with other nations in the struggle for power. The need was first felt in relation to the army. Mercenaries were hired and foreign officers engaged to train the Russian forces. This was followed by the establishment under foreign experts of foundries and arsenals to furnish supplies for the army, and some investigations of Russian mineral resources were pursued by western engineers. Meanwhile, a settlement of foreigners called the German Suburb had grown up at Moscow, which began to exert considerable influence upon the domestic life and thought of Russian high society. During the reign of the Tsar Alexis (1645–1676) Russia was brought into close relations with Europe by the wars with its western neighbors in which it became engaged.

Little Russians

Some of the Russians had migrated to the northeast, and, mingling with the Finns, had formed, with Moscow as a nucleus, the Great Russians; others who had remained behind near Kiev had been driven in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Tatars to take refuge in Poland and Galicia. During the fifteenth century, when the Tatar power over Russia had weakened, they had returned to what is now

southwestern Russia and were ruled first by the Lithuanians, and then by the Poles. They formed what are now called the Little Russians. In their wanderings they had absorbed both Polish and Tatar blood, which together with their environment tended to differentiate them from the Great Russians.

Cossacks

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the steppes of the south extending from the Dniester River to the Ural Mountains formed a frontier land called the Ukraine. It had then no settled population. Over it roamed hunters and fishers and runaway serfs escaped from Polish or Russian masters; the serfs preferred the dangers of Tatar incursions, which rendered this region unsafe, to the certainty of cruel oppression at the hands of their landlords. Obliged to be constantly on the alert against the Tatars, these people took in turn to attacking these enemies as well as the Turks, securing thereby rich booty, and experiencing at the same time the satisfaction of exterminating the enemies of Christendom. These free rovers of the Ukraine came to be known as Cossacks. They were found useful both by Polish Kings, and the Tsars of Russia in guarding their frontiers. They were enrolled into military colonies by the Polish government, and were allowed to manage their own affairs under their elected chiefs.

War with Poland and Sweden

It was the result of a quarrel of the Cossacks of the Ukraine with Poland and of the religious persecution by the Poles of the Little Russians, which precipitated the hostilities between Russia and Poland which lasted for thirteen years. The Jesuits, having succeeded in suppressing Protestantism in Poland, turned their attention to the Orthodox Russians under Polish rule. In order to secure peace from the persecution to which they began to be subjected, some of these reached an agreement in 1596 with the Pope by which they submitted to his authority on condition that they be allowed to continue in their church services the use of the Slavonic language and Orthodox ritual. Henceforth, they were known as Uniates, and members of this religious group still exist in eastern Europe. Many Little Russians, however, refused to accept this compromise and were subjected by the Poles to worse persecution than they had yet experienced. Orthodox brotherhoods and gentry organized to resist oppression, and by counter-propaganda to preserve their faith from extinction.

In 1647, a Cossack chief, Bogdan Chmielnicki, who had been wronged by a Polish official, espoused the cause of the oppressed Orthodox peasants. With a force composed of Cossacks, peasants, and Crimean Tatars he at first defeated the Poles, but later was himself defeated. Thereupon, he turned to the young Tsar Alexis for aid, offering to bring Little Russia under his rule, and in 1654 a general assembly of the Cossacks chose the Tsar as their sovereign.

Russia was soon at war with Poland, and was at first highly successful. Russian success, however, had in large measure been due to a war which the Swedish King, Charles X, was waging against Poland, in which he succeeded in taking the principal Polish cities of Posen,

Warsaw, and Cracow as well as about half of Livonia and Esthonia. Unwilling to see Russia acquire Lithuania from the Poles, he now demanded that the Tsar surrender his Polish conquests to him. This resulted in a war between Russia and Sweden. Although the Russians won some successes, they were unable to secure a decisive victory. Greatly exhausted by their effort, and troubled with civil disorder, they decided to seek peace with Sweden, and to devote all energies to continuing the war with Poland. By the treaty which was concluded in 1659, Russia surrendered all it had secured from Sweden, thus losing the opportunity, which for a time had seemed to present itself, of obtaining the territory on the Baltic so necessary for its development. War with Poland was renewed once more and at first resulted most disastrously for Russia, but in 1667, due to civil war, renewed attacks by the Cossacks, and a threatened Turkish invasion, the Polish government hastily concluded a truce with Russia. By its terms, Poland ceded to Russia Kiev and all the land east of the Dnieper River. Thus Russia had expanded its southwestern frontiers and rescued the Little Russians from foreign domination and religious oppression.

Peter the Great and Turkish War

In 1689, a remarkable Tsar, Peter the Great, came to the throne. He was a man of great energy and intelligence, possessing an insatiable thirst for knowledge and great ability in making practical application of what he learned. His first enterprise was a war against the Turks in which he attempted to take their stronghold, Azov, situated north of the Black Sea. In this project, after he had built a fleet with which he was able to cut off Turkish reinforcements, he succeeded. This victory aroused his ambition, and led him to plan to drive the Turks from Europe by the construction of a navy and the formation of a combination of European powers. The landowners and cities were ordered to furnish the money for a large fleet. Shipyards were erected, skilled shipwrights were invited to come from foreign countries to teach the Russians their art, and fifty young nobles were dispatched abroad to learn the science of navigation.

Russian mission to western Europe

For the double purpose of obtaining information of western ways and of securing an alliance of Christian Europe against the Turks, a large embassy was organized to visit the European courts. With it the Tsar himself determined to go incognito. This mission resulted in acquainting Peter and his people with European life, and led many Russians to study abroad; it also brought many hundreds of foreigners to Russia. Peter, who recognized the need of developing Russian commerce through the construction of a merchant marine and navy, spent four months in Holland, and an equal length of time in England, learning by actual practice the shipbuilding trade. He made careful investigation of factories, museums, hospitals, and various public institutions. He succeeded besides in enlisting many experts in various crafts, whom he sent to Russia. Largely because of Louis XIV's wars which were then occupying the attention of Europe, the mission

failed to secure an alliance against the Turks. Accordingly, Peter abandoned for the present his great design against Turkey, and as soon as he could secure peace with that country, he turned to plans he and his predecessors had already entertained of driving the Swedes from the Baltic seaboard.

Great Northern War

In 1700, the Tsar joined with the Poles and the Danes in the Great Northern War against Sweden, which continued to engage the attention of Russia for twenty-one years. Meeting at first with reverses, Peter by persistent effort finally defeated the young Swedish King, Charles XII, in 1709 at Poltava. By the Treaty of Nystadt, Russia secured Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, part of Karelia, and part of Finland.

Outlet on Caspian Sea

In the midst of his war with Sweden, Peter lost Azov to the Turks. In 1722, however, just after the Northern War, he engaged in another with Persia, which resulted in the surrender to Russia of the western coast of the Caspian Sea, which proved of value in opening further relations with the East and India. His three wars had been fought with the object of securing accessible seacoasts for Russia on the Black, the Baltic, and the Caspian Seas.

Expansion of European Russia under later sovereigns

Through his wars Peter had exhausted his available resources; he had to leave to his successors the task of further expanding the frontiers of European Russia. Due to Catherine the Great's wars with the Turks and the Tatars, by 1791 Russia had secured possession of southern Russia, bordering the Black Sea, as well as of the peninsula of the Crimea. Order was soon introduced in this vast stretch of fertile but lawless country hitherto roamed over by Cossacks and Tatars. Settlers were attracted from northern Russia and Germany. Shipyards were constructed at the river-mouths. A naval base was established at Sevastopol, and commerce on the Black Sea and through the Dardanelles with the Mediterranean Sea was thrown open to Russian merchants.

Following in Peter the Great's footsteps, Catherine entertained the still more ambitious design of an alliance with Austria for partitioning Turkey, and the restoration of the Greek Empire at Constantinople. Though the alliance materialized, these objects proved to be beyond her powers to accomplish. Through the three partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) in which Austria and Prussia shared, Russia secured not only all the territory to the west that had ever been inhabited by Russians, but also purely Polish lands, as well as a more extensive outlet on the Baltic by the acquisition of Courland.

The European expansion of Russia was completed under Alexander I by the acquisition, as a result of Russian activities during the period of the Napoleonic wars, of Finland from Sweden (1809), of Bessarabia from Turkey (1812), and by the settlement of the Congress of Vienna (1815) which gave Russia still more of Poland, including Warsaw. The Russian dream of driving the Turks from Europe, although revived during the nineteenth century, never completely succeeded, but the Turkish territories were vastly reduced in favor of

the Balkan Slavs, Russia's natural allies and foster children. As has been seen in an earlier chapter, Russians had meanwhile crossed Siberia and even reached Alaska.[1]

Peter the Great's domestic reforms

Only part of Peter the Great's energies were devoted to the long wars which gained for Russia its outlet on the sea. He is noted above everything else for his domestic reforms, many of which form the basis of modern Russian institutions. Without changing the autocracy and the fundamentals of Russian society, he sought so to remodel and westernize the state and its people that it might become a great power fit to rival other countries of Europe.

Establishment of bureaucracy

To govern the state, Peter erected a bureaucracy patterned after that of Sweden. At the head of the system was a "governing senate" composed of the high officials, whose function was to direct the whole administration and to serve as a supreme court. It had no legislative power except to publish the laws the Tsar sent to it. In place of the old governmental departments were set up boards, or bureaus. The country was divided into eight governments under governors assisted by councils elected by the nobles. The governments were subdivided into thirty-nine provinces under commandants, and these into districts under county councils or councilors. The towns were given elected municipal governments subject, however, to a superior board made up from the municipal council of the capital.

Continuance of peculation and extortion

Officers were appointed and advanced on merit rather than because of rank. To prevent the inefficiency, peculation, and extortion so common to Russian governments, special officers were appointed to keep watch of the officials and report to the Tsar. A large secret service was maintained, and informers were encouraged to denounce thieves by the promise of a gift of the rank and fortune of the convicted culprit. In spite of all these precautions and the infliction of very severe punishments, so ingrained were these evils in Russian official life that it was impossible for the Tsar to eradicate them.

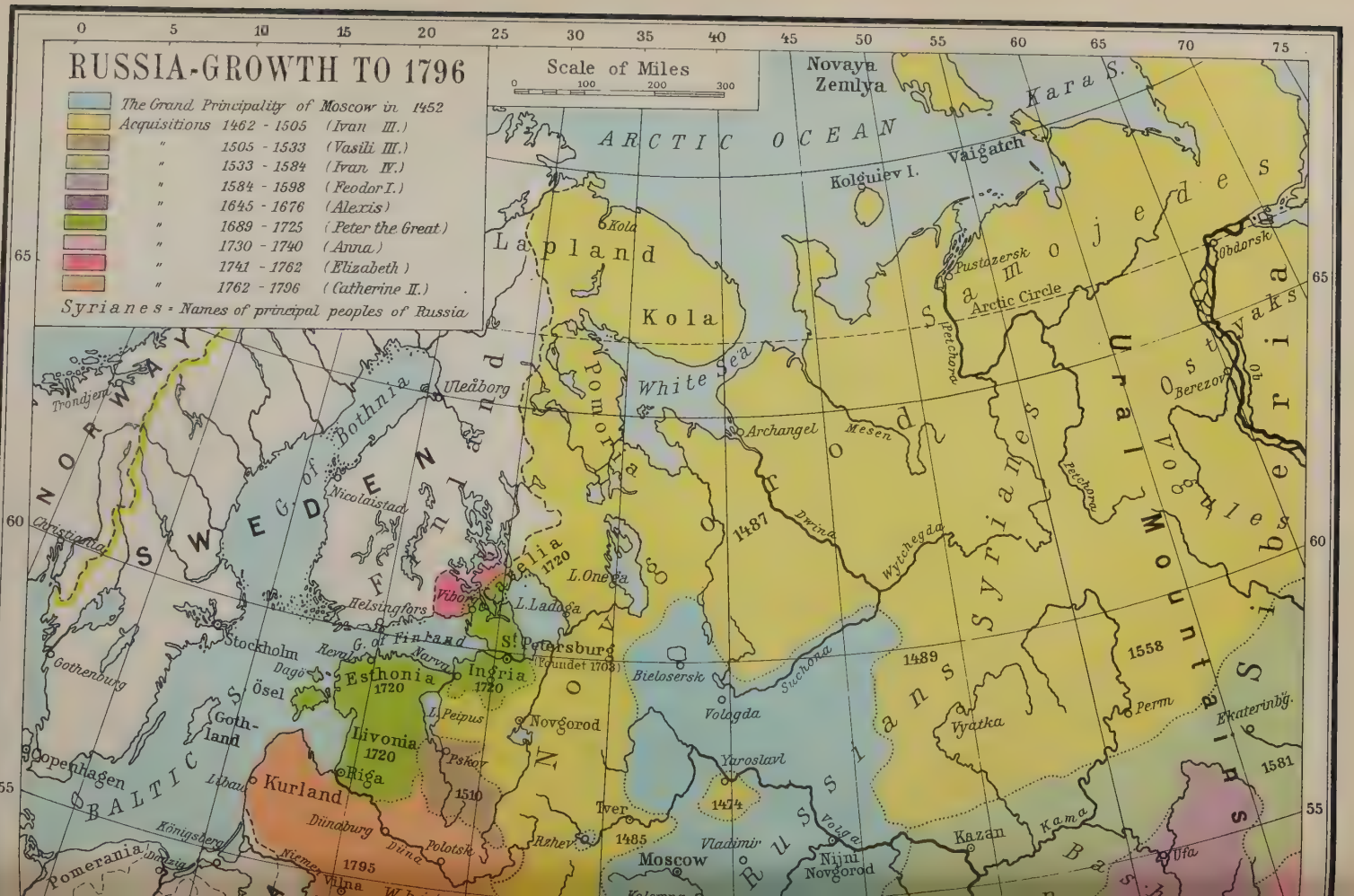
Army and navy

As might be expected, much attention was devoted to modernizing the army and to constructing a fleet. Officers were appointed and advanced not according to noble lineage, but according to their education and ability. All of any importance, however, became nobles through the offices they held. Sons of prominent nobles were sent abroad to learn military science from foreign generals, and as many as forty-seven served an apprenticeship in the French and Venetian navies. By the end of Peter's reign, he possessed an army of over two hundred thousand men, and a fleet of forty-eight warships and about eight hundred smaller vessels.

Church

The Russian Church had long been a center of conservatism. Its head, the Patriarch, and the bishops opposed many of Peter's attempts to westernize Russia. Accordingly, he abolished the Patriarchate, and placed the direction of the Church under a board of higher clergy called the Holy Synod. Like the other boards this was subject to the

[1] See p. 78.


RUSSIA-GROWTH TO 1796
The Grand Principality of Moscow in 1452
Acquisitions 1462 - 1505 (Ivan III.)
" 1505 - 1533 (Vasili III.)
" 1533 - 1584 (Ivan IV.)
" 1584 - 1598 (Feodor I.)
" 1645 - 1676 (Alexis)
" 1689 - 1725 (Peter the Great)
" 1730 - 1740 (Anna)
" 1741 - 1762 (Elizabeth)
" 1762 - 1796 (Catherine II.)
Syrianes = Names of principal peoples of Russia
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75
65
60
55
ARCTIC OCEAN
Novaya Zemlya
Kara S.
Vaigatch
Kolguiev I.
Kola
Lapland
Kola
Pustozersk
Obdorsk
Arctic Circle
Ostyaks
Samoyedes
White Sea
Archangel
Mesen
Pomora
Petchora
Berezov
Ob
Siberia
Ural Mountains
Vogules
Syrianes
Russians
1487
Dwina
Wytchegda
Petchora
1489
1558
Perm
Ekaterinbg.
1581
Vyatka
Kama
Kazan
Ufa
Bashkirs
Volga
Nijni Novgorod
Moscow
1474
Tver
1485
Rzhev
Vladimir
Yaroslavl
Volgda
Bielosersk
Suchona
Novgorod
L. Onega
L. Ladoga
Ingria 1720
Esthonia 1720
L. Peipus
Livonia 1720
Pskov
Riga
1510
Kurland
Libau
Dünaburg
Dünа
Polotsk
1795
Vilna
Königsberg
Memel
Dantzig
Pomerania
Copenhagen
Gothland
Ösel
Dagö
Reval
Narva
St Petersburg
(Founded 1703)
G. of Finland
Helsingfors
Viborg
Stockholm
Gothenburg
Christiania
Trondjem
Nicolaistad
Uleåborg
G. of Bothnia
SWEDEN
NORWAY
FINLAND
BALTIC S.

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control of the Senate. He limited the jurisdiction of the church courts, strictly controlled the monastic orders, and abolished the itinerant friars.

Promotion of commerce and industry

Peter was particularly anxious to advance Russian commerce and industry and to develop the nation's resources. Treaties of commerce were negotiated with many countries; commercial companies were founded; the currency was reformed; the immigration of foreign specialists was encouraged; and Russians were sent abroad to learn how to construct harbors and docks. During Peter's reign, more than two hundred mills manufacturing various articles were started. Landowners were bidden by the government to search for and develop the minerals on their estates. The cultivation of vines, mulberry trees, and tobacco was encouraged; sheep raising was promoted; new kinds of cattle were introduced; and care was taken to preserve the forests.

Founding of St. Petersburg

Near the mouth of the Neva, in territories acquired from Sweden, at the very northwestern edge of the country, Peter founded St. Petersburg to serve as a new commercial center and the capital of his Empire. Here amidst the Finnish marshes, after great hardship and the loss of many lives, a large city arose as a "window" to the west, built according to western European ideas, and by its situation recalling Amsterdam or Venice. Here, not only might European commerce be drawn, but foreigners might mingle more freely with Russians, and western customs, arts, and sciences might be more readily cultivated than in "Holy Moscow" with its traditions of the past.

Westernizing Russian customs

From the time when Peter first returned from his travels in western Europe, he had energetically set about changing the customs, and, as far as possible, the attitude of mind of his people to conform to European standards. The nobility and townsmen were ordered to discard their long robes in favor of western clothes and to shave off their beards. Women were no longer to stay in Oriental seclusion, but were to mingle in society. Having done what he could to change the appearance of the people around him, Peter sought to refine their crude manners. He had a book of etiquette translated. Court receptions and entertainments were organized and the nobles and important citizens were ordered to hold parties and public assemblies at their homes, attendance at which was made compulsory. Here dancing and games were indulged in, and opportunity was given for the employment of polished conversation, and the display of table manners. Peter even took the trouble to forbid by imperial ukase such traces of Orientalism as "falling on the knees before the Tsar, or doffing the hat before the imperial palace."

Promotion of education

No less interesting were the Tsar's efforts to bring education to Russian society. He realized that his reforms could succeed only if he developed an educated upper class. Therefore, the decree went forth that nobles must be able to read, write, and express themselves in a foreign language or lose their birthright, and gentlemen were forbidden to marry unless they had received a proper schooling. Educa-

tion henceforth was indispensable for appointment to, and advancement in, any office. Elementary schools were established in all the provinces, and the children of officials were obliged to attend them. Peter was especially interested in education of a practical sort, and therefore founded such technical schools as a naval academy, a school for engineers, and a school for bookkeeping.

Wider educational interests were likewise furthered in various ways. In 1724, an academy of sciences was established. A collection of objects of scientific interest was made, as well as one of the chronicles and letters of the Tsars, and Europe was searched for art treasures to adorn the new capital. To facilitate writing, the Russian alphabet was simplified. Since Russia had little literature of value of its own, the Tsar encouraged the translation of foreign literature, in order "that a huge mass of European ideas could be introduced at once." It was likewise during his reign that the first public newspaper was launched in Russia, and the calendar changed to make it conform more closely to that of western Europe.

Opposition to Peter's reforms

From the majority of the nation Peter met with steady resistance to his reforms. As a contemporary Russian remarked: "Unhappily our great monarch is almost alone, with ten others, in pulling upwards, while millions of individuals pull downwards." Frequently the Tsar was forced to compel the adoption of his reforms by threat of the knout or capital punishment. Although Russia at his death still remained much as it had been, a land where autocracy ruled supreme, where taxes were almost unbearably heavy, where corruption, ignorance, violent manners, and disgusting vices still existed, Peter had introduced the leaven of western civilization, and had given his country a set of brand-new institutions.

Wisdom of Peter's methods

As utterly dependent upon foreign assistance as he had been, he had taken care to preserve the independence of his nation, thus avoiding the calamity that has overtaken so many lands which have not only been made dependent upon European influences, but also upon European control. While he had enlisted many foreigners to assist him, he had kept Russians in the principal offices, and by the end of his reign he was able to leave every important position in the Empire in the hands of Russians, trained by his efforts. Peter's reforming methods were likewise characterized by the fact that he did not merely introduce changes, but carefully explained why they were best, thus giving the nation lessons it never forgot. The very practical nature of his reforms and the fact that "he never destroyed anything which he was not able to replace by something better" helped to make them more enduring.

Poland

Early Polish history

Lying between Russia and Germany was the large country of Poland, extending over an area of 280,000 square miles from the Baltic nearly to the Black Sea. It ranked third in area among European

countries, and during the eighteenth century it had a population of about eleven and a half millions. However, it has to be noted that at least two-thirds of its territories were inhabited by peoples other than Poles. In the northeast the province of Lithuania, much larger than Poland proper, was inhabited by Lithuanians, who, though differing considerably from the Poles in race and culture, resembled them in being Roman Catholics. Lithuania had been an entirely independent state until 1386, when through marriage and election Jagellon, its Grand Duke, became likewise King of Poland. Although for nearly two centuries, the Jagellons remained Kings of Poland and Grand Dukes of Lithuania, the two states were not merged until 1560. The Ruthenians, or Little Russians, resembling their brethren to the east in language and Orthodox religion, inhabited much of southeastern Poland, while the larger part of West Prussia, for long under Polish suzerainty, was inhabited by Germans, who during the Reformation became Protestants.

For many centuries Poland occupied a vastly more important place in European history than Russia; but from the latter part of the sixteenth century its position steadily grew weaker, until in the eighteenth century, after three partitions, it was completely absorbed by its neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The causes for this calamity are to be found for the most part within the institutions and society of Poland itself.

Disadvantage of elective monarchy

In the first place, the Polish monarchy, which under the Jagellons had been virtually hereditary, though nominally elective, upon the extinction of that dynasty in 1572 became in actual practice elective. Prominent Poles who were supported by foreign powers wishing to gain influence in Poland, and members of the French, Saxon, and Swedish royal families, were at various times chosen Kings of Poland. It was frequently the case that such foreign princes knew little and cared less about Polish affairs. Nevertheless, each election became the occasion for much plotting and bribery by rival powers, who resorted to threats and even to armed force to secure the selection of their candidates. The Polish nobles who possessed the privilege of electing the King made use of the occasion to exact from the candidates agreements for further restrictions upon the royal powers, until at last no real power remained for the monarch. He could not dismiss the chief governmental officers because they were appointed for life. While the great Polish nobles maintained pretentious courts which rivaled that of the King, and kept large armed bands, sometimes of five or ten thousand men, he was frequently without money. Even, at times when the country was in great danger of attack, he was frequently unable, from negligence or refusal of the nobility to coöperate, to secure forces adequate for defense.

Weakness of Diet

Since the monarch possessed little authority in the state, the Diet, chosen by the nobility, who had the only real political power, appeared to be its sole salvation. Unfortunately, this institution was

rendered ineffective by a provision that every measure must be passed by an unanimous vote instead of by a majority. By the use of what was called the "Liberum Veto," any member who chose could cause the dissolution of the Diet, rendering null and void all the acts it had passed. In this manner, within a little more than a hundred years, no less than forty-eight Diets were broken up. All legislation was rendered ineffective. Reforms urgently needed "were indefinitely postponed," while the nobility went "unrestrained in their cruel local tyrannies" and the money required for national defense remained unvoted.

Rival confederations

The anarchy thus resulting was completed by a practice which arose among the nobles. When a group of nobles happened to be dissatisfied with the actions of the Diet, they would call together "a rival confederation" of the nobility, and support it if necessary by armed force, thus causing civil war.

Opposition of nobility to reform

While many Polish Kings realized the country's desperate position and sought to bring about changes, the nobles were "blind to the interests of the country as a whole," and regarded every such attempt as an attack on their privileges and liberties, and strenuously opposed it. On their own part they made no move toward promoting the public welfare.

Deplorable social conditions

An examination of Polish social conditions reveals the great need which existed for reform. It was the prevailing opinion of contemporary observers that the Polish peasants, who comprised over seventy per cent of the population, were worse treated than peasants anywhere else in eighteenth-century Europe, one Polish King remarking that "Poland was the only country where the common people were deprived of even the rights of humanity." In normal years forced to the edge of starvation by the requirements of their masters, in times of bad harvests they "died like flies." The desperation to which they were driven broke forth at intervals in savage insurrections.

No less to be deplored was the condition to which the towns, which in the early fifteenth century had been numerous, large, and prosperous, had sunk by the eighteenth century. Their commerce had suffered a heavy blow when the conquest of Constantinople cut off the Black Sea trade. This was followed by legislation depriving the burghers of the political rights of representation in the Diet which they had formerly enjoyed, and by regulations hampering commerce. The devastation of the country during the seventeenth century by Turks, Swedes, and Russians completed the ruin of the townsmen. They lost all enterprise and sank "to the social and economic level of the peasants."

Jews, who during much of the period when they were persecuted elsewhere, had been given favorable treatment by Polish Kings, and had come in considerable numbers to Poland for refuge, now undertook the tasks the Polish people had relinquished. They provided practically the only merchants and artisans in the country, and managed for the lords nearly all the Polish estates.

Although Poland was a land of much natural wealth, containing forests, mines, and fertile fields, these were neglected or left undeveloped. Almost no commerce remained, and only a few manufactures existed. *Economic conditions*

During the Reformation and the religious wars which had occurred in other parts of Europe, Poland had exhibited a most laudable tolerance. Persecuted sects had been welcomed, and the diverse faiths found among people under Polish rule had been tolerated. This policy was changed toward the end of the seventeenth century, when the government under Jesuit influence commenced to persecute the Protestants, Orthodox Catholics, and Jews. *Religious persecution*

The long social, religious, and racial struggles, which during the last century of its existence filled Poland with disorder, destroyed what national unity had existed, and, together with the anarchic character of the government, allowed the country to become an easy prey to grasping neighbors. *Dissension disruptive to Polish national unity*

Although patriotic Poles awoke at last to the crisis which confronted their country, and made a number of attempts to strengthen the state by reforming its government, their efforts were always blocked by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who had agreed among themselves to maintain the constitution of Poland just as it was until they could profit from its weakness. Racial animosities and religious differences, moreover, were always present to afford convenient pretexts for intervention. *Interference of foreign powers*

France, whose policy it had been to support Poland as a counterweight to the Empire, at first became diverted from its earlier stand by the alliance with Austria into which it entered during the Seven Years' War. Later because of its absorption in the French Revolution France was unable to prevent the final partitions of Poland. England, likewise, became involved in the French Revolutionary wars and failed to prevent the final downfall of Poland. The three robber nations were not slow to take advantage of circumstances so favorable to their ambitions.

By the first partition (1772), Russia secured all of Poland east of the Dwina and Dnieper Rivers; Prussia obtained West Prussia with the exception of Danzig; and Austria received Galicia and the city of Cracow. By the second and third partitions, which occurred in 1793 and 1795, the upper valley of the Vistula River went to Austria, and the lower to Prussia, while Russia took what remained of Poland, the lion's share. *Partitioning of Poland*

The Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire attained its greatest height during the sixteenth century, when Suleiman the Magnificent was Sultan. The Balkan peninsula, most of Hungary, the larger part of the Black Sea coasts, all of Asia as far east as Persia, and most of northern Africa were under his sway; the Turkish fleet, at one time the strongest in the *Suleiman the Magnificent's Empire*

world, disputed with the Venetians and the Spaniards for control of the Mediterranean Sea. Some attention must now be paid to the institutions by which this great Empire was ruled, and the reasons why the Sultans gradually lost the great political power they once possessed.

Sultan's slaves

Probably the most important thing to notice about Turkish institutions as they were during the sixteenth century is the fact that the personnel of the government and to some extent of the army, was composed of slaves taken from Christian families, trained by the Turks and converted to their religion; on the other hand the positions in relation to the mosques, the schools, and the law courts were all filled by native Turks.

Usually every four years, a levy of young men between the ages of ten and twenty was made upon the Christian population of the Balkans. The Christians thus secured, together with enslaved captives of war, and those purchased by or given to the Sultan, became the personal property of that despot. They were required to render him unquestioned obedience, accept disgrace as readily as promotion, and, although they had attained the highest offices, their very lives were at his mercy.

The young men obtained by the methods just enumerated were carefully examined as to their strength and ability. Those who appeared most intelligent were placed in special schools where they were trained to become court pages and guards; the ablest among them secured the important offices in the government and army. The remainder were given physical and military training which prepared them for the army. They were finally enrolled in a special corps of infantry called the janissaries, which, together with the feudal levies and volunteers, made up the Turkish army in time of war.

Janissaries

The janissaries formed the nucleus of the Turkish standing army, which was the first of its kind in Europe. Having been trained away from parents and other relatives, "under the strictest discipline," marriage was forbidden them in order that they might devote all their attention to the Sultan's service. From early youth they were accustomed to toil and hardship, and their "fighting spirit," and their discipline became the admiration of Europe.

Empire under military administration

The Turkish army during much of the sixteenth century was the largest, the best-trained, and the best-equipped in Europe. It was given peculiar importance by the fact that it furnished the administration of the Empire, which was divided into two parts, one in Europe and one in Asia, each under a beylik bey, who administered the army of his section. The two divisions of the Empire were further divided into sanjaks, or provinces, under sanjak beys, a number of which were sometimes combined into a larger area under a pasha.

Sultan

The supreme authority in the state was the Sultan, who not only completely controlled the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the government, as well as the army and foreign affairs, but as Caliph, or successor to the Prophet, was spiritual head of all

orthodox Mohammedans.[1] His government, nevertheless, was "a despotism limited and supported by the Mohammedan sacred law," the sheri. The sheri was based on the Koran, the sayings and decisions believed to have been uttered by the Prophet Mohammed, and the "commentaries and interpretations" of the early Caliphs. This sacred law, it was contended, was above the Sultan whose duty it was to uphold it. Since it was sacred, it could not be changed. Although this made the conditions of Ottoman society more or less static, the requirements of an enlarging empire did necessitate new legislation; therefore the Sultans were obliged to issue laws, or kanuns, of their own, which, although considered to be inferior to the sheri, formed a useful supplement to it. The Sultan was further restricted in his absolutism by the ancient customs of his people.

He was surrounded by a magnificent court, with numerous servants, and lived with his carefully-guarded harem of wives in a vast series of buildings, courts, and gardens, known as the serai, around which ran a wall three miles in circumference

Grand Vizier

The Sultan was assisted in his government by the Grand Vizier who was next to him in authority and dignity, possessing as he did the seal of state, the ring, and four horse tails as visible signs of his power. The principal minister under a strong Sultan, under a weak one he was the actual ruler of the country. Although the Sultan had the authority, the Grand Vizier usually appointed the officials, and was sole intermediary between the Sultan and the outside world. At the same time, he was the Sultan's slave and might be executed at any time. Usually he had many enemies in the palace who were constantly plotting against him. To assist him were his secretary, the nishandshi, who later became the foreign minister, three or four viziers, two defterdars, or treasurers, and several cadiaskers, or supreme judges. A council meeting, called the Divan from the seats upon which it sat, was held four times a week.

Object of Sultan's slave family

This strange system of government through the Sultan's slave family is accounted for by the fact that the conquering Turks were greatly in the minority among the various Christian populations in the Balkans. By taking from the Christians their most promising young men, the Turks deprived them of their natural leaders, who were enlisted instead in the service of the government. It would have been difficult to secure the same abject obedience from Turks as from slaves, who had everything to gain and everything to fear from their masters. The system did promote a certain democracy because of the fact that the highest positions and the greatest rewards might be attained by the lowest if they displayed ability. Much wealth and

[1] When the Turks conquered Egypt in 1517, the last Caliph of the Memeluke line was taken to Constantinople as a prisoner. He was later released by Suleiman and shortly afterwards resigned his rights into the hands of that Sultan. The Turkish Sultans as a consequence assumed the title of Caliph. This title was not ordinarily employed, however, by Suleiman in public documents.

many lands fell to the lot of the Sultan's slave officials, but they were unable to pass them on to their relatives.

Gradual transformation of Sultan's slave family

With the coming of succeeding centuries, the system whereby the positions in the administration and the janissaries were filled by slaves of Christian origin was considerably transformed by the selection of a Moslem personnel. Thus, in 1656, the Grand Vizier was chosen from the Kiuprili family, and it is probable that from that date most of the highest officials were taken from the Moslem-born population. The system of palace pages continued in force until the beginning of the nineteenth century, recruited, however, after the middle of the seventeenth century, partly from purchase of slaves, and partly through the patronage of important personages. Even the janissaries, by the end of the seventeenth century, had been greatly changed by the enrollment in their ranks of recruits of Mohammedan origin.

Ulema

It was only natural that the mosques, the schools, and the law courts, since these were all so closely connected with the Mohammedan faith, should be served by those of Moslem birth. These members of the learned professions were educated in the schools attached to the mosques. They constituted a special class called the ulema, headed by the greatest authority in the sacred law, the Sheik-ul-Islam.

Harem

One other Ottoman institution, the harem, left an indelible impress upon the life of the Empire. By isolating and treating the females as inferiors and prisoners, the Turks starved their women's intellects and debased family life. Polygamy, sanctioned by the Koran, was, however, largely restricted in practice to the wealthy or the great dignitaries.

Rayahs

Within the Balkans, as has been indicated, were a variety of Christian peoples—Greeks, Serbs, Bulgars, Rumanians—who followed the Greek Orthodox faith and who were called by the Turks rayahs. Their religion was tolerated, and they were organized into millets over each of which a Christian bishop, patriarch, or other ecclesiastical head presided. The most important of these Christian ecclesiastics was the Patriarch at Constantinople, who was not only entrusted by the Sultan with supervision of the Orthodox Church and its revenues, but with the collection of the military tax and with control of certain matters concerning marriage, divorce, inheritance of property, and various other civil cases which concerned Christians alone. To the Turks, this seemed a natural arrangement, since their own laws and customs were connected with and administered by their Church; the Christians were regarded as holding the same relation to their faith.

Their burdens

While in the respects first enumerated, the Christian rayahs appeared to be favored, on the other hand they were subject to many severe disabilities. Heavier taxes were laid upon them than upon Moslems. Particularly objectionable was the levy of children, which tended cruelly to break up Christian families.

Conditions among the Balkan Christians varied greatly. The Greeks, for example, suffered much from the many wars which for

over three hundred years were fought between the Turks and the Venetians for possession of Greek soil. Ravaged so many times by both janissaries and Italians, their diminishing population was replenished by the migration of Albanians and Vlachs. The Greeks in Constantinople and the larger cities, however, prospered through trade. The Serbs and Bulgars were much harassed because they were on the route of the large Turkish armies which frequently invaded Hungary. Although paying a moderate tribute to the Turkish government, the Rumanians had their own princes to govern them, invested with power by the Sultan. In general it may probably be said that by its establishment of law and order throughout the Balkans, Turkish rule was for a while a marked improvement upon the strife and disorder of the period which had preceded it.

Causes for decline of Ottoman power

The decline of Turkish power, which began toward the end of the sixteenth century, may be attributed to a number of causes within the state itself. In the first place, the Ottoman Empire had been created, and its institutions founded, by a long line of strong, active Sultans. The coming to the throne in 1566 of Selim the Sot began a succession of weak, degenerate rulers, who no longer took an active part in leading the armies or administering the state; instead they isolated themselves in their palaces and spent their time in luxury and idleness. Of considerable influence in bringing about this change in the character of the Sultans was the law of succession issued in 1617, which made the oldest living male relative of the dying Sultan his successor. This frequently proved to be a younger brother or nephew. Not daring to leave at large such relatives as might do away with him to secure the throne, the reigning Sultan kept them virtually prisoners in his palace. Under constant surveillance, inadequately educated, and kept from contact with "men and affairs," it was only to be expected that these successors to the imperial throne should prove worthless voluptuaries. Of the thirteen sovereigns who ruled from 1566 to 1718, only two displayed any inclination to arrest the Empire's decline.

To make matters worse, the Grand Viziers, who might if capable have done something to save the situation, were, as well as the other high government officials, all too frequently placed in office through bribery and intrigue in the palace harem to which they afterwards became subservient. To keep their places they permitted the harem "to pillage and ruin the Empire," and instead of state affairs being carefully decided as formerly in the Divan, they were frequently determined in the inner recesses of the palace by the Sultan's illiterate wives and eunuchs.

For all important posts in the administration and the army, a price was exacted. These practices were extended to the judiciary, the clergy, and teachers until no position in the Empire was free from venality. As a result, not only were positions filled by uneducated and incapable incumbents, but these all sought by every possible expe-

dient to reimburse themselves for their expenditures. Taxes and exactions were levied upon the people, especially on the Christians, until they became unendurable. Farms were abandoned, production decreased, beggary and depopulation grew.

The army, so necessary since the Empire was founded and maintained by force, declined from the most efficient in Europe to a position of inferiority. While Turkish methods of warfare and equipment remained unimproved, those of western Europe were constantly bettered. Lands formerly granted for the maintenance of feudal levies were now given away to palace favorites, and those forces which had composed the larger part of the Turkish army rapidly fell off.

Even the character of the janissaries, which had provided the Sultan with a body of the most highly-disciplined troops in Europe, was completely changed. Contrary to the earlier regulations they commenced to marry, and to engage in trade, thus losing much of their *esprit de corps* and military ardor. Due to the demand of the Sultan's Mohammedan subjects to share in their privileges, Moslems were at last admitted to the janissaries and came in time to supplant those of Christian descent. Finally in 1676, the levy of Christians was stopped entirely. No longer carefully selected, and greatly increased in numbers, the janissaries became insubordinate and rebellious and at times master of the government, and a menace rather than a defense to the state.

It has likewise to be noted that the rigid character of the sheri which governed Ottoman relations, as well as the conservative spirit which inspired them, was discouraging to progress. While other nations, rivals of Ottoman power, were assimilating the people under their rule, and creating strong states, the Turks remained an alien race dominating a much larger Christian population, which they had conquered but were unable to assimilate.

Territorial losses

Although during the seventeenth century Ottoman power was still strong enough to recover Bagdad from the Persians, to capture Crete from the Venetians, and in 1683 seriously to endanger Vienna itself with a great army, the combination of the Turks' enemies, Poland, Venice, the Emperor, and Russia, proved in the end too much for their declining powers. By the Peace of Carlowitz (1699), all of Hungary except the province of Temesvar, as well as all of Transylvania, most of Slavonia, and some of Croatia had to be ceded to the Emperor; Venice gained the Morea, part of the Greek islands, and a portion of the Dalmatian coast, and Poland recovered Kameniek, Podolia, and the western Ukraine.

Although the Turks succeeded in recovering the Morea from the Venetians in 1718, in the wars which were fought during the eighteenth century with Austria and Russia much of the outlying northern and western parts of the Balkans were overrun, and Armenia and Circassia were occupied. It appeared for a while that Russia might annex large territories in the Balkans, but the other powers, par-

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ticularly Austria, became jealous of her growing power. By the peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji (1774) Russia gave up most of its conquests in Europe and Asia. Turkey surrendered to Russia its territories along the northern Black Sea coast, and its control over the Tatars of the Crimea, which Russia soon after acquired. The Sultan also promised to protect the Christian religion. Russia, although it withdrew from Moldavia and Wallachia, virtually became their protector. Russian merchantmen secured the right to trade in the Black Sea and to pass freely through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean. Austria at the same time succeeded in obtaining Bukowina. Plans for the partition of Turkey, which toward the end of the century Austria and Russia sought to execute, were interrupted by the French Revolution; Tsar Alexander I, although he secured Bessarabia, was prevented by Napoleon from obtaining greater gains in the Balkans.

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PART VII

THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XXII

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Obstacles to Progress in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

In any careful consideration of European civilization one has to note certain forces which have retarded it in the progress which it might otherwise have made. These forces have not in all periods been the same, but certain of them have existed from the beginning of history and continue to exist. Others have been modified or removed, although new ones of a different character may often have arisen to take their places. War, corruption and wastefulness of governments, heavy and unjust taxation, inequalities and special privileges, undue attachment to traditions, customs, and ways of thought, and, finally, intolerance, attended in many cases by persecution, appear to have been the chief obstacles with which the forces of progress had to contend during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and, to a great extent, the eighteenth centuries.

Obstructive forces

Had all the wealth gained during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from American gold and silver, and from expanding trade, been devoted to peaceful arts instead of being to a considerable extent drained away in war expenses, European civilization would without doubt have been much further advanced, popular welfare much more assured, than it was at the dawn of the eighteenth century. No clearer example of what might have been can be offered than the rapid progress in the peaceful arts made during the seventeenth century by the Dutch Netherlands which, when its independence was assured, avoided war and threw its energies into trade.

Waste of war

During nearly three-quarters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Europe had been rent by warfare; the eighteenth century saw even greater wars. Not only wealth but also leadership and energy had been diverted from fruitful occupations to warfare. Devastation, pillage, famine, and disease had everywhere attended its steps; tax burdens had been increased to pay for its ever-growing costs. Many valuable lives had been sacrificed, and some countries, particularly Germany and Spain, had been denuded of their populations to satisfy its demands.

War had been a leading factor in the decay of Italian civilization, in the bankruptcy of the Spanish monarchy and the decline of Spain as a great power, in the ruination of the industrial and capitalistic center of the southern Netherlands. The Thirty Years' War had turned many districts of Germany into a desert, and had retarded that coun-

try's development by a century or more. Even in the French monarchy, which during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was regarded as the center of European civilization and the strongest power in Europe, the finances gradually became undermined by its luxurious court and the many years of warfare in which it engaged; in 1789 the financial crisis with which it was faced gave rise to the French Revolution. Throughout the eighteenth century, warfare continued to be a serious drain upon the resources of European nations, and to divert their energies from profitable endeavor.

Corrupt administration of national affairs

In practically every European government, even in such progressive countries as England and France, bribery, sinecures, and in some cases even outright theft flourished. Seats in the British Parliament were bought and sold, bribes were openly resorted to both in the elections and in Parliament to keep up the party strength. In France, Sully and Colbert made energetic attempts to stop the losses and waste in the government finances, attempts successful only temporarily. Peter the Great was unable to overcome the corruption of Russian government officials, and was forced to see some of his greatest reforms marred thereby. In 1700, only $1,620,800 out of $5,672,800 revenue due the Austrian government ever found their way into the treasury. The efficiency and integrity with which the Prussian monarchs succeeded in inspiring their servants, stand out conspicuously because they were exceptional in the Europe of that day.

Oppressive taxation

The general inefficiency and dishonesty of governments, added to the expense of luxurious and magnificient courts, and the ever-mounting costs of war, made necessary the oppressive taxation which hampered trade and industry, destroyed the peasant's enterprise, and sapped his energy. As will be seen in a later chapter, the dues which the peasant was still obliged to pay his lord and the large exemption from taxation which the lord secured burdened the country.

Restrictions upon economic life

Due to the existence of privilege and inequality, to the natural attachment to past traditions and customs, serfdom still existed in much of Europe. Although under the stimulus of capital domestic industries and trading companies had made large inroads upon the gilds, which were gradually declining, they still maintained a considerable hold upon the economic life of Europe, a hold which continued even to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Little change in life of majority of people

While greater order had been introduced in most European countries, and the isolation of the towns and cities and the manors had been decreased by the growth of population, by better roads and canals, and by the greater intercourse with other lands, the life of the people remained much as it had been. The cities, however, had in many cases grown beyond their walls and larger and better houses had been erected for the rich burghers, who enjoyed a greater variety of comforts and luxuries than had their ancestors. The courts of monarchs had become more luxurious, and society more polished. In the country, chateaux and manor houses had often replaced the more uncomfortable

castles, but the peasantry, who still composed the majority of the people, lived and cultivated the fields much as their predecessors had done centuries before. Their dwellings were still crude, their diet meager.

Traditionalism and lack of originality in intellectual life

Natural inclination to follow the traditions and methods of thought of earlier times has ever had to be reckoned with as a factor in intellectual history, and when the culture which existed in Europe at the opening of the eighteenth century is examined, it is not surprising to see how much of medieval thought and interest had survived, and how little originality really existed. Even what appeared to be new discoveries were many times "revivals of, or improvements upon ideas" which had existed in earlier centuries. Even such shining lights in the intellectual sphere as Descartes, who was believed to have made "a sharp break with medieval scholasticism," was, as Thorndike points out, nevertheless "concerned with many of the problems, topics, and notions which had occupied the attention of the science and philosophy of previous centuries." In science and philosophy, such authorities as Aristotle, Galen, and Ptolemy continued, in spite of the Renaissance and scientific discoveries, to hold a large place in the thought of Europe. In Catholic countries scholastic theology flourished in the eighteenth century. Even medieval dialectic, so spurned by the humanists, continued to be taught in some universities. Medieval text books in a number of subjects were still used during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The divisions of the field of knowledge, the classification of the different subjects studied, likewise remained much as they had been in earlier times. Even alchemy and astrology, now generally considered absurdities, continued to receive the favorable consideration of men of note in intellectual and political life.[1]

Spirit of intolerance as obstacle to intellectual growth

The growth of a broad intellectual life had likewise been greatly hampered by the spirit of intolerance which continued to exist, although there was a gradual progress towards liberalism. Religious leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, were almost universally intolerant of sects other than their own. Sovereigns were governed by policy in their dealings with dissenters, and were frequently intolerant. During the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, religious differences combined with political ambitions to produce many wars deadening to progress.

Governments in most countries maintained a strict censorship of the press. The Catholic Church possessed its Index of prohibited books. Frequently scientific advance was retarded by restrictions imposed by Church or government. As late as 1664, Pope Alexander VII solemnly condemned "all books affirming the earth's movement." In 1624, the Parlement of Paris prohibited under threat of the severest

[1] See Lynn Thorndike: "The Survival of Medieval Intellectual Interests into Early Modern Times," *Speculum*, vol. II, No. 2, pp. 147–159, for a most interesting discussion of this question to which for the facts given in this paragraph the writer is indebted.

penalties the employment of the experimental method in chemistry; and in both Protestant and Catholic lands Church authorities discouraged the teaching of chemistry and physics. Even in the later eighteenth century, dissections were not allowed in the medical courses of Spanish universities. In that same century, vaccination was frowned upon by English and French theologians. The witchcraft delusion persisted through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Spirit of Eighteenth Century Culture

Conventionalism, reason, and common sense

The eighteenth century in its life and spirit was in many ways artificial and conventionalized. Graceful and courtly manners had become so stiff and formal as to be tiresome. Governments had become buried in routine. Armies had been developed into disciplined machines. Classes had solidified into castes. In literature the formal essay and formal verse held sway. Reason and common sense, rather than emotion or artistic appreciation and religious feeling, were for long dominant, until, toward the end of the century, a reaction set in in favor of naturalness in life and expression together with a renewed appreciation of human emotions. This reaction was exemplified by Rousseau in philosophy and by Wesley in religion.

Scientific interest

At the foundation of much of the century's thought lay the widespread scientific interest which then existed. This was to a large extent of a practical nature. It was accompanied by a lively interest in social, political, and economic reform along rational scientific lines.

Extension and popularization of literature

A further characteristic of the period was a wider extension and popularization of literature. Newspapers grew in importance. The first periodical magazines were founded, among which an English publication, the "Gentleman's Magazine" (1731), was prominent. Journalists and pamphleteers were responsible for the development of popular fiction. Defoe produced his *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Samuel Richardson his *Pamela* (1740), and Henry Fielding his *Joseph Andrews* (1742), thus inaugurating the modern novel. Drama at the same time was reduced with certain dramatists to the basis of common every-day life. The ideal and the heroic in literature had their exponents in the great German poets and dramatists, Goethe (1749–1832) and Schiller (1759–1805). The chief cultural leaders which the century furnished were its great masters of music, its scientists, and its rationalist philosophers. In music Germany furnished the great composers; in science and philosophy England and France took the lead.

Music

Symphony and light opera

To the eighteenth century is due the credit for the creation of that most magnificent attainment of musical art, the symphony. It is likewise known for the development from earlier forms of the Italian light opera and the growth of comic opera, of which perhaps "Richard Coeur de Lion" (1784) was the masterpiece, marking as it did the end of the pastorales and forecasting the historic opera. At the same time,

the tragic operas experienced marked development. Oratorios, originating in Italy, were under the great German masters made veritable sacred operas.

Great German composers

Among the great German composers of the period may be mentioned many well-known names such as Bach, Handel, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Bach (1685–1750) possessed such prodigious fecundity that his works comprise more than forty volumes, containing more than one hundred and fifty cantatas, besides many masses, oratorios, and a vast number of concertos. He may perhaps be considered as the greatest of his contemporaries, and is noted for the originality and massiveness of his compositions. Handel (1685–1759) spent most of his life in England, where he produced many of his greatest compositions. He was particularly noted for his oratorios, especially the "Messiah," whose "Alleluia Chorus" may be placed among "the great creations of the human genius." Haydn (1732–1809) may be credited with the creation of "the kind of symphony" which revolutionized musical art and transformed "dramatic music itself." He is noted for his simplicity and clarity. His works comprise as many as one hundred and twenty symphonies, eighty-three quartets, forty-four sonatas. Gluck (1714–1787) and Mozart (1756–1791) are noted for their operatic compositions, although the latter is also famous for his forty symphonies. Mozart is known for the perfection of form, "enchanting tunes," "clarity, gaiety, and tenderness." Beethoven (1770–1827), suffering from deafness in his later life, famed for his many symphonies and sonatas, was among the greatest of all. His work is filled with passion and solemnity.

Artists of other lands

While Germany led eighteenth-century Europe in music, such artists as the French composer, Rameau, and the Italian masters, Piccini, Paisielle, and Cimarosa, bear witness to the interest of these nations in music. It may be noted that Italian singers in this century performed in opera at "all European courts."

Musical instruments

In another respect Italy proved invaluable to the musical world, for it was there that the violin was perfected and the piano invented. Stradivari (1650–1737) produced at Cremona his famous violins and Cristofori of Florence invented in 1711 "a hammer to strike strings 'soft and hard' (piano e forte)" known by us as the pianoforte.

Eighteenth Century Science

Character of eighteenth-century science

While pure scientific discovery made noteworthy the intellectual life of the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century began to make greater practical application of scientific knowledge than had before been the case. Another characteristic of that century's scientific endeavor was the systematic collection and arrangement of the many facts which had been discovered and which were constantly being revealed.

In this work the scientists were greatly assisted by the organization of learned societies, and the active interest of the governments of the

Governmental promotion of scientific activities

time in medical clinics, scientific academies, museums, and botanical gardens. A notable example of the latter were the Kew Gardens established at London in the early eighteenth century, which became an important center for botanical study and investigation. Large collections of plants were sent to them from all parts of the world, and, after being planted there, were later distributed to learned societies, gardens, and eminent men in various parts of Europe. The activity of European governments in dispatching scientific expeditions was of great importance. The British government, for example, promoted in 1760 the expeditions of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, and somewhat later those of Bougainville, Forster, and Captain Cook; the Russian government took an active interest in Siberian exploration and in Bering's enterprise into northern waters.

Scientific investigation

The observation of overseas fauna and flora and the collection of specimens was no longer left merely to the faulty observations of the ship captain or traveler, but there began those researches of trained herbalists, physicians and other scientific men who, carrying on their investigations in every part of the world and securing collections with the utmost care, have made modern natural science possible. A notable example was Sir Joseph Banks, who in 1766 made extensive collections of plants, birds, and fish in Newfoundland, and later went as naturalist on Captain Cook's voyage to the South Seas. He was so enthusiastic about the wonders of nature that he inspired everyone around him with a zeal for scientific knowledge. Nearly seven thousand exotic plants were introduced into England during George III's reign, most of them through Banks' plant collectors stationed in various parts of the world.

Natural sciences

At the opening of the eighteenth century, and for some time afterward, the sciences known today as botany, zoölogy, and geology were not sharply differentiated from one another, but were still classed together under the term of "natural history." There was as a rule far too much of a tendency among men interested in natural science "to speculate and dogmatize about things in general," instead of confining their effort to one phase of the subject. This was well illustrated by the philosophy of the age and the penchant for "natural history." This tendency was not absent even from the work of two of the greatest natural scientists of their time, Linnaeus (1707–1778) of Sweden, and Buffon (1707–1785) of France, but much of their work was of high scientific value. Linnaeus by his great work "Systema Naturae" did much toward the systematic classification of animate and inanimate nature, making comparative study far easier. His classification of plants was so successful that his work forms the basis of the science of botany. Buffon, through his classification of animals, "paralleled and supplemented Linnaeus' work" furnishing the foundations of a science of zoölogy. His "Natural History" aroused general interest in the study of nature.

In the study of cosmology and geology the nebular hypothesis to account for the origin of the planetary system was published in final form by Laplace in 1796. Two different schools of opinion were developed concerning the formation of the earth's surface. One, the Vulcanist, ascribed geological action to fire, and held that the interior of the earth was a fiery mass; the other, the Neptunist, contended that the formation of the earth's surface had been produced by the action of water. From the study of its crust, however, the view gradually developed that it had been formed through long ages of diversified geological action. This view was especially advanced by James Hutton in 1785. Much progress likewise was made in classifying minerals.

Geography

As has already been indicated, the investigation of hitherto unexplored regions continued. Such enterprises were not only facilitated by governmental aid, but the navigator was given greater courage to make the venture by the perfected compass and quadrant, as well as by the invention of the chronometer. Even the scurvy, which had been such a menace to the sailor, had been banished through the aid of medical science. Although considerable progress was made in further revealing the earth's surface, it remained for later centuries to lay bare the interiors of Africa and of Australia as well as many regions in Asia and the Americas, while the polar seas continued to daunt the hardy mariner.

Chemistry

Chemistry did not become a real science until almost the close of the eighteenth century, when the balance for measuring chemicals came into use, and "the quantitative analysis of chemical changes" was practiced. Through most of the century this science was retarded by the belief that every combustible substance contained combined in it a material called phlogiston. However, many important discoveries were made which laid the foundations of modern chemistry. Among them may be noted the discovery in 1754 of carbonic acid by Joseph Black, and independent discovery of oxygen by the Swedish chemist Scheele (1773) and by the English Unitarian clergyman Priestley (1774); Cavendish (1731–1810) proved that air is a mixture of oxygen and nitrogen, and water a combination of oxygen and hydrogen. Due to Scheele, who introduced "new methods of isolating and studying animal and vegetable products," the great field of organic chemistry was revealed. Due to his genius citric, malic, oxalic, and gallic acids as well as chlorine and glycerine were produced, or made known. It remained, however, for the French chemist Lavoisier in his *Elements of Chemistry* (1789) to collect, correctly interpret, "rename, and classify the wealth of facts that his immediate predecessors and contemporaries had given the world," thus inaugurating a modern science of chemistry.

William Gilbert had in the sixteenth century furnished the foundations of magnetic and electrical science. Rapid progress was made during the eighteenth century in "the experimental knowledge of both electricity and magnetism." Stephen Gray (1729), through

Progress in knowledge of electricity

many experiments, established the fact that electricity can be both conducted and insulated. Von Kleist of Germany and Van Musschenbroek of Leyden, both in 1745, discovered a method of storing electric energy in what was called a "leyden jar." "A perfect mania for making electrical machines" had by the middle of the eighteenth century grown up in Europe. The interest of sovereigns and other dignitaries was aroused by such exhibitions as that by which an electrical discharge was sent through a company of soldiers wired together causing them to spring into the air simultaneously. In Paris, a whole regiment of nine hundred men was thus made to perform for the King's amusement. The applications of electricity, however, were not all sensational spectacles. In 1774, Gottlieb Kratzenstein, finding that it accelerated the heart action, increased the circulation, and contracted the muscles, began to apply it to relieve rheumatism, palsies, and various nervous diseases. Another experimenter, Andrew Gordon, invented an electric bell and a motor. Benjamin Franklin, having proved by his famous kite experiment that lightning was electricity, invented the lightning rod to preserve buildings from being struck. Dufoy (1699–1739) discovered positive and negative electricity. At the close of the century Galvani and Volta discovered the electric current and laid the basis for the remarkable developments in electro-magnetics in the nineteenth century.

Physiology and anatomy

Through the experiments of Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777) the actions of the nerves were explained. John Hunter (1728–1793) discovered the "collateral circulation of the blood"; Lazzaro Spallanzani (1729–1799) elucidated the action of the gastric juices in digestion;[1] a number of scientists collaborated in making reasonably plain the purpose and method of respiration. In the vegetable world, the analogy between the leaves of plants and the lungs or gills of animals was pointed out in 1799 by Erasmus Darwin.

Medical science

In medicine, the eighteenth century produced a number of prominent physicians among whom Hermann Boerhaave (1668–1739), whose reputation was known all over the world, was the most prominent. It was during this century that vaccination for smallpox was introduced by Edward Jenner. Of great importance both to medicine and experimental psychology were the improved methods resorted to for the treatment of the insane who, since they were believed to be possessed of evil spirits, had usually been kept chained in narrow cells and subjected to frequent applications of the lash.

Mathematics and astronomy

Important progress in the development of the science of mathematics was made by d'Alembert, Euler, Lagrange, and Laplace. In astronomy, the aberration of light and the mutation of the earth's axis were discovered by Bradley; the planet Uranus was discovered by William Herschel in 1783, and Halley predicted for the first time the

[1] Spallanzani also made experiments to show that if bottles were hermetically sealed germs would not develop in them. He thus prepared the way for preserving fruit and vegetables by canning.

return of a comet, which was named after him. In 1768 astronomical expeditions were sent to Madras, Hudson Bay, and the South Seas to observe the transit of Venus.

Archaeology

Notable progress in the development of a science of archaeology was made by the discovery of the site of the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, which had been buried by an eruption of Vesuvius during the first century of the Christian era. The excavations which were here begun initiated the researches by which the life of antiquity has been revealed. Renewed impulse was given the study of inscriptions, and the eighteenth century became an age of antiquarians.

Historical records

The same desire for uncovering the past was exhibited in the field of history. "The first great attempt to collect all the medieval sources for one country" was made in Italy by Muratori's *Scriptores* (1723-1751) and *Antiquitates* (1738-1742). In France, similar enterprises appeared in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, begun in 1733 by the Congregation of St. Maur, and in Bouquet's collection, begun in 1738, of the historians of Gaul and France; and in Germany Melchior Goldast (1578–1635) made a notable collection of German sources, the *Monarchia romani imperii*, while Leibnitz planned an even more ambitious work. The science of handling historical documents was founded by the Benedictines in Paris, under the leadership of Jean Mabillon (1632–1707).

Historical interpretation

Historical interpretation during the eighteenth century was affected by two distinct tendencies, the "Rationalistic School" of historians, and later by Romanticism. The first-mentioned tendency resulted in an attempt to reach beyond the political intrigues in Church and state to a broad cultural approach to history, embracing "the history of commerce, industry and civilization in its widest aspects." It resulted in substituting "natural causes" for "theological theories of historical causation." Among the prominent members of this group of historians were Voltaire, David Hume, William Robertson, and Edward Gibbon.

Romanticism emphasized the belief in a "gradual and unconscious" cultural evolution and held to the idea that there were certain creative spiritual forces in the life of nations which operated in a manner which "defied rationalistic analysis." It also led to the transformation of the "cosmopolitan outlook" and scientific interests of the "Rationalistic School" into national history and a renewed interest in the Middle Ages on the part of the Romanticists.

Rationalism and the French Philosophers

Influence of scientific interest upon thought

What made science so important in the eighteenth century was not so much its actual accomplishments, which on the whole were probably not so great as in the preceding century, but rather the fact that almost every phase of thought and life became affected by it. It was believed to be "the most beneficent" force in human life, and its pursuit "the sum of human wisdom" and the sure road to happiness.

Scholars, princes, bourgeois businessmen, and even sometimes theologians and aristocrats became absorbed in learning its laws and in putting them into practice. Step by step, through the efforts of such great scientists as Copernicus, Galileo, Descartes, and especially Newton, belief in a universe running like a great machine according to uniform, established laws had been developed. If a uniform law existed for the inanimate universe, it must, so the philosophers thought, also exist for all human relations and "under the inspiration of the philosopher Locke" an effort was made to create a "science of human nature and human society." As it was clear that Nature was everywhere "orderly and rational," so also should human society be. Whatever in it was found unreasonable after scientific consideration was out of conformity to the laws of Nature and should, therefore, be condemned.

Reason as criterion of conditions

When once reason was adopted as the criterion of correctness, tradition was denied and intellectual revolution was almost certain. Ever since the beginning of the Reformation, human thought had been largely absorbed in attacking or defending the Catholic Church. By the eighteenth century, since each side had succeeded in maintaining its position, zest for continuing this conflict partly died away, and men turned from consideration of the problem of "admission to heaven or hell" to science and the solution of the problems in the world about them. A group of authors grew up, especially in France, who were known as philosophers, and who made it their business to criticize existing society and its institutions in the light of reason. In government, divine right appeared absurd; in society there existed great and unjust inequality; in religion there still remained much intolerance; as one looked about on every side "excessive and wrongful regulations and restrictions upon economic liberty" were to be found.

Influence of overseas lands upon European thought

Another factor in preparing the philosophers and their generation for the new ideas of social and political reform was the influence of the accounts of voyagers, missionaries, and other travelers. These descriptions of other lands, which had been eagerly read ever since the days of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, gave rise to another type of literature. Beginning with Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* and with Montaigne, many authors philosophized upon the contrasts between European society and existing or imaginary lands overseas. Europeans were frequently compared to their disadvantage, by authors of voyages, with "the wise Chinese" or "the good savage," and Jesuit missionaries grounded in Homer attributed to the redskin all the virtues of the ancient Greeks.

Political criticism

Because of new experiences, the idea of progress, although it was often indistinct and confused, existed in the voyagers' minds more frequently than in the minds of others. Their books were "filled with the spirit of new ideas," which undoubtedly had much to do with the gradual creation of a new attitude. Progressive men and women in the seventeenth century, as Atkinson remarks, "loved the exotic literature as they later loved the great free-thinkers of the eighteenth cen-

tury," and the way was thus prepared for a "positive and experimental mentality in which the ideas of the eighteenth century could later bear fruit." As people's minds became more and more subjected to novel ideas, actually or supposedly drawn from existing but little-known societies, political, social, and religious traditions were shaken. It was, for example, pointed out that generally speaking the peoples outside of Europe neither held to the conception of divine-right monarchy, nor permitted themselves to be dominated by absolute power, and in some places there existed the elements of democracy. In China, for instance, it was said that the people replaced bad rulers by virtuous, public-spirited ones; while in Canada the Indians only obeyed their chief because of their good-will, and in Mexico the kings were not hereditary but were freely elected by the people. While a tradition of liberty derived from the classical authors had long existed in European minds, it had nowhere in seventeenth-century Europe been completely put in practice, and yet among primitive peoples overseas it was said to exist. In the same way to the unpracticed eyes of Europeans, conditions of equality where there was neither poverty nor wealth and no class distinction were discovered among the American tribes; mutual charity and fraternity, it was thought, existed in the families of the simple-hearted natives which composed them.[1]

Growth of idea of natural rights

From such considerations it was only a step to the "identification of the natural" and the rational with "the original and the primitive" which had existed before man corrupted human relations with his customs and institutions. In comparing European conditions with those of other continents the philosophers believed they had discovered certain fundamental customs and ideals which were universal and therefore natural and rational. From these they were not only led to a cosmopolitan ideal of humanity, but they sought to develop theories concerning the rights of individuals and of society which should serve as criteria of existing conditions everywhere.

Idea of Progress

Under the influence of scientists and explorers, Fontenelle, Perrault, Helvétius, Turgot, Condorcet, Godwin, and Saint-Simon boldly proclaimed their belief in human progress and predicted a glorious future for mankind. The whole idea of a past golden age, or of the fall of man, was frankly abandoned.

French leadership in philosophical rationalism

It was France which during the eighteenth century led the world in this philosophical criticism of existing society. Here, a remarkable group of writers, which comprised such intellectual leaders as Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau, exerted a profound influence which was felt not only in their own country but also throughout Europe.

Montesquieu, a nobleman and magistrate, is known for his bril-

[1] See for fuller discussion of these ideas Geoffroy Atkinson, *Les Relations de Voyages Du XVII^e Siècle et L'Evolution des Idees*, and G. Chinard, *L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècle*, to which the above account is indebted.

liantly satirical *Persian Letters* (1721) and for his *The Spirit of Laws* (1748). In the first of these works he imagines two Persians traveling in France and in letters written home criticizing the conditions they observed. In the second, which has been called one of the greatest works of the century, which Montesquieu took twenty years to compose, and of which there were twenty-two editions issued within eighteen months, Montesquieu sought to analyze and arrive at the foundations of the various types of laws and political institutions throughout the world of his day. According to his idea, climate, religion, and custom influenced the formation of law. He established what is known as the comparative point of view in political science and sociology.

Montesquieu

Voltaire probably received more attention than any writer of modern times. Kings and princes throughout Europe corresponded with him, and patronized him. Even the greatest trembled at his sarcasms. He started to become a lawyer, but soon abandoned this for a literary career. He first drew attention by his *Philosophical Letters Upon the English* which he published in 1733–1734, after his return from a short banishment to England. In these letters he contrasted conditions found in England with those in France, much to the disfavor of the latter, pointing out that the English nation was the only one in the world where everyone was taxed regardless of his station, and which had "succeeded in regulating the power of kings by resisting them."

Voltaire

Voltaire was a most prolific author. His works in modern editions vary from seventy to ninety-four volumes, according to size,[1] and comprise satires, novels, epic poems, dramas, letters, and histories. He was known for his sensational, "pungent" style, rather than for the enduring qualities of his works, few of which are read today. It was "his constant puncturing of shams, his pitiless and ceaseless attacks on old abuses," "his ardent championship" of the cause of the humble and oppressed, even when it meant risk to his own person, that attracted the attention of his contemporaries. As a Deist, Voltaire regarded the established Church as the very foundation of "traditionalism, medievalism, and intolerance" and accordingly made it an especial object of his attack.

Diderot, assisted by d'Alembert and others, was responsible for the *Encyclopedia* published in eighteen volumes, which so well embodied the rationalist spirit of the time, and to which many of the leading philosophers contributed articles. It was intended "to guide opinion" as well as to give information. Since it was translated into almost all European languages, it did much to disseminate and popularize new science and new philosophy as represented by the French school. As W. S. Davis remarks: "It supplied a perfect arsenal of well-assorted facts for every critic of the old institutions."

Diderot

[1] Part of the volumes comprised in sets of Voltaire's *Works* are, however, composed of letters, all of which cannot truly be said to be his.

Perhaps the most influential of all the French philosophers was Rousseau; his work was constructive as well as destructive, and furnished the principles upon which the succeeding French Revolution was based. Although he has generally been classed as one of the French philosophers, Rousseau differs from them in many respects, particularly in the fact that he played a large part in promoting Romanticism, which was in direct conflict with Rationalism, and which finally resulted in the destruction of the ascendency which the rationalistic philosophers enjoyed. To cold reason as a guide of conduct, he opposed the emotions of the human heart and to a study of the science of the universe, an appreciation of the beauties of Nature. More than any of the philosophers, he turned to the voyages for inspiration and illustration, drawing many of his arguments directly from them. *Rousseau*

His three important books, the *New Hélöise*, published in 1759, the *Social Contract*, in 1761, and the *Émile*, in 1762, exerted a great influence upon his own and upon later generations. The *New Hélöise*, written in novel form, was so much in demand by French high society that only copies rented by the hour were available. It helped to remake the social ideals of the time. Instead of being held in restraint children were sent out to play. Natural landscapes instead of formal gardens became the mode, and it became fashionable to play at being rustic. Even the Queen had some miniature farmhouses constructed in the park at Versailles, where she took great pleasure in pretending to be a farmer's wife, making butter with her own hands.

Of even greater influence was Rousseau's *Émile*, which had enduring effects upon educational ideas and methods, furnishing a background for those later developed by Pestalozzi and Froebel. To counteract the evils resulting from the artificialities of civilization, Rousseau favored developing the child's natural and spontaneous inclinations and aptitudes.

The *Social Contract* may well be called the "Bible of the Revolution," since in it were expounded the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and revolutionary leaders constantly went to it for inspiration. According to Rousseau's theory, man abandoned by a social contract his ideal condition of primitive independence, surrendering his individual liberty to the community. Although monarchs had usurped this authority, the community had never surrendered its right to "determine its own destinies," and "all the rulers of the earth are mere delegates of the people, who, when they are displeased with the government, have the right to alter or abolish it." According to these arguments, the people were sovereign, and law was the "expression of the common will." Although most of his ideas came from John Locke and Montesquieu, Rousseau possessed the ability to make his political philosophy so intensely human that it was widely read and understood, and it inspired a zeal for political and social reform akin to religious passion.

Dissemination of French philosophical ideas to other lands

Since the French philosophers proclaimed the rights not only of Frenchmen, but of mankind in general, no obstacle existed to the wide diffusion of their teachings throughout Europe, which was further facilitated by the vogue for French civilization and the French language. Rousseau's influence in many European countries was so great that a German historian even compares it to that enjoyed by the scholastic philosophy of the Middle Ages.

Kant

The great German philosopher, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), brought to a culmination with his *Critique of Pure Reason* the era of critical philosophy. Although, like Rousseau, he favored a return to nature, he differed from him in regarding Nature in terms of the artistic conception of the Greeks, rather than in terms of primitiveness. Kant counteracted Rousseau's influence, and "quieted the rebellious spirit" he had aroused. Although placing the responsibility for conduct "upon the reason rather than the emotions," he disagreed with the rationalists' contention that there was a "law of absolute truth." Disputing the exaggerated position attributed by them to the reason, he relegated it to a place secondary to the will. He held to practical rather than abstract reasoning, and regarded "the supreme cause" as moral rather than material. He attacked the scientific attitude by claiming that the scientist could not know the real world which lay beyond the perception of the senses. Showing in his critical philosophy that one could not prove the existence of God, yet he held that a belief in God was essential to a sound morality.

Rationalistic Theology

Changes in Reformation theology

Although the Reformation introduced considerable changes in the Church, for a century or more the movement was to a large extent "a continuance of the Middle Ages." While the "Reformation formulas" are still in use by great religious bodies which continue to be designated by names then employed, the religious "atmosphere" of modern Christianity is far from that of Reformation days.[1] Less emphasis is now laid on dogma, creed, and form, more on morality, Christian service, and the practical application of spiritual values. The transformation has been wrought as the result of a number of factors, among the more important of which are the advance of modern science and philosophy, the consequent change in attitude regarding the universe and man's position within it, and the development of scientific methods for the examination and interpretation of thought and institutions. In this connection we must now turn our attention to a consideration of the rationalistic theology which formed a part of the philosophical movement which has just been described.

As early as the sixteenth century humanists like Erasmus had fought in vain against the prevailing Reformation belief in human depravity and had endeavored to secure the acceptance of a rational

[1] Williston Walker: *A History of the Christian Church*, 482.

faith, which should recognize man's natural "moral and intellectual dignity." It was not until the end of the seventeenth century that religious ideas which definitely broke with the Middle Age theology gained any considerable hearing. On the one side the believers in the new ideas were inspired by Renaissance Humanism to replace the commonly accepted belief in the helplessness and "depravity of human nature" with a high regard for the individual's "moral and intellectual worth"; while on the other they were inspired by the new science with the desire to subject their religion to the test of "reasonableness and utility in this life." A religious group called the Socinians (Unitarians), which had been formed during the sixteenth century by two Italian humanists who had taken refuge in Poland, was the first to incorporate in religion the new rationalist spirit. Compelled by the Catholic revival to leave Poland, they found a refuge in Holland,[1] where already Armenianism had adopted some of the same humanistic and scientific tendencies in a milder form. It was, however, in England where, under the guidance of such men as Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Newton, Locke, John Tillotson, and Samuel Clarke the "religion of reason was first consistently worked out."[2] During the eighteenth century, under the stimulus of rationalistic philosophy, it extended to other countries, particularly to France, where, largely because of the resentment against the abuses existing in the Catholic Church and because of the close connection between that institution and the old régime, the religion of reason drifted at times into atheism.

Rise of rationalistic theology

Two groups of religious rationalists, the Deists and the "Supernatural" Rationalists developed. To the rationalist, religion was a system of rational propositions which must be tested by reason like any others. It was only reasonable for him to live a worthy life that he might receive his reward after death. Just as there was a fundamental natural law which applied to the universe, so there were "principles of morality common to the human race" which must be followed. Morality was looked upon as "the prime content of religion."

Deists and Supernatural Rationalists

While the Deist conceived of God as the great creator, he did not believe in revelation, prophesy, and miracles. These seemed to him inconsistent with a God who had formed the great "world-machine" which ran according to universal laws; he believed instead that all which was necessary for man's salvation had been placed by the Deity "in man's natural reason," where it had been equally available everywhere and at all times in the world's history. The Supernatural Rationalist, such as John Locke, differed from the Deist in accepting revelation as a supplement to reason.

[1] A somewhat similar group was established in England under the leadership of the scientist and clergyman, Joseph Priestly, and came gradually to be known as Unitarians.

[2] J. H. RANDALL: *The Making of the Modern Mind*, 284–285.

Results of rationalist movement in religion

The rationalist movement in religion resulted in the development of broader, more enlightened, and more tolerant churchmen. Laying emphasis on the cardinal virtues, it promoted sobriety, moderation, and good sense. On the other hand, it led among the educated classes to widespread indifference, to disrespect for existing religion, and to a rapidly growing scepticism, which, strange to say, was promoted by the very attacks made upon the rationalists by their opponents. A further influence in that direction came from the discovery of new peoples and lands which appeared to contradict Biblical statements concerning the universe. Sceptics and atheists, moreover, were prone to point to savage races, which appeared to have no idea of God, as evidence that religion was a human invention devised to blind and to bind men by the yoke of superstition.

The Evangelical Movement

In direct contradiction to the religious tendencies just described there appeared in England a great spiritual revival resulting from the Methodist movement, and in Germany Pietistic and Moravian developments which did much to revive the religious zeal of those lands.

Condition of Anglican Church during eighteenth century

A stereotyped and formal Anglicanism largely infused with the current Rationalism dominated the religious life of eighteenth-century England. Pluralities and sinecures abounded among the higher clergy; those in the lower ranks were considerably underpaid. Many religious duties, such as public catechizing and the visiting of the sick, were neglected. Under the influence of rigid formalism and a cold Rationalism extemporaneous preaching and all spiritual emotion in the church services had become practically extinct. Sermons, which Voltaire describes as "solid but sometimes dry" dissertations "which a man reads to the people without gesture and without any particular exaltation of voice," were delivered from "three-decker pulpits" to congregations comfortably seated in "high square pews" surrounded with curtains well adapted, as Swift tells us, for "lodging folks disposed to sleep."

Failure of Church

Although the Anglicanism of the time did provide teaching which was both practical and free from everything that was "fanatical or mystical," it failed to hold many members of the upper strata of society, or to reach the masses of artisans who began to swarm in the suburbs of the larger towns. For far too many of the elite it was the fashion to declare themselves irreligious. How far high society was affected by this spirit is evidenced by Montesquieu, who declared that "not more than four or five members of the House of Commons were regular attendants at church." Politicians, possessing few if any ideals, worshipped expediency; "a heartless cynicism" characterized the life and literature of the time.

Origin of Methodism

In revolt against these tendencies a group of Oxford students led by John and Charles Wesley, sons of an Anglican clergyman of Epworth, formed at that seat of learning between 1729 and 1735, a

society for mutual improvement.[1] Piety was engendered by fasting, prayers, and frequent reading and discussion of the Bible, as well as by abstention from most forms of amusement and luxuries, and by visitation of the sick and the prisoners in the jails. Due to the regularity of their meetings and of their habits, the nickname "Methodists" came to be applied to them by their fellow students. This movement, under the guidance of the Wesleys, was destined to expand until it did much toward respiritualizing English religious life.

Character and organization of Methodism

Methodists made no attempt, nor did they desire, to separate from the Anglican Church. Instead, their purpose was to remain as a society within that Church. Their leaders had no definite parishes, but at first entered such Anglican pulpits as welcomed them. Their methods, resembling somewhat those of modern revivalists, differed greatly from those employed by the regular clergy. Instead of cold, logical, carefully polished sermons, they spoke extemporaneously, employing "intense fervor of language and gesture." Their utterances were usually highly emotional, sometimes moving their audiences to tears. As the center of their doctrine they maintained that all who had not "experienced a sudden, violent, and supernatural change," known as conversion, were in a state of damnation.

Such preaching was not relished by the majority of Anglican clergy, who became more reluctant to invite Methodists into their pulpits. Therefore, to carry on the work Methodist chapels were organized, which were intended to supplement, not to take the place of, regular Anglican services. Their meetings were held at different times from those of the regular churches, and Wesley urged his followers to attend morning service in the Anglican Church. Somewhat later, preaching in the fields to large crowds of miners and other workmen was inaugurated by Whitefield, and was continued with great success. Since Wesley wished to avoid a break with the Church of England, he formed religious societies rather than churches, dividing his followers into bands whose members were given "society tickets," and who were further divided into classes of about twelve each under class leaders. In 1744 he assembled at London the first annual conference of his preachers, who were still mostly laymen. The country was soon afterwards divided into "circuits" in which traveling preachers carried on the work. Over each "circuit" was placed a superintendent, who in America became known as a bishop.

Influence of Methodism

Methodism was carried into England, Scotland, and Wales and to the English colonies. It was highly successful in reaching many people who did not attend the Anglican Church. Within that Church itself, it revived spiritual zeal which had grown cold and created there an Evangelical party. A similar influence was exerted on the older Non-Conformist Churches, which during the first half of the century

[1] Somewhat similar societies, influenced probably by the Pietist movement in Germany, had been meeting in various parts of England for some time. One of them was conducted by Wesley's father.

had suffered decline. Both their membership and the zeal of their ministers were markedly increased. Due to the Evangelical movement, which resulted from the Methodist revival, as well as to Methodism itself, greater attention was paid to the care of the poor, sick, and unfortunate, and definite efforts were made to provide schools and cheaper reading for those without means. There was formed in London in 1799 the Religious Tract Society for the dissemination of Christian knowledge, and in 1780 under the leadership of an Evangelical layman, Robert Raikes, the first Sunday schools were founded. These taught the children of the poor not only gospel truths, but also how to read and write.

Condition of Lutheranism

Lutheranism, like Anglicanism, had become lacking in inspiration. Reliance upon the Scriptures, for which Luther had at first contended, had degenerated into "a fixed dogmatic interpretation" which orthodox believers were obliged to accept. For the direct spiritual relationship between the individual and his God had been substituted a faith in the Lutheran doctrines. In this arid scholasticism, well termed "dead orthodoxy," much was lacking in the way of spirituality, moral teaching, and incentive to Christian charity.

Spener and German Pietism

The Pietist movement, started about 1670 by a Lutheran minister by the name of Spener, introduced a new spirit into the Protestant Church in Germany. Spener, whose activities antedated those of Wesley by many years, resorted to methods which the great English evangelist later employed. Circles for prayers, Bible-reading, discussion of Sunday sermons, and mutual helpfulness were found within the Lutheran congregations, from which Spener's followers did not separate. Spener, through the prominent positions he held as preacher, first at Frankfort, and later at Dresden and Berlin, and by his book *Pia Desideria* (1675) widely disseminated his ideas. One of his converts, Hermann Francke, became a professor at the University of Halle and made it a center for German Pietism.

Character of German Pietism

In place of the "formal and ecclesiastical" religion then in vogue, Spener advocated a "religion of the heart" which should result in a purer moral life. To be saved, one's life, he thought, must be actually changed "by a conscious new birth" and the spirit of "Christ's love" should control one's conduct. Preachers should avoid controversy, he believed, and center their attention on building up by their sermons the Christian life of their people. While not withdrawing from the world, Christians, he maintained, should practice moderation in their use of food, drink, and apparel, and should shun such worldly amusements as the theater, dancing, and cards.

Influence of Pietism in German life

Pietism exerted a wide influence upon the religious life of Germany. Pietists in the Lutheran Church soon became its dominant party. The spirituality of its ministry was increased, their preaching improved, and greater care was taken in the Christian training of the young. Pietism resulted in a reaction from "the creeds and theological interpretations of dogmatism" to a study of the Scriptures and a greater

familiarity with them. It brought about a renewed attention to Christian charity, which had somewhat suffered from the Lutheran emphasis on faith rather than good works. Institutions for the care of the poor and orphaned and for education were founded in large numbers, and a vital interest was displayed in foreign missions.

Moravian Brethren

Even more active in missionary enterprise were the Moravian Brethren, descendants of the old Hussite movement, who, espousing Pietist ideals, formed themselves, under the leadership of Count Zinzendorf, into communities where they might live pure Christian lives.

Pietism and rationalist movement

Pietism had become active in German theology before the rationalist movement, known as the "Period of Enlightenment," had exerted much influence there. Later the two movements continued as contemporary and opposing forces in German religious life. Under the leadership of Christian Wolff (1679–1754) and more than a hundred German writers who followed his example, Rationalism vitally affected German theology, as is evidenced by the preparation for popular use, in 1735, of the Wertheimer Bible, a translation with rationalistic commentaries. In Germany, even more than in England and France, Rationalism prepared "by its critical and constructive work" the way "for a great reconstruction in theology." The sceptical tendencies which invariably attended this movement were in a measure counteracted there by the Pietists, but even more by the philosopher Kant, who, absorbing Pietistic tradition, set forth the inadequacy of pure reason without recourse to inner experience in solving the mysteries of the universe. He contended, as Randall remarks, "that reason and science were valid only within a certain field" outside which faith still had power to determine "the tenets of natural religion, God, freedom and immortality." It was due to his arguments more than any other influence that the day was saved in Germany for religious belief. Protestant Modernism of our day stems from Kant's teachings.

Humanitarianism, Toleration, and Cosmopolitanism

Noted humanitarians

The Age of Reason, as well as the Pietistic reaction which followed it, led to a spirit of humanitarianism and toleration, "a compassion for all the ills that afflict the human race." Beccaria, an Italian rationalist, exerted a great influence toward the improvement of the criminal laws through the publication, in 1764, of his famous *Crimes and Punishments*, which pointed out the injustice and uselessness of the barbarous punishments of the day, and advocated sentences of milder forms more promptly carried out. The Quaker, John Howard, through his extensive investigation of conditions in the jails and prisons of England and other lands, called attention to the need of prison reform; while Dr. Pinel brought about improved methods of caring for the insane. William Wilberforce, an Evangelical layman, carried on constant agitation against slavery, which bore fruit in the abolition, in 1807, of the English slave trade.

Growing spirit of tolerance

Impetus was given to the growing spirit of tolerance by such writings as Locke's *Letters Concerning Toleration* (1689) and Pierre Bayle's *Philosophical Commentary on the Text 'Compel them to come in'* (1689), as well as by writings of such later rationalists as Voltaire and Thomas Paine. Paine's *Age of Reason* ranks next to the work of Voltaire as the greatest blow struck for intellectual freedom in the eighteenth century. Paine argued for more than toleration; he argued for complete freedom of thought.

Cosmopolitanism

The broad rationalist spirit which prevailed during the eighteenth century gave rise likewise to the advocacy by philosophers and other literary men of cosmopolitanism and pacifism to replace the warlike national patriotism which had developed since the time of the Renaissance. To such men, who believed they had discovered general laws which applied to all humanity, it seemed only natural to regard themselves as citizens of the world. Since it turned one nation against another they regarded narrow nationalism as both "irrational and unnatural." "What is the fatherland of the truly educated Christian European?" wrote Goethe. "In general it is Europe, in particular it is in every age that country in Europe that stands at the peak of civilization." Schiller admonished his fellow-countrymen that they should "not seek to form a nation (but) be content to be men." Voltaire, who was a vigorous advocate of cosmopolitanism, laments that "It is sad that often, to be a good patriot, one is the enemy of the rest of mankind." Keen interest was felt by men of his stamp in movements to secure human rights. The spirit which seemed at first to offer such promising prospects of world brotherhood was largely submerged by "the rebirth of nationalism" at the time of the French Revolutionary wars, and the rise of "new economic interests" following the Industrial Revolution.

Missionary activity

Quite in line with the prevalent spirit of cosmopolitanism and humanitarianism was the growth of missionary activity, which was due to the spiritual revival resulting from the Evangelical and Pietist movements, as well as to the interest in overseas lands aroused by the voyages of exploration. Protestant missions took their rise during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. German Pietists were instrumental in sending during the eighteenth century no less than sixty men to the foreign field, among whom were the first two Protestant missionaries to India, who went there under the auspices of the King of Denmark. Moravian missions were founded in India, Surinam, Guiana, Egypt, South Africa, and Labrador. Following the organization in 1649 of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, the first English foreign missionary society, no less than four new societies were founded in England during the eighteenth century. One of the world's great missionaries, William Carey (1761-1834), a shoemaker and Baptist preacher, was inspired by interest in Captain Cook's voyages to undertake his great work for missions in

India. The Dutch as early as the seventeenth century sent missionaries to their colonies. Catholic missions founded long before those of the Protestant denominations continued to grow.

The Application of Rationalism to Economic Thought

Mercantilism in disfavor

While the conceptions of natural law and of reason were applied to religious thought and to the policies of sovereigns and statesmen, they also affected economic life. So important had the merchant and manufacturing class become by the middle of the eighteenth century, that, confident of its own powers, it no longer welcomed the governmental regulation which in the formative period of the seventeenth century it had considered necessary. It began instead to regard those governmental interferences, such as tariffs, navigation acts, and restrictions upon processes of manufacture, which characterized mercantilism, as hampering to economic progress. While it did continue to desire governmental protection of contracts and property rights, it wished in other things to be free of all restraint.

Economic philosophers

The business class obtained support for their desires from a group of economic philosophers who applied the current belief in natural law to economic life. In this group which arose in France, may be mentioned Dr. Quesnay, Cantillon, Dupont de Nemours, Vincent de Gournay, and Turgot. Just as the political philosophers contended that there were certain immutable laws concerning the rights of the individual and his government, these "physiocrats" maintained that certain social laws had been established by the Supreme Being which should be enforced and not be interfered with by the regulations of governments. The government's function, according to the economic philosopher, was to maintain property rights and liberty. It should not interfere with business, but leave its management to businessmen, who knew more about it than any official could possibly know. Having abolished tariffs and other troublesome restrictions, it should keep its hands off or "laissez-faire." The government might, however, prove of considerable assistance to economic life by promoting universal education, and by constructing roads and canals and various other public works.

Physiocrats

In France, although Vincent de Gournay sought to secure the abolishment of the gilds and the abandonment of regulations, and was successful, as director of commerce, in stopping the grant of further exclusive privileges, and in lessening the effect of those monopolies and regulations which continued to exist, the main interest of the economic philosophers was agriculture, and they were known as physiocrats. They regarded the soil as the "source of all wealth." According to Quesnay, society was divided into three classes: the farmers, who were the producers, the owners of the land or proprietors, and the artisans, traders, and professional men, who were unproductive. According to him, industry, since it merely altered the form of things which were already in existence, did not increase the

country's actual wealth; therefore indirect taxes should be abolished and a single tax laid on land alone.

Adam Smith and "Wealth of Nations"

It was in England that the new policy of "laissez-faire," as it came to be known, was most energetically advocated in regard to commercial relations. At the very time when the American Revolution was shaking England's confidence in mercantilism, Adam Smith wrote *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). While sharing many of the views of the French economic philosophers, he laid special emphasis on commerce. He considered labor rather than land as the source of wealth, and therefore favored an income tax rather than a land tax.

"Laissez-Faire" and Malthus' ideas

Laissez-faire, as advocated by Adam Smith, was applied in England during the nineteenth century with many excellent results. When, however, after the Industrial Revolution it came to be applied to industry, it led to many social abuses connected with the oppression of helpless labor. Upon its unfortunate results becoming apparent, it was bolstered up for a time by Malthus' fatalistic philosophy. In his *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) he argued that population "if unrestrained by natural causes" such as wars and epidemics would increase faster than the food supply. Under these circumstances any improvement in the common man's lot would only result in bringing more children into the world and thereby increase distress. Since mankind was so close to the margin of the food supply, poverty could never be eliminated, and legislation and charity were useless to relieve man's wretched condition. David Ricardo evolved the theory, peculiarly congenial to the manufacturing class, that increases in wages were particularly disastrous to social welfare because they both increased the population and reduced profits.

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CHAPTER XXIII

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL FACTORS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CIVILIZATION

Economic Conditions During the Eighteenth Century

Economic conditions in southern Europe

The European world in 1700, and during most of the eighteenth century, in spite of the wider opportunities for trade and the greater plentifulness of capital which modern conditions afforded, was economically for the most part in a little-developed, backward, or actually declining condition. According to Renard: "The economic history of the southern states can be summed up as almost continuous decadence for 200 years, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth." In Italy, still divided internally and far from the new center of commercial activity, the people had apparently lost their old energy and capacity for labor, and the well-to-do lived on past accumulations of wealth. Even Venice, once proud mistress of the Adriatic and greatest commercial emporium of the world, could scarcely be considered among commercial states of second rank. Although the reform in Spanish commercial policy during the eighteenth century resulted in increasing trade eight-fold, the causes of decline were too ingrained, and the reform came too late to bring any considerable benefit to Spanish industries, which were too far decayed to face the competition of those of more progressive countries. As the great Portuguese statesman, Pombal, remarked: "In 1754, Portugal scarcely produced anything toward her own support. Two-thirds of her physical necessities were supplied by England. England had become mistress of the entire commerce of Portugal, and all the trade of the country was carried on by her agents. The English came to Lisbon to monopolize even the commerce of Brazil. The entire cargo of the vessels that were sent thither, and consequently the riches that were returned in exchange, belonged to them. Nothing was Portuguese but the name."[1] Under Pombal's direction, Portugal made some slight progress in casting off English economic control, but by the end of the eighteenth century, it possessed only one important national industry, the production of wine to be consumed by English gentry, and the sale of that commodity was controlled by British merchants.

At the opening of the modern era, German merchants were both energetic and capable, and had plentiful capital at their disposal.

[1] England, taking advantage of Portugal's economic and political weakness, made a mere dependency of her. Treaty obligations were imposed giving English merchants every advantage in Portuguese markets. $243,000 was said to flow every week from Portugal to England.

Economic conditions in the Germanies

In spite of these favorable circumstances, conditions existed which made extensive economic development impossible. The greatest obstacle arose from Germany's failure to secure sound political unity. Instead of the taxes and loans going as in many other lands to one political authority which might secure international order and protect and promote national economic interests, the money was paid to a multitude of rival governments. Business instead of profiting was harmed, since money was wasted in endless quarrels which interfered with trade. Due to Germany's political impotence the mouths of all her important rivers were seized by foreign powers, and German trade was hampered by heavy tolls, which created a barrier between the interior and the sea and practically forced from the seas the few German ships that existed. In the interior profitable trade was destroyed by the tolls of the innumerable free cities and the maze of independent territories, all of which, even the smallest, sought to profit by levying on the traffic which came their way. Germany, perhaps more than any other country, was cursed with the evils resulting from gild restrictions, which grew constantly more oppressive. The destruction wrought to life and property, the deterioration of roads and canals, and the general breakdown of economic life resulting from the Thirty Years' War and the wars which followed, likewise retarded German economic development for countless years.

During the eighteenth century economic depression continued in Germany, lightened by some instances of improvement, as for example the development of Frankfort-on-the-Main and Leipzig as credit centers from which bills of exchange and commercial loans were issued, and the growth of Hamburg and Bremen as centers of neutral trade during the time of the American Revolution. Mention should be made of the valiant efforts of Prussian monarchs to overcome the obstacle of scattered territories, many of them poor in resources and impoverished by war. They succeeded in creating a powerful political state rather than a rich economy. The Austrians began the modern era with the handicap of economic conditions more backward than those of other Germans. They were kept from progressing and creating a great Mediterranean power by persistence of provincial tariffs, rivalry with France, long wars with Turkey, and the clash with Prussia over Silesia.

Economic conditions in northern and eastern Europe

By the eighteenth century the Scandinavian countries had become of slight economic importance. Russia, on the other hand, was just beginning its career as an important European power. Through the efforts of Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, and other sovereigns, some of the foundations of modern commercial and industrial organization had been laid; but the country was still undeveloped, its civilization was backward, and its people were plunged into the misery of serfdom.

During the late seventeenth century Holland's economic greatness, which during a large part of a century had surpassed that of other

Decline of Dutch economic supremacy

European nations, was on the decline. The Dutch, however, continued in the eighteenth century to possess rich colonies, valuable trade, and extensive stores of capital.

Comparison of positions of France and England

England and France, on the other hand, experienced real economic progress during the eighteenth century. The latter, in wealth, area, and fertility of its soil, as well as in the size of its population, much surpassed the former. Lying as it did, moreover, on both the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, within easy distance of the North and Baltic Seas, and possessing many navigable rivers, its position appeared to be the best in Europe for world commerce, and at one time its grasp upon colonial markets and sources of supply threatened to exceed that of England. These advantages were, however, largely counter-balanced by the fact that England was freer from feudal restrictions than most European nations and had secured economic unity, while French economic progress was still hampered by internal customs lines, tolls, and feudal privileges. Due to its insular position and to the fact that its government was not solely in the hands of ambitious absolute monarchs, England had managed to avoid the maintenance of large armies and long useless wars, which had in France frequently diverted capital from productive enterprises and resulted in heavy tax burdens, which were not shared by the upper classes to any such extent as they were in England. Dampening to French enterprise had been the fact that the government constantly interfered with economic life, and discouraged private initiative by its very officiousness. England's prosperity, on the other hand, had been founded on the sounder basis of individual enterprise.

Growth of French foreign trade

In spite of these disadvantages and the disasters of the Seven Years' War, which are said temporarily to have reduced French foreign trade by half, this trade quadrupled in amount between 1716 and 1789. Although the principal trade was with neighboring nations such as Germany, Italy, and England, the French Levant trade, centered in Marseilles, surpassed that of other nations; while it was said that as many as 310 vessels left Bordeaux annually, and 150 left Nantes for the French Sugar Isles. For a time the French seemed to be getting the better of the English in the fisheries, and in the fur and slave trades.

Growth of British foreign trade

British foreign trade increased between five and sixfold during the eighteenth century,[1] and England's merchant marine quintupled in tonnage. While at the beginning of the century only one-fourth of England's trade was with lands outside Europe, by its end these "furnished nearly one-half." During the first part of the eighteenth century England exported so much more than it imported, that the value of the surplus amounted to between $9,720,000 and $14,580,000 a year.

[1] There is some difference between the estimates given by different authors. The figures cited by Clive Day: *A History of Commerce*, 205, have been adopted.

Influence of other nations in development of industry in France and England

It is interesting to see to what extent both France and England owed the foundation of their industries to other lands. At the beginning of the modern era, Italy and the Netherlands were the great European manufacturing centers. From the former France received most of her training in the manufacture of luxuries such as silks, velvets, embroideries, tapestries, and glass-ware; from the latter it derived knowledge concerning the manufacture of satin, linen, lace, and tapestries. From northern Europe came workmen skilled in the metallurgical industries. France during the seventeenth century became, with the Dutch Netherlands, the leading manufacturing center. By the persecution of the Huguenots the technical skill which France had developed was carried to many other European countries.

England, which became during the eighteenth century the greatest European manufacturing center, profited most extensively from foreign technical skill. During William the Conqueror's reign (1066-1087), and later under that of Edward III (1327-1377), Flemish weavers had established the textile industry in England. During Edward I's reign (1272-1307), foreign artisans, principally Dutch, minted the currency, and foreigners, particularly Germans and Bretons, played a considerable rôle in the development of the mining industry. Of even greater importance was the influence on modern English industry of the colonies of Protestant refugees who came from the Netherlands at the time of Alva's persecutions (1568), and over a hundred years later from France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).[1]

Reasons for earliness of Industrial Revolution in England

Although France had the start of England in the development of its manufactures and the latter had derived from the French during the seventeenth century much valuable technical knowledge, the situation during the eighteenth century was reversed. Some of the very causes which had helped English commerce to surpass that of France, such as the greater play given to private initiative and the greater freedom from war, had much to do with England's becoming the leading industrial country of the world and with the fact that the Industrial Revolution occurred there first.

In England the gilds had been replaced by domestic industries, and feudal conditions no longer prevented the free circulation of labor so necessary for the extensive development of industry. In France, on the other hand, while serfdom had been largely supplanted, there continued to exist many feudal restrictions upon labor, and the gilds,

[1] The manufacture of a superior quality of iron was begun by the Flemish, and wire making by the Dutch. Cotton manufacture was introduced either from Antwerp by the Flemish immigrants or later by the Huguenots. Lace making, pottery, clocks, glass, brass, needles, cutlery manufacture and engraving were established by immigrants from the Netherlands; while textile manufactures were greatly advanced. The rise of Lancaster and Birmingham as manufacturing centers seems to have been the result of their activities. Improved methods of silk manufacture and the founding of the white paper and plate glass industries, as well as the promotion of the manufacture of sail cloth, linen, cambric, tapestry, and hats may be credited to the Huguenot refugees in England.

which were still powerful, opposed not only new manufactures and manufacturing methods, but also the employment of machinery and large scale production. The government, by its heavy and badly proportioned taxes, "narrow restrictions imposed on manufacturers," and "special privileges" granted to favored industrialists, obstructed economic progress. Capital, another requisite for industrial development, was abundant in England, due to the large profits from constantly expanding trade, and due to well established banking institutions was easily available for new industries. In France, on the contrary, similar accumulations of capital were either wasted in luxuries and war, or were discouraged by the lack of a satisfactory banking system, and the disastrous failure, in 1720, of John Law's speculative schemes, which made French investors reluctant to invest in new enterprises. England's extensive European and colonial markets, plentiful supplies of raw material, natural resources such as coal and iron, large merchant fleet, and favorable geographical location were important factors in promoting the Industrial Revolution there earlier than elsewhere.

Invention of new machinery in textile industry

So extensive were the demands made upon English industry that the goods could not be supplied in large enough quantities by the old methods. Labor was not plentiful enough, and its scarcity tended to force up wages and consequently prices to a figure where the goods would no longer readily sell. Under these circumstances there was great demand for machines which would take the place of labor and result in greater and cheaper production. This demand coincided with the practical scientific tendencies of the time. It was in the manufacture of cotton cloth, a commodity which had a considerable sale overseas, and whose domestic market had been stimulated by restriction of the importation of calicoes from India, that the first important inventions were made. Kay in 1733 produced his "fly-shuttle" loom, which practically doubled the production of the weavers. Hargreaves in 1764 invented his "spinning-jenny," by which one wheel ran eight spindles at the same time; Arkwright constructed in 1769 the "water-frame," a spinning machine composed of rollers run by water power; and Crompton in 1779, combining the "jenny" and the "water-frame," evolved a new machine called the "mule" which enabled a spinner to spin 200 threads at one time. Cartwright followed with the invention of the power loom applying water-power to weaving. An American, Eli Whitney, invented the "cotton-gin," by which the raw cotton could be freed of seed, which had previously to be laboriously picked out by hand.

Improvements in metal trades

Important improvements were made in the metal trades such as the employment, in 1740, of coal or coke in smelting iron, in 1760 of the blast furnace, and in 1784 of the "puddling" process, which produced a stronger wrought iron.

The greater use of coal in the manufacture of iron led to more demand for this commodity, and therefore to deeper mines. More

Improvement and application of steam engine

powerful engines were required to pump the water out. In 1705, Newcomen had invented a steam engine which performed this task. It was expensive to run because of the large amount of fuel it required, and it needed to be improved. A Scotchman, James Watt, in 1768 perfected the steam engine so that it became practical not only for use at the mines but also for running machinery. Its application to machinery revolutionized industry, giving rise as it did to the factory system with great concentrations of capital in industry and all the economic and social consequences which resulted. The effects of the Industrial Revolution, however, will not be discussed here as they do not properly belong in the scope of this volume.

Application of capital and factory system in French industry

Commercial capitalism likewise influenced French industry during the eighteenth century, but the change was considerably slower than in England and on the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, "the era of machinery" and "industrial concentration" was only in its beginnings there. Small businesses which employed merely a few workmen were still predominant. The gilds, though gradually losing their hold, were still entrenched in French industry. However, the domestic system, where wealthy merchants kept many master workmen as hired employees turning out wares for sale, was in wide use. Considerable progress had likewise been made in the textile trades in grouping workmen in factories. At Rheims, for instance, nearly "half of the trades" were concentrated in factories; at Louviers, thousands of artisans were employed by fifteen manufacturers, one of them having built a factory which cost $39,000 and included five distinct factory units. Large scale industrial concentration was especially prevalent in the printing of cloth, which just before the French Revolution occupied "more than one hundred factories" with an output of more than $2,340,000 and in 1789 one of these companies, the Oberkampf Company, was said to have a capital of nearly $1,755,000.[1]

Machinery in French industries

French industries had begun before the fall of the old régime to use machines, though on a much smaller scale than in England. In the silk industry machinery was employed early in the eighteenth century. Its use was greatly developed by the inventions of Vaucanson. As in England, it was in the cotton industry that machinery was most extensively utilized. The inventions of Kay, Cartwright, Arkwright, and Crompton began to be introduced from England between 1775 and 1780. The much greater extent of their use in England can be seen from the fact that when twenty thousand of the spinning jennies were in use there, France was utilizing only nine hundred.

In some French paper mills machinery was introduced. In the iron industry coke-burning furnaces were commencing to replace those which burned wood. In 1787 the large Crausot Company was organized with capital ample enough to enable it to employ the latest

[1] In Louis XVI's reign, as Renard tells us, even "princes of the blood figured as captains of industry."

"steam-propelled machines and steam-hammers." Most of the iron foundries, however, were small concerns with eight or ten laborers, using only primitive tools and still employing wood as fuel.

The coal-mines, however, showed capitalistic development on a large scale. Great companies were formed which had the resources to enable them to use all the latest appliances. The Anzin Company had, for instance, in 1789 "four thousand laborers and six hundred horses; it used twelve steam engines; and it mined three million, seven hundred and fifty thousand hundred weights of coal."[1]

Slowness of industrial development in Continental Europe

As indicated above, in spite of these promising developments in the employment of capital, the utilization of machinery, and the concentration of industry, France was in industrial development, far behind England where great factories were by the end of the century turning out vast quantities of goods. The main industrial changes did not take place in France until the nineteenth century was well begun, and came still later in other lands.

Agricultural Revolution in England

At practically the same time as the Industrial Revolution began in England, certain improvements in agriculture were made in that country which have commonly been known as the Agricultural Revolution. The land, much of which at the beginning of the century was still broken up into strips, was consolidated through extensive enclosures into large farms, better adapted for successful agriculture. Greater attention was paid to intensive farming, particularly to the raising of wheat. Due to the efforts of Charles Townshend rotation of crops came into use, and successful experiments were carried out with new fertilizers. Farm machinery was devised by Jethro Tull and others which greatly facilitated cultivation. Through the improvements which were made, the output and consequently the value of land were many times increased. Through more careful selection and care in breeding, larger cattle and sheep were developed under the leadership of Robert Bakewell. The average weight of beeves was raised from three hundred and seventy pounds in 1710, to eight hundred pounds in 1795.

Slowness of improvement in French agriculture

Changes similar to those made in English agriculture did not in this period occur in France, where agriculture was not subject to the same progress as were commerce and industry. A great amount of uncultivated and waste lands still existed there; methods of cultivation and farm implements were still primitive, for the most part "hardly superior to those employed during the Middle Ages." There was little intensive cultivation. The system of fallow land, instead of the newer method of rotation of crops now employed in England, was still in general use. Great proprietors were careless; peasants were discouraged by heavy taxes and dues, and, possessing little ready money, were frequently indolent and neglected properly to cultivate their land. Little if any attention was paid to cattle-raising and horse-breeding.

[1] For the figures cited in this account of French industry see Henri Sée, *Economic and Social Conditions in France during the Eighteenth Century*, 165–173.

Great improvement in agricultural conditions could not be expected, as will be seen in the next chapter, until the French Revolution swept away the obstructions and injustices of the old régime.

Social Development

Rise of bourgeoisie

As has been indicated in previous chapters, the growth of commerce and industry led to the rise of a well-to-do middle class, generally called the bourgeoisie. This class had much to do with bringing about progressive conditions. It had controlled affairs in the Dutch Netherlands when Dutch commerce and civilization led those of the other nations. In England, the bourgeoisie had from the very opening of the modern era exerted an ever-growing influence, which had resulted in many political and economic reforms, and had influenced the direction of foreign policy toward the gaining of economic advantages for the mother-country. The fact may, perhaps, need renewed emphasis that merchants, bankers, rich industrialists, and West India planters acquired land and settled down as country gentlemen. Many secured seats in the House of Commons; others acquired titles and entered the House of Lords. Thus the bourgeois class was merged with the landed aristocracy, and was able to exert a profound influence on English politics. As a developing commercial and industrial state, France had a large bourgeois class composed of business and professional men. As will be seen in the following chapters, it was they who furnished the leaders in the French Revolution, and at that time gained control of the state. In the countries of Europe whose economic development was more backward, such as Germany, Scandinavia, and the southern European states, the bourgeoisie did not in the eighteenth century comprise a large group, and for that reason, and because of the stronger hold which the aristocracy possessed in those countries, they exerted little if any political influence. In the nineteenth century, however, they were everywhere to furnish the leaders, while the new proletariat of industrial laborers furnished the man-power for the revolutionary movement, which during that period transformed the European world, ushering in the era of constitutional governments and great economic improvements.

Generally wherever they existed, the bourgeoisie absorbed considerable culture, and displayed a keen interest in the scientific and philosophical developments of the century. While many of the lower bourgeoisie still lived in modest style, the higher bourgeoisie enjoyed many of the luxuries and adopted many of the manners of the nobility.

Changes in European fashions

Always civilization has been reflected in the dress and customs of the age. Sixteenth-century Europe was influenced by Spanish fashions and ideals of conduct. The age of Louis XIV was characterized by the imitations of French court life. Accordingly male society decked itself in the "periwig with long, flowing curls, the lace necktie, and lace cuffs, and rapier"; while females wore their hair combed high over "shapes of wire," and affected beauty-patches, powder, and long

trains to their dresses. With the rising of the Pietist movement, the clothes of the middle class gentlemen in Germany and elsewhere in Europe became "an inconspicuous gray color" known as "pepper and salt." It was due to Frederick William I of Prussia that the "pigtail or queue" began to replace the rather feminine periwig in male coiffure, particularly in military circles. About the period of the American Revolution, the "round hat and high boots of the English squire came into vogue" replacing French fashions.

Influence of overseas lands upon European dress

Of even greater interest was the continued influence of overseas lands upon European costumes and surroundings. In dress, for example, there was the wider use of furs for hats, muffs, and even petticoats, and George III provided part of his regiments with bear-skin caps. Still more pronounced was the wearing in head-dresses, in imitation of American Indian styles, of anywhere from three to seven large ostrich feathers. Cottons were constantly in demand. Silks tinted with new dyes imported from China, possessing a clinging quality peculiarly Oriental, adorned with delicate embroidery after Chinese patterns, called—so delicate was the art—"needle-painting," were in great demand. Fans, another Oriental product, came at this time into fashion in female society; canes and walking sticks, frequently of exotic woods, were affected by men of fashion instead of the dress swords which had previously been common. The use of umbrellas, originally for ostentation, was likewise introduced from the Orient.

Use of porcelain and wall-paper

Delicate porcelain cups, at first brought from China, graced the tea tables. The famous Dutch Delft-ware originated in imitation of Chinese models; another famous china industry was started in Saxony. The Chinese designs were frequently copied in porcelain painting. In fact so popular did porcelain become as a material that walls and ceilings were paneled with it. The idea of wall-paper for interior decoration was adopted from China, and large quantities were imported from the Orient until the product began to be manufactured in Europe. Such paper was decorated after the Chinese manner with landscapes in dreamy blues.

Influence of Chinese architecture

The influence of Chinese architecture was to be clearly discerned in the many tea-houses, pavilions, and pagodas with which European gardens came to be adorned; Chinese concave roofs were sometimes employed on other buildings. Fanciful shapes for window frames and Chinese lattice work for balustrades and windows were in style. Even more revolutionary for interior architecture was the employment of the Chinese round or bevelled corners for rooms, for door and window lintels and even for chests, cupboards, and other articles of furniture.

Gardens in Chinese style

Gardens, particularly in England, breaking away from the formal geometrical lines of Louis XIV's style, frequently adopted the natural shrubberies, the serpentine walks, the miniature lakes, winding streams, and water-falls, the curving bridges and pagodas of Chinese gardens.

Lacquered palanquins and sedan chairs were adopted from the Orient for European use and became all the vogue when high society wished to travel about town. The Duchess of Namur even made common use of them in journeying the 130 miles from Paris to her country estate, arranging for forty "French coolies" to follow her in carts to take their turn as bearers. French chaises were a further development of such chairs; they were mounted on wheels after the Japanese fashion, and drawn by horses.

Palanquins and chaises

Exotic foods and fruits such as rice, sago, dates, pumpkins, watermelons, bananas, and pineapples added to the variety of eighteenth century tables; tea and coffee came into constantly greater use.

Exotic foods and fruits

The Enlightened Despots

As has been seen, the Rationalism expressed by the philosophers voiced a demand for political, social, and economic reforms. The sovereigns of the day were far from deaf to these utterances of the intellectuals. They seem like the rest of society to have absorbed the prevailing spirit, and enlightened or benevolent despots appeared in all parts of Europe, who displayed a new interest in their subjects' welfare, and a real sense of their own obligations as monarchs. "Our days fill the happiest period of the eighteenth century, Emperors, Kings, Princes, descend from their proud height, despise splendor and magnificence, become fathers, friends, confidents of their people" . . . we are told by a document of 1784, which voices the feeling of optimism which then prevailed.

Influence of Rationalism on conduct of sovereigns

The monarch who above all others of the time exemplifies the enlightened despot was Frederick the Great. He constantly sought in philosophy and the sciences the guiding principles of his conduct. His career was so successful, his personality so forceful, that other monarchs were encouraged to imitate his example.

Ideals of an enlightened despot

Frederick, among his other accomplishments, was a voluminous writer. In his *Essai sur les Formes du Gouvernement*, written in 1777, he clearly states his conception of the position and responsibilities of an enlightened ruler. "The citizens have accorded preëminence to one of their number only because of the services which he can render them." "Princes, sovereigns, and kings have not been given supreme authority in order to live in luxurious self-indulgence and debauchery. They have not been elevated by their fellow-men to enable them to strut about and to insult with their pride the simple-mannered, the poor, and the suffering. They have not been placed at the head of the state to keep around themselves a crowd of loafers whose uselessness drives them towards vice." "The sovereign is the representative of his state. He and his people form a single body. Ruler and ruled can be happy only if they are firmly united. The sovereign stands to his people in the same relation in which the head stands to the body. He must use his eyes and his brain for the whole community, and act on its behalf to the common advantage. If we wish to elevate monarchical above

republican government, the duty of sovereigns is clear. They must be active, hard-working, upright and honest, and concentrate all their strength upon filling their office worthily. That is my idea of sovereigns."

"A sovereign must possess an exact and detailed knowledge of the strong and of the weak points of his country. He must be thoroughly acquainted with its resources, the character of the people, and the national commerce. . . .

"Rulers should always remind themselves that they are men like the least of their subjects. The sovereign is the foremost judge, general, financier, and minister of his country, not merely for the sake of his prestige. Therefore, he should perform with care the duties connected with these offices. He is merely the principal servant of the state. Hence, he must act with honesty, wisdom, and complete disinterestedness in such a way that he can render an account of his stewardship to the citizens at any moment. Consequently, he is guilty if he wastes the money of the people, the taxes which they have paid, in luxury, pomp, and debauchery. He who should improve the morals of the people, be the guardian of the law, and improve their education should not pervert them by his bad example."

Frederick's example

Frederick not only expressed these ideals for royal conduct, but through his long reign sincerely attempted to carry them out. He worked very hard and spent very little time in sleep and recreation, rising in summer at three o'clock, and in winter at four to commence his duties.

Economic reforms

Perhaps more than any ruler of the time, he recognized the importance of well-ordered finances. Care was taken properly to survey the property of the realm, and an attempt was made to impose the taxes justly, and with as little inconvenience to the people as possible. Although he did not succeed in abolishing serfdom, he protected the interests of the peasants in various ways. Productivity was stimulated by laws which required farmers to cultivate their land "thoroughly and economically," or give it to others who would take better care of it. Marshes were drained, fertile land improved, and sandy soil planted with forests. Large sums were spent in the recovery of districts devastated by the Seven Years' War. Many immigrants were induced to come to Prussia to take the places of those people who had died during the war. New industries were founded through the importation of skilled artisans from abroad, and old ones were greatly encouraged by government protection.

Legal reforms

Frederick based his government not on the absolute will of the sovereign, but on the reign of law. Desiring that the people should secure justice speedily and cheaply, he had legal procedure shortened and the law codified; only three days after his accession torture was abolished. Religious liberty was established for all forms of worship. Even the Jesuits, who had been proscribed in other countries, were welcomed to Prussia. The King himself espoused Freemasonary.

Reward of merit

Frederick attached particular importance to the promotion of worthy men in his service, granting rank and position only according to merit. He once remarked that "nature has not distributed talents according to rank and lineage." The ruler should constantly "search for unknown merit and reward men for worthy deeds performed in secret." "He should watch for good actions as carefully as tyrants do for conspiracies."

Joseph II's reform

In decided contrast with Frederick the Great's accomplishments are the well-meaning, but disastrous attempts at reform of another benevolent despot, Joseph II, who came to the Austrian throne in 1780. Without properly taking into account the difficulties which confronted him, Joseph set out to follow in Frederick's footsteps, and make, as he said, "philosophy the law-giver" of his Empire. He undertook, without concerning himself with religious or historical traditions, to eliminate everything contrary to his philosophical ideas.

Religious reforms

Declaring that he despised superstitions and must free his people from them and that the principles of monasticism were "contrary to human reason," he suppressed over seven hundred monasteries, selling their property and devoting the proceeds to increasing the number of parish priests, primary schools, hospitals, and various philanthropic institutions. He forbade those orders which remained to "maintain relations with a foreign country." He interfered with the religious practices commonly in use among the people. Marriage was made a "purely civil contract" and divorce was established. Religious toleration with the right to hold civil and military offices was granted to Lutherans, Calvinists, and Greek Orthodox Catholics.

Abolition of serfdom and reapportionment of the taxes

As a philosopher, Joseph was much opposed to feudal privileges; accordingly he swept away serfdom in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Hungary. Other decrees were soon passed to assure the peasants better conditions as tenants. The land taxes were reapportioned, and the clergy and nobles were made to contribute their share. Following Beccaria's recommendations civil and criminal codes were published, criminal courts were reorganized, and torture and cruel punishments were abolished.

Reorganization of the Austrian government

Desiring to make the institutions of his diverse states uniform and to centralize their government at Vienna, he cancelled the "most cherished laws, customs and privileges" of Hungary and Bohemia, which the Hapsburgs had sworn to respect. He then divided his dominions into thirty governments, which were subdivided into so-called circles.

Attempt to promote commerce

To promote national prosperity the Emperor attempted to create a merchant marine, and to open the Scheldt River, which the Dutch had closed to the trade of the Austrian Netherlands. Harbors along the Adriatic were improved, and commercial agreements were concluded with Turkey, Russia, and Morocco. Led by protectionist ideas, he forbade imports as well as the sale of food products to other countries.

Joseph II's foreign policy

In foreign policy, he attempted to secure Bavaria and adjoining territory in exchange for the Austrian Netherlands. If he had not been blocked in this by Frederick the Great and the German princes, he might have greatly increased his power in eastern Germany.

Failure of many of Joseph II's reforms

Joseph II's too hasty and far-reaching reforms were rendered for the most part ineffective by the opposition which they aroused in the Church, the nobility, and the various nationalities which composed his territories. The Hungarian magnates had to be conciliated by a restoration of most of their privileges; a stubborn revolt led by the nobility and clergy broke out in the Austrian Netherlands. Worn out by his difficulties, and filled with bitter disappointment, the well-meaning but tactless monarch died at the early age of forty-nine. Although some of his accomplishments were of permanent value, his policies were largely "reversed by his cautious and diplomatic brother Leopold II." He had made the mistake of attempting to force on his people a social revolution before they were prepared for it. He was too much inclined to regard human beings as "inert, malleable at will," upon whom he was privileged to experiment.

Catherine the Great as enlightened despot

Russia was experiencing a benevolent reign under Catherine II, who before her marriage was a German princess. She possessed all the characteristics of an enlightened despot. She was highly educated, clever, filled with a passion for writing and appreciation for art. In religious matters she was broad-minded and very tolerant. She spent little time in pleasures, but devoted herself energetically and skillfully to what she believed the best interests of Russia. Catherine, during the first years of her reign, studied the conditions of the country and its government. She traveled widely in different parts of Russia and selected able men to help her in the tasks she meant to undertake.

Catherine's interest in legal reform

Inspired by the rationalist philosophers, she believed that the Russian legal system ought to be revised according to the "principles of the new philosophy and the actual needs and desires of the people." Accordingly, she set about making a careful study of abstract principles of law, spending two years at the task, and then drawing up an elaborate instruction for the committee which was to draft the new code. In its preparation, she "pillaged," to use her own expression, the philosophers' works, particularly Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* and Beccaria's *Crimes and Punishment*. "The most advanced, liberal, and humane ideas of her day" were thus embodied in the work which was printed in 1767, in four languages, and disseminated throughout her own and other lands. That she might likewise learn "the needs and desires of the people," she summoned to the capital a great legislative commission of 658 delegates representing all classes except the serfs, and all nationalities in the great Russian Empire. These were directed to bring instructions from their constituencies stating their needs and demands.

Although the assembly held more than two hundred sittings, and discussed fully many difficult problems, and all sections of the com-

munity had a chance to voice their grievances, its sessions were finally interrupted by the war with the Turks before a code had been drawn up, and were not resumed. Catherine, however, considered the attempt had been worth while, stating: "The Commission for the Code has given me light and knowledge for all the Empire. I know now what is necessary, and with what I should occupy myself." As a matter of fact the discussions in the assembly did influence the laws promulgated by the Empress.

Reorganization of Russian government

In an attempt to stop some of the corruption which still pervaded the government, and to secure a more efficient administration, the Empress redivided the country into political divisions on the basis of population. In place of ten, fifty governments of nearly equal size were provided, and the number of districts in each government was increased. Both landed areas and cities were allowed deliberative assemblies. Judicial functions were separated from administrative, and an extensive court system was organized. Elected departments of social welfare to have charge of schools, hospitals, and almshouses were set up in each government.

Failure to free the serfs

Although Catherine encouraged the discussion of the problem of emancipation of the serfs, she failed to take any definite step in that direction. Instead serfdom was extended during her reign, and the powers of the lord over his serfs increased by the provision that he might exile his disobedient serfs at discretion to Siberia, or force them into the army.

Catherine's religious attitude

Catherine secularized the Church lands. She tolerated all sorts of religious dissenters as well as Mohammedans and offered an asylum to persecuted religious sects from other countries.

Promotion of education

She displayed a lively interest in education, establishing secondary schools in the larger cities. While Peter the Great had been mainly interested in practical education, Catherine sought to promote education for character-building. She encouraged public hygiene, saw that physicians were supplied to various parts of Russia, and introduced the use of vaccination.

Interest in literature

She not only patronized Russian authors, but prided herself on being an authoress. She kept up a correspondence with the French philosophers, and upon occasion befriended them. French culture under her inspiration became the rule of the day in Russian high society.

Extent of benevolent despotism

Benevolent despots were likewise to be found in the persons of Charles III of Spain (1759–1788),[1] Joseph I of Portugal (1750–1777), Gustavus III (1771–1792) of Sweden, and to a certain extent Louis XVI of France (1774–1792); many of the lesser princes were affected by the prevailing spirit.

Its weakness

While in some cases benevolent despotism resulted in successful reforms, it frequently failed to secure for its actions popular sympathy and support, and too often forced upon the people reforms for which

[1] For the reforms of Charles III, See *supra*, p. 277.

they were not prepared, and which they did not desire. As a consequence, many measures of benevolent despotism were of a transitory nature.

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PART VIII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

CHAPTER XXIV

THE FALL OF FEUDALISM IN FRANCE

The Old Régime in France

During the eighteenth century some advance toward the betterment of European conditions had resulted through the agency of the benevolent despots. It still remained, however, for the French Revolution, which occurred in 1789, to usher in the changes which finally resulted in the destruction of the old régime throughout Europe, in the erection of modern nationalism based on the patriotism of the masses, in the development of popular government, in liberty for the individual, and in a greater equality of treatment and of opportunity than could be enjoyed in a feudal society or under arbitrary government. Unlike the earlier reforms of the century, those of the French Revolution were accomplished by a popular movement led by the bourgeoisie, inspired by the philosophers, and assisted by the masses.

Importance of French Revolution

The Revolution occurred in France not because feudal conditions were worse there than in other countries; in fact with the exception of England and some of the small countries like Holland and Switzerland, they were probably better than in any other European land. It was rather because the French government proved itself incapable not only of introducing and carrying out needed reforms, but even of functioning successfully. Moreover, the divisions of society were more sharply drawn than in many countries, and the upper classes abused their privileges with little or no return to society in the way of services to the community or the state. Feudal society was becoming an empty and obstructive shell in France. At the same time, France was the center of progressive thought, the home of the greatest philosophers, and of many prosperous bourgeoisie impatient with existing conditions.

Reasons why Revolution occurred in France

It will be necessary for an understanding of how the revolution came about and what it accomplished to survey briefly French society as it existed under the old régime. The population of France was divided into three estates, or classes. The first comprised the clergy, the second the nobility, and the third the bourgeoisie, artisans, and peasants.

Divisions in French society

In France, a Catholic country, the great landed possessions of the clergy, amounting it is said to one-fifth of all the land, had not been confiscated, as had been done in Protestant countries, and were still exempt from taxation. The sums the clergy, in their provincial and general assemblies, voted the government as a free-will offering, were entirely out of proportion to the vast wealth of the Church, which may have equalled a billion dollars in value and which produced an

Clergy

annual income of sixty million dollars. In many other ways, in spite of the Catholic Reformation, conditions resembled those of Pre-Reformation days. As in earlier days, the large income of the Church was concentrated for the most part in the hands of the upper clergy, leaving the country curate little to live on. The bishops still retained as feudal lords many of their privileges and worldly interests. Practically all[1] were chosen from the ranks of the nobility, and they continued in many cases to possess the characteristics, and to live the life of the order from which they had sprung. As a whole they were "courtiers and men of the world," some even disbelieving the religion they professed, though the majority "observed outward decorum."

Continuance of old evils

The old evils of pluralities and absenteeism still existed, though perhaps to a less extent. Abbots of monasteries were among the worst offenders in the matter of absenteeism. Awarded their positions through royal favor, they sometimes were not even members of the religious orders over which they were placed. Entrusting to an acting abbot or prior the care of the monastery, they spent their revenues at court and devoted themselves to its intrigues. Lucrative sinecures are said to have abounded more in the Church than in the state.

Lower clergy

So far as the lower clergy were concerned, real improvement appears to have been accomplished. Though shamefully ill-paid, for the most part they performed their duties faithfully and enjoyed the respect and good will of the people. Unprivileged as they were, when the Revolution occurred, they sympathized with the third estate and their influence was a vital factor in its success.

Monasteries

The monastic revival which had accompanied the Catholic Counter-Reformation had subsided. Zeal had departed. Many monastic establishments died for lack of new recruits. As a result of a royal edict of 1765, closing religious houses whose inmates were less than nine, nearly four hundred were closed. Several of the smaller orders even vanished completely from the land. In some cases the character of the monasteries or nunneries was changed, their inmates not taking irrevocable vows, and living semi-secular lives. Some others became aristocratic clubs to which only those of noble birth might be admitted. Nevertheless, most of the education and the charity of the country were in monastic hands. To the peasant such organizations were regarded as objectionable, as they frequently collected from him heavy dues which might better have gone to the parish priests and for which he received no service in return.

Decline of attachment for Church

The Church continued to maintain an intolerant attitude toward other denominations. It was losing much of its hold, particularly among the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, who became affected by the deistic and anti-clerical attitude displayed by the philosophers.

The political unification of France had only been brought about by the destruction of the political power of the nobility. Their acquiescence in this change of fortune had been gained not only by the

[1] At one time five were chosen from the lower ranks of society.

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main force of the King's armies, but also partly by the grant of financial privileges and a monopoly of the higher Church and state offices, and partly by confirmation of their economic power over the peasantry. The state exempted them from the most burdensome of the direct taxes, reserved for them highly paid offices which required little or no active labor, and gave them bountiful pensions.

Privileged position of nobility

The nobility like the clergy were divided into a higher and a lower class, the former a court nobility, the latter living in the country. A number of things tended to make them a useless privileged caste isolated from the people and therefore unpopular. Unlike the English nobility, all the children of a French noble family were considered nobles, and were unable honorably to engage in useful trade, as the younger sons of English noble families sometimes did, or to marry a wife from the lower ranks of society. At the same time, it was possible for the wealthy bourgeoisie to secure titles by purchasing certain government offices, particularly judgeships, and thus becoming what were called "noblesse de robe." The spirit and energy of the higher nobility had been broken through the efforts of Richelieu and Louis XIV, and they had been obliged to leave their country estates and live at court. Here, though not lacking in intelligence, they were characterized by their arrogance, their idle existence, their immorality, and their devotion to the pastimes of society, to love making, and to intrigue. They formed a class of absentee landlords, possessing little or no knowledge of or interest in their tenants except to make them pay for the expenses of court life. This situation was aggravated by the fact that their estates were entrusted to stewards whose efficiency was measured by their ability in collecting dues and in discovering through careful scrutiny of manorial records additional sources of income. Those wealthy men, moreover, who had bought titles and lands, were always anxious to secure repayment for their expenditures. Unlike the Prussian lords, who were real rulers in their territories, controlling the local law courts and the administration of villages, and unlike the English gentry, who as justices of the peace performed innumerable governmental functions, the French nobles were isolated and rendered useless also by the fact that they were excluded through the action of the bureaucratic system from political activities by which they might have become both useful to, and interested in the welfare of the countryside. Instead of remaining leaders and protectors of their people, they were forced into the position of little-known and hated creditors.

Isolation and uselessness of nobility

The country nobility, like the parish priests, comprised the majority of their order. Like them, they were frequently poor, some of them not much superior to the peasantry in resources. Though like the higher nobility they lived useless lives and had no part in local government, they were on the whole on much better terms with the peasants.

Over four-fifths of the people of France, or about twenty millions, were peasants. Of these, at the outbreak of the Revolution, only a

Peasantry

small proportion, about a million and a half, were still serfs. The others served some lord as free agricultural laborers or, as was the case generally when the land was still held by the seigneur, worked it on a system of equal shares. Some land in northwestern France was rented to peasant tenants. Still more interesting is the fact that between a third and a half of the land of France was held by small peasant proprietors, and that peasant ownership probably existed there to a greater extent than in any other country of Europe. The peasant properties had not been sold by the lord for "a sum paid down" but in return for "perpetual rent" and "services."

Dues owed lord

"Labor-rents" or "corvées," generally of about twelve days labor a year, were still required in many parts of France, and the peasant was frequently obliged to serve, much to his distress, as rent-collector. These services, however, were constantly being transformed into a money payment or a share of the produce, called *champart*. The champart varied from as low as a thirteenth to as high as a third of the crops. The collection of this due resulted in serious and often disastrous restrictions upon agricultural freedom. To protect the lord's interests crops could not be changed, new agricultural methods introduced, or land sold without first gaining his consent. Crops frequently were ruined before his agent arrived to levy the champart, which must be done before any of the crop might be harvested. Further delay was caused by the fact that the peasant was obliged to deliver the lord's share before removing any of his own.

Equally discouraging were the regulations concerning property holding. Upon the inheritance or purchase of land a most exacting statement was required of the titles by which it had been acquired and of all the dues to the lord with which it was encumbered. If the slightest mistake were noted, and mistakes were frequent because of the complicated nature of the holdings, this document must be redrawn even though thirty years had passed since the occupier had acquired his land. Large sums to lawyers had to be paid each time it was prepared. When the manor rolls were revised, as they generally were every twenty or thirty years, the peasants must make new statements. Special agents were engaged to prepare the rolls. Since greater rewards might be expected by those who were most skilled in swelling the rent roll, all the old dues which could be discovered by consulting a feudal dictionary were added if any possibility existed of forcing the peasants to pay them. It was estimated that such revisions sometimes cost them more than six times the land tax paid the government. Upon each purchase of property the lord must be paid from a thirteenth to a half of the purchasing price and upon inheritance a sum usually equal to one year's return from the property. Desirable consolidations of scattered strips of land were prevented by the exactions of these dues. Still worse, uncertainty was introduced into all transfer of property by the lord's claim of the right to refuse to acknowledge any sale even years after it had been made.

Feudal monopolies which still existed throughout France in 1789 were especially disliked by the people. The lord in most places continued to possess the exclusive right to provide mills, bakehouses, and wine-presses to the community. These were farmed to the highest bidder, frequently at twice their value. Since they had been contracted for at such high rates and there existed no competition, services were exorbitant in charges and poorly and dishonestly rendered. Mills were frequently located at inconvenient places, and were often inadequate to take care of the needs of the people. It was even true that where mills did not exist, taxes were levied to secure freedom from this potential monopoly. *Feudal monopolies*

The lords were accustomed to maintain monopolies over the roads, fords, ferries, and bridges and to charge tolls when the peasant desired to use them to carry his crops to market. The markets and fairs themselves, as well as the weights and measures employed there, were frequently under the lord's control and their use had to be heavily paid for. Peasants were compelled to take their produce to the lord's market and to wait until he had disposed of his own crops before offering theirs for sale.

To the lords alone belonged the right to hunt, or fish, or keep pigeons. The peasants were forbidden to kill game no matter how much damage it was doing their crops. It was estimated that in some places the pigeons carried off one-fifth of the grain, and in one locality it was stated that herds of from twenty to thirty deer wandered about the fields destroying the crops. To make the matter still more exasperating, peasants were sometimes forbidden to weed their fields, or mow their hay at certain seasons, for fear of disturbing the partridges, and they were at times compelled to assist in the hunt as beaters, or were taxed for the maintenance of the packs of hunting dogs. When the hunt was on, riders and dogs chased the game across the fields of growing grain.

Humiliating requirements still existed; the lord expected a payment or present when the peasant married, and he might insist that the peasant's wife dance for his amusement. Peasants also sometimes had to beat the castle moat to quiet the frogs. *Humiliating requirements*

The government taxes added an even greater cause for grievance to the peasant's already heavy burden. If taxation had been more evenly distributed, as was the case in England, there would not have been the same cause for the peasant to complain, but no tax affected all Frenchmen alike. Taxes were unequally assessed, and varied according to locality and person. Heavier taxes were imposed on some provinces than on others. Those in northern France, which had been acquired later than those of old France, enjoyed a privileged position in respect to taxation. Some provinces called Pays d'Etats lying along the frontiers had managed to retain their local assemblies, and with them the right of assessing and collecting their taxes as they thought fit. *Governmental taxes*

As has been seen, the clergy, who owned much of the property of

France, managed to escape all the taxes by making a free-will offering much too small adequately to represent what they should have paid; the nobility and many office-holders secured entire or partial exemption, or successfully avoided the heaviest taxation. This cast the main load upon the third estate, upon those least able to endure it. Of this taxation the townsmen managed to ease themselves by imposing duties upon trade entering the town, or by distribution of the charge among the gilds. The poor man in the town was thus relieved of much of the oppressive taxation with which the poor man was inflicted in the country. The peasant became the beast of burden of the state, and the weight of his load constantly grew heavier through the requirements of a bankrupt government, and the increasing number of privileged persons who through political influence or wealth managed to avoid taxation.

Taille

The taille, a very heavy tax, based in a few provinces on the value of the land owned by the peasantry, but generally levied upon the profits from land and industry, was the hardest to bear of all the direct taxes.[1] It was assessed and collected by collectors selected by the peasants from their own numbers. So little desired was this task that everyone was forced to take his turn and each year new men were chosen. They were made personally liable for the tax; upon failure to collect any part of it they were obliged to make it up from their own property or suffer imprisonment. As the French minister Turgot remarked: "This duty causes the despair and almost always the ruin of those who are burdened with it, thus all the families of means in a village are successively reduced to misery." Since the community was jointly liable for the taille, if some escaped payment or were unable to make it, a heavier burden fell upon the rest. It frequently happened that well-to-do or influential commoners were able to intimidate or deceive the ignorant collectors so that they were assessed less than their proper share. This sometimes made the tax on other people so high that it could not be paid. Collectors were likewise influenced by relatives, friends, or neighbors as well as by ill-will towards enemies.

Since taxes were usually levied upon appearances it was to everyone's interest to seem poor. Individuals hid their wealth and if able to enjoy any luxuries did so in secret. Many deliberately denied themselves comforts and neglected "to stock or to cultivate their farms to the best advantage" in order to avoid the increased taxes which were sure to follow such evidences of improvement. Thus the growth in wealth and well-being of whole communities was checked. To escape high taxes villages generally presented a squalid appearance.

As it was evident that to pay taxes promptly would lead to a higher assessment the following year, it was an ordinary thing for taxpayers to be two or three years in arrears in their payments. It was

[1] In the regions where the taille rested on real estate, if the noble occupied land which was classified as "peasant," he had to pay the taille.

even believed that it was cheaper to stand court proceedings than to pay promptly. These circumstances, taken together with the fact that the taxpayers might sue the collector or the parish for overcharges and sometimes did so, caused heavy costs for the collection of this tax.

Capitation, vingtième, and corvée

From the peasants chiefly were also collected two other direct taxes, the capitation or poll tax, and the vingtième or income tax. The government had originally intended all classes to pay these taxes, but through weakness and necessity it had allowed the clergy to escape with a "free-gift," and the nobles, magistrates, and townspeople with easy assessments, while the peasantry furnished eight times their just quota. The royal corvée, which obliged the peasants to work from eight to forty days upon the roads, likewise had the effect of a direct tax. It was very annoying, as it was frequently required at times when the peasants should have been attending to their crops.

Aides and gabelle

Indirect taxes added their burden toward further crushing the peasant, and increased the expenses of life in the towns. These were farmed or sold each year to financiers who paid the government a lump sum for the privilege of collecting as much as they could from the people. They consisted of aides or excise duties levied on a number of articles such as liquor, tobacco, playing-cards, oils, and leather, and of the gabelle or salt tax. Because the salt was sold at greatly varying figures in different parts of France, and because in a considerable part of the country each person over seven years of age had to buy seven pounds a year, the gabelle was most cordially hated. It was said that every day people who were without food to eat were seized because they did not buy salt.

Tithe

To the Church, likewise, the peasant owed a compulsory due called the tithe amounting to a thirteenth of the produce. Since this tax contributed little to the support of the poor parish clergy, but was sent to swell the revenues of the more distant ecclesiastics, and since it frequently interfered with farming operations, it was greatly hated by the peasantry and led to innumerable law-suits.

Bourgeoisie

The Third Estate comprised not only the peasants, but the bourgeoisie and the artisans. The French bourgeoisie had been constantly increasing in numbers, wealth and importance as the result of several factors. In the first place, the rapid development during the eighteenth century of foreign trade and the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in France, accompanied as it was with the growth of commercial companies and the creation at least to some extent of mass production, factory organization and the investment of greater amounts of capital in industrial and mining operations resulted in the development of an alert, wealthy class of business men.[1] Further wealth was amassed by the bourgeoisie as government contractors, farmers-general of the revenue and as other tax collectors; while it was to them that the government turned to finance its loans. Magistrates, judges, lawyers

[1] See *supra*, pp. 468, 471, for details of commercial and industrial developments in France.

and civil servants such as the intendants likewise formed among the bourgeoisie a leading element whose importance was enhanced by the fact that judicial positions were frequently hereditary, and conferred upon their occupants titles as nobles of the robe.

Unlike the situation in England where many of the middle class had become country gentlemen, the French bourgeoisie were largely confined to the towns, although the more prosperous and aspiring among them frequently possessed, near the cities, lands and country homes from which they sometimes derived a surname. The heavy taxes on country property kept the bourgeoisie from investing much of their money in it. Instead, they possessed most of the available fluid capital and public securities.

The bourgeoisie were frequently very cultured, and it is said that in Paris as well as in the other principal urban centers, they excelled the nobility in "wealth, ability and personal merit." After making their fortunes, many of them retired from business, and together with their children, formed a large leisure class.

Reasons for discontent of bourgeoisie

In spite of their prosperity and the fact that the burden of taxation did not fall upon them as was the case with the peasantry, the bourgeoisie were very discontented with existing conditions. They furnished nearly all the leaders of the Revolution; while the artisans who under changing industrial conditions formed a constantly increasing urban proletariat, supplied the fighting force. The reason for bourgeois discontent is not far to seek. They were the progressive portion of the community and were impatient with the static conditions of the Old Régime. Upon them the philosophers and new economists made their greatest impression. Realizing their own increasing importance and ability, they became impatient with the privileges still enjoyed by the nobility, and with the restrictions which kept the bourgeoisie from holding many of the highest positions in the government, the courts, the church, the army, navy and diplomatic service. They saw the need of parliamentary and of more extensive municipal self-government.

With their better understanding of financial affairs, they viewed with apprehension and disgust the mismanagement and waste of government resources in which they were vitally interested since they were the underwriters of government loans, and national financial instability was likely to affect business interests. These interests were likewise seriously affected by stupid governmental meddling with industry and commerce. Realizing that a rapid business expansion might result comparable to that which was taking place in England where the theories of Adam Smith and other advocates of laissez-faire were more and more coming to be adopted, the French bourgeoisie longed for entire commercial freedom, as well as for the abandonment of all restrictions upon industrial enterprise, so that it might be able to exploit every manner of natural wealth. In this connection likewise envious eyes were cast upon the large amounts of land held by the

privileged orders, which frequently remained at least partially undeveloped. To the industrialist moreover, it was important that the peasant should be freed from the ties which bound him to his village in order that he might go to the towns to swell the ranks of industry. That trade might have a greater chance to develop, it was important that the customs system be reformed. France was divided into no less than seven customs districts each having its own customs barriers and special tariffs. Added to these were the dues charged by lords on traffic passing through their lands, and the duties levied by towns. Because of these dues, it was said, a load of wine had to pay twenty-two separate charges before arriving in Paris, thus greatly swelling its cost and retarding trade. Added to this as an obstacle was the chaos of weights and measures which varied greatly in going from province to province. A "perch" in Paris meant thirty-four square meters, but fifty-one in some provinces and forty-two in others. It was plain that economic progress could not be assured until a business-like administration was introduced, and prevailing conditions throughout the country completely reformed.

Deficiencies in local administration

Although the royal ministers had sought to reform the administration by introducing intendants and sub-intendants who controlled in the interests of the central government the affairs of nearly uniform districts, the old provinces with all their divergencies of customs, laws, and privileges remained. Just as the King had created his absolute power at the sacrifice of many privileges and sinecures to the nobility, French unity had been purchased at the expense of many concessions to local customs. In a few of the provinces, the Pays d'Etats, provincial assemblies still gave the people a little to say in their government. Elsewhere, all was directed by the central administration.

Deficiencies in judiciary

There existed no legal uniformity. Written law based on old Roman codes was used in southern France; while in the northern half of the country was "the customary law, a confused jumble of two hundred and ninety-five different codes derived from old feudal usage." At the head of the judicial system were thirteen Parlements, each serving a province or group of provinces. The Parlement of Paris was the chief of these bodies, the nearest to a supreme court which France possessed, and yet it was supreme court for only about a third of the country. Below the Parlements, there were a hundred superior judges called "presidents," far too few adequately to attend to the business which came before them. The result was constant delay of justice. There existed a great hodgepodge of inferior courts, frequently with conflicting jurisdictions. There were feudal courts, army courts, commercial courts, Church courts, the court of the University of Paris, courts of aides, chambers of accounts, and the court of the capitaineries royal. Instead of facilitating judicial business, these often had the effect of delaying the course of justice and making it more expensive.

Judicial practice

The high judicial magistrates, strange to say, gained their positions through inheritance or purchase. It was expected that litigants should present gifts to the judge. These exactions, aptly termed by a contemporary "the brigandage of justice," are said to have totaled from $7,800,000 to $11,700,000 annually. The court procedure was frequently both unfair and too slow. The accused was considered guilty before proved innocent, and the truth was less sought than conviction. The criminal law was so severe that the death penalty was imposed for many crimes which would today be punished with a fine. Mutilations and the use of torture to extort information concerning accomplices were still common. The King continued to exercise the right of imprisoning, or of exiling without trial. Orders for imprisonment, called *lettres de cachet*, were issued to nobles or other influential persons who wished to dispose of enemies or troublesome relatives.

National government

In the central government was to be found the same absolutism, the same governmental machinery which had existed under Louis XIV. The King still was supreme administrator and legislator. Through the censorship of the press he might regulate national thought, and by the use of *lettres de cachet* arbitrarily imprison any subject. All the property of the nation was at his disposal, and its revenues might be spent as he pleased. In spite of this immense power however, which appeared to be at his disposal, and of the governmental machine of ministers, councils, intendants, and sub-delegates who were required to execute his will and who actually carried on the government, his absolutism was in reality limited by the royal court, by tradition, by the widespread existence of privilege, and by the faults existing in the national organization

Faults of governmental organization

Much within the government itself needed to be changed. (1) It was too centralized, too officious and cumbersome. As De Tocqueville remarks: "There was no city, town, borough, village, or hamlet in the Kingdom; there was neither hospital, church fabric, or religious house which could have an independent will in the management of its private affairs, or could administer its own property after its own plans." Thus, while private enterprise and municipal activity were destroyed, or discouraged, the French bureaucracy was so cumbered with local affairs that much which should have been done was neglected. No representative system existed, as is now the case, to limit official arbitrariness. By teaching the people to turn to it for everything, the government came to be blamed for all the evils which afflicted society, even those for which it was not at all responsible.

(2) Government was too arbitrary and capricious. The King's pleasure, rather than established law, was the rule. This led to many irregularities, many inconsistencies. "It incessantly changes particular regulations or particular laws," said De Tocqueville. "In the sphere which it inhabits nothing remains an instant in repose. New rules succeed one another with a rapidity so strange that the agents of the state by dint of being commanded often have trouble in making out

how they are to obey." To add to this confusion, many exceptions were allowed in favor of privileged individuals, thus destroying the popular respect for the King's decrees.

(3) The government proved incapable even of preserving order throughout the country. Smugglers and brigands abounded.

(4) A court clique composed of courtiers, court ladies, and the ministers controlled the appointments to the important government offices, and influenced governmental policy. Rival factions intrigued against each other, taking bribes and striking bargains. The sovereigns, too weak to exercise their own wills and easily swayed, were persuaded to fill important posts with mere self-seeking politicians, while conscientious and patriotic men were all too speedily forced from office. Sinecures abounded. Sometimes only three months' work a year, or even less, was expected of such employees; thus four men were employed to perform the duties which one should have fulfilled. Intendants sometimes remained at court, entrusting their duties to sub-delegates.

Exhaustion of treasury

It was, however, the government's failure to meet its debts which proved the immediate cause of its downfall. The expenses of the royal court were constantly increasing. The large number of servants and attendants in the household of the royal family at Versailles, estimated as high as fifteen thousand persons, the royal stables with their two hundred carriages and nearly two thousand horses, the progresses of the court from one royal palace to another, as well as the millions dispensed as gifts and pensions to court favorites, or squandered in mere luxury, or in gambling, might well call from a contemporary the remark that the "court is the tomb of the nation."

To such customary demands upon the treasury must be added the extraordinary costs of the many wars in which France had engaged. The culminating blow was rendered the tottering French financial structure by the aid given America, and by participation in the war of the American Revolution, which, it is estimated, cost France from two hundred million to four hundred million dollars.

Mismanagement of finances

It must further be noted that French finances had with few exceptions been mismanaged, and all sorts of unwise expedients had been resorted to. No regular budget existed, and not even the finance ministers ordinarily knew the exact extent of the debt, or what income to expect.

To meet even ordinary expenses, bonds based on future government income were sold. Some revenues were thus pledged ten years in advance, and by 1789 such anticipations upon future budgets had reached as high as $34,980,000. So poor had the government credit become that twenty per cent had to be paid on money borrowed, whereas the English government was paying only four per cent.

Still another resource of the hard-pressed government was the creation and sale of offices. This, since the salaries were an annual

charge, proved another form of borrowing from the future, and since these positions usually carried with them exemption from taxation, proved a heavy burden upon the state income. This was especially true since by this means the wealthiest classes were relieved from their due share of the taxes. The practice was open to the further objection that the government frequently felt obliged to retain inefficient officials because they had paid for their positions.

The collection of the revenue was not only oppressive of the unprivileged classes, but was also wasteful and inefficient. The indirect taxes, the import and export duties, and such state monopolies as salt and tobacco were sold in return for a fixed annual sum to financiers called farmers-general. In six years, the farm of the excise duties netted the farmers a profit of $18,720,000. It is estimated that this system of tax collection usually cost the government twenty per cent of what the tax really produced. Monopolies in the same product or activity were frequently granted at high fees to several different persons, thus causing sharp dissatisfaction and a sense of the essential bad faith of the government.

The sums realized from any tax were further limited by local immunities and individual and class exemptions. It may therefore be said that the state was "strangled by the privilege system."

Financial condition in 1789

By 1789, the year of the Revolution, the income was about twenty-seven million dollars short of meeting the annual expenditures, while the interest on the national debt reached nearly half the total receipts.

The First Phase of the French Revolution: The Estates-General

Traditional dependence upon King for reforms

The French people had been accustomed to look to the King as the opponent of feudal anarchy, the creator of national unity, order, and security. To the King and his ministers had been due all the great reforms. Even when the Estates had existed, they had displayed a spirit of factionalism and weakness. Now, in the eighteenth century, when an enlightened and powerful government was needed as never before, instead of the strength which the people expected from their sovereign or his ministers they found "incoherence in despotism, irresolution in the all-powerful, anarchy in centralization." The failures and scandals of Louis XV's reign, moreover, ought to have been sufficient to shake the confidence of the most loyal in the virtues of royalty.

Parlement of Paris as mouthpiece of discontent

That the spirit of criticism and discontent was alive in the land was evident early in the eighteenth century. It was the Parlements, particularly that of Paris, which became the first mouthpieces of this discontent. Although corrupt, filled with judges who had purchased their positions, and interested in the defense of special privilege, this Parlement claimed and exercised the right to pass upon the constitutionality of the King's decrees, and was the only remaining institution which ventured to oppose him. When it quarreled with the

King, as quite frequently it did, its remonstrances were printed, sold, and eagerly read throughout the French cities. Attempts to suppress the Parlements led to popular riots. Their disobedience, which constantly grew more successful as the King's power grew weaker, "belittled" royal authority, and unfortunately for its success, prevented it from "founding new institutions in accordance with the spirit of the times" or carrying out other necessary reforms.

Philosophers as critics

Just as the humanists by their criticisms of the existing church organization paved the way for the Reformation, so the French philosophers, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and the others, aroused discontent with the conditions of the old régime, and one of them, Rousseau, supplied the subsequent Revolution with its ideals. They shook the "respect for tradition and authority," they displayed the causes for revolution and "gave them passion and life." They "filled the young bourgeois with the revolutionary spirit," thus providing leaders, and they even aroused doubts concerning the abuses of privilege in some aristocratic minds, thus weakening the resistance of the old order. One must be on guard, however, against giving the impression that the French philosophers were a radical and revolutionary group. They were far from that. For the most part they advocated orderly reform and deplored all violence. They did not believe in democracy, or even in republicanism, for anything beyond small city-states such as Geneva. Their most advanced ideal was the limited monarchy of England. Even Rousseau, the most radical of the lot, was the furthest possible removed from a practical revolutionist. He fainted at the sight of blood and would have been unspeakably repelled by the Reign of Terror and its orgy of executions. It is difficult to imagine anything more preposterous than Robespierre's considering himself a literal and faithful disciple of Rousseau. The philosophers did not directly help on the Revolution by a doctrine of violence, but rather stimulated it indirectly by introducing a ferment of new ideas and an impulse to political reform and human betterment.

English and American influence

The attacks upon the outworn French institutions received much impetus from two foreign sources, England and America. The English system of government had long been admired by French philosophers, and the writings of Sidney and Locke had great influence on the nation's political thought. Even greater was the effect of the American Revolution, for whose success Frenchmen had shed their blood and spent their treasure. They were thrilled with the Declaration of Independence and with the Declaration of Rights of the American States, which formed the basis of the later Declaration of Rights of the French people. All intelligent Frenchmen familiarized themselves with the principles of the American Constitution. The success of the American Revolution seemed to prove that the theories of the French philosophers concerning liberty, equality, and the other rights of man were attainable. Even those Frenchmen, however, who were, like

Lafayette, most infected with American democracy believed the establishment of a similar great republic in France to be impossible. Unlike the virgin land of America, it was thickly populated and burdened with a feudal system and traditions. It seemed much wiser to follow the English example and establish a limited monarchy, into which might be infused desirable republican principles adopted from American experience.

Reasons for overthrow of monarchy

Thus, to repeat, it was through the King that the nation hoped for reforms to come and the establishment of a freer government. "Men wanted to organize the monarchy, not to destroy it." It was only because of the utter incapacity of the King and the obstruction to progress offered by him, that the monarchy was overthrown.

Louis XVI

There was much in the character of Louis XVI, who occupied the throne at the outbreak of the Revolution, which aroused popular hope. He was modest, kind-hearted, and generous-minded, pious without being intolerant. He was disposed to carry out reforms, and sincerely wished to make his people happy. He chose upright men for his ministers. Unfortunately the King possessed fatal weaknesses which totally unfitted him for the rôle he was expected to play. Heavy and awkward in appearance, and unkingly in his bearing, he spent most of his time in tinkering in his workshop, or in hunting, and frequently became so fatigued with his pastimes that he would fall asleep in the midst of the transaction of the most serious business in the royal council. His duties usually bored him, and he seemed incapable of sustained thought. He had no confidence in himself, and therefore deferred making decisions unless forced to them. Since he had no will of his own, he was swayed this way or that by those who surrounded him, and yet so jealous was he of his authority that no favorite or minister could secure a permanent influence over him. His own brother remarked that it was as hard to keep together a number of oiled ivory balls as to hold the King to a settled determination. He could not be depended upon to act of his own accord, nor yet to give consistent support to a good minister or a desirable policy.

Marie Antoinette

Over the weak-willed king his beautiful young wife, Marie Antoinette, an Austrian princess, exerted an unfortunate influence. Unlike her stolid husband, she was graceful, had the manner of royalty, possessed extravagant tastes, and indulged a love for gambling and gay society. So eager was she for pleasure that she was easily influenced by those who provided her with the most amusement, and thus through the Queen the courtiers frequently influenced the King's policy. Reforming ministers like Turgot, who might have saved France from revolution, were forced from power because they interfered with the extravagances of the court and the Queen's pleasures, while unworthy favorites were showered with pensions and sinecures. After the outbreak of the Revolution, the Queen encouraged the King in resisting desirable reforms, in following a course of double-dealing, and in plotting with foreign powers, in which she herself actively

participated. Because of her Austrian birth, she was subject to a popular dislike and suspicion which ultimately came to affect the King's popularity.

Attempted reforms

Louis XVI's reign to the beginning of the Revolution in 1789 was marked by futile attempts made by a series of reforming ministers appointed by the well-intentioned monarch to alleviate the evils of the Old Régime, correct financial abuses, and restore national credit. Neither Turgot, an able administrator and economist, nor Necker, a highly successful Swiss banker, was able to accomplish anything of permanent value, although the latter won great popularity by his ability in securing government loans, and by a misleading statement concerning French finances which conveyed the false impression that the state, in spite of its heavy expenses resulting from its participation in the War of the American Revolution, had a balance in its favor.

An attempt to obtain a juster apportionment and consent to an increase of taxation through the establishment of deliberative assemblies in the provinces failed. Although, by 1788, twenty such assemblies had been established and had prepared a juster assessment and better distribution of the taxes, and seemed to offer hope of future popular participation in the government, they were so opposed by the parlements, who saw in them a danger to privilege, and by the people, who misunderstood them, that this promising innovation sanctioned by the King and his ministers proved to be of little value.

Calling of the Assembly of Notables

Finally in 1786, after attempts had been made by the various ministers to restore the national credit by retrenchment, by loans, and even by such a doubtful expedient as the easy spending of money to restore public confidence, the condition of the finances came to such a pass that bankruptcy seemed inevitable unless vigorous action were taken. Calonne, then Controller-General of the finances, persuaded the King to summon an assembly of notables or leading men of the kingdom. He then laid before them an exposition of the serious condition of the country, and, to restore national prosperity, advocated such sweeping reforms as the reduction of the taille, reform of the salt tax, removal of the corvée and the restrictions upon the grain trade, and the suppression of interior customs lines and the gilds. To restore the finances, he urged the removal of pecuniary privileges and of the exemptions and irregularities in assessing the taxes, also the imposition of a land tax to be levied on the nobility and clergy as well as on the third estate. Instead of recognizing the seriousness of the crisis and agreeing to these necessary reforms, the notables obstinately refused either to support Calonne's proposals, or give up their privileges.

Government and Parlements

Upon the government's failure to secure a favorable response from the Assembly of Notables, it drew up edicts incorporating the desired reforms and sent them to the Parlement of Paris for registration. Consent was thus gained in several instances, but two decrees for the imposition of new taxes were registered only by means of a "lit de justice." The Parlement the following day declared the act of

registration void, and, apparently with a desire to cause the ministry trouble and to gain popularity for itself, asserted that "only the nation assembled in the Estates-General" could give the necessary consent to the destruction of the great abuses and to the establishment of new taxes.

After considerable controversy with the Parlement, the King, in the autumn of 1787, agreed to assemble an Estates-General within five years on condition that the Parlement would at once register a large loan; but no sooner had this agreement been made than the government took steps to suppress the Parlement's powers for interference with governmental decrees. This gave the Parlement a chance to pose as the defender of popular liberties against an arbitrary government. The cause of the Parlement seemed to be the cause of the nation, and when the King's commissioners attempted in various parts of France to proclaim the edicts depriving the Parlements of their powers to register the laws, they were met with popular demonstrations and mob-violence. Thereupon, the King dismissed his unpopular ministry, and recalled Necker, who at once restored the Parlements to their former powers, and since all other resources had been exhausted without effect and the treasury was empty, he summoned the Estates-General to meet the following year.

Rules governing former Estates-Generals

Since no Estates-General had met for a hundred and seventy-five years, information had to be sought as to its organization and functions. It had been the practice in former assemblies of this kind for the three estates to sit and vote separately, each order casting its vote as a whole. If this practice should be continued not much hope of reform might be entertained, since the two privileged orders, although representing only a small part of the population, would by this means possess a majority, two votes out of three.

Election

During the early months of 1789, the novelty of a national election filled the country with great popular excitement and expectation. Separate elections were held by each of the estates. Every male taxpayer of twenty-five years of age among the third estate was allowed to vote. Voting, however, was indirect, the voters of each bailiwick or city electing members to a local electoral chamber which chose the actual deputies.

Cahiers

It had been customary, when elections were held for an Estates-General, to invite the people to submit lists of grievances and suggestions for reform, called cahiers. No less than fifty or sixty thousand such documents were prepared in 1789. In those of the third estate there is a universal demand for the abolition of the feudal dues and a reform of the tax system as well as of the abuses in the administration of justice. If these desires had been granted, the majority would, perhaps, have been satisfied. However, having been told by bourgeois leaders that unless a constitution were drawn up no reform would be secured, everyone demanded a constitution.

Composition of Estates-General

In the Estates-General which finally assembled at Versailles on May 5, 1789, the forces of conservatism and liberal reform were both represented. The delegates of the first estate were sharply divided between the great reactionary ecclesiastics, and two hundred and five country curés whose sympathies were with the peasants, and who desired reforms. Those of the second estate comprised a majority of ultra-conservative nobles; but some members were liberals who were prepared to make concessions. Lawyers of the non-privileged type predominated in the third estate, eager to carry out the wishes of their constituents for reform and a constitution.

Leaders

No outstanding leaders were to be noted among the privileged classes who played a rôle of obstruction. In the third estate Mirabeau, Siéyès, and Bailly should be noticed. Mirabeau became the leader of the popular cause in the Estates-General. He was the son of a country nobleman of liberal tendencies. Having been somewhat of a rake, he had spent much of his early life in various prisons, committed to them by *lettres de cachet* obtained by his father. He was "a man of gigantic physique, though half-broken by excess and prison; a volcano of energy, thick-set, beetle-browed, short-headed...." "His greatness was that of character, of personality, of energy, of magnetism." As an orator, "he carried away, not only his hearers, but himself." The Abbé Sieyès was a shrewd politician who exerted considerable influence in forming the political ideas of his time. He weathered the storms of the Revolution, and afterwards was most useful to Napoleon Bonaparte. A pamphlet which he had written, "What Is the Third Estate?" in which he contended that it was virtually the nation, won him the regard of his colleagues. Bailly played an important part as a presiding officer of the National Assembly and afterwards as Mayor of Paris.

King's lost opportunity

On May 5, 1789, the opening session of the Estates-General was held in the great pleasure-hall at the palace of Versailles, crowded to its doors with deputies and spectators. Filled with high expectations all France awaited to hear what program of reform would be announced by the King and his ministers. Thus was presented to Louis XVI a splendid opportunity to take the lead in a great national revival which would sweep away old abuses and place the institutions of France on a new and firmer basis. Instead, the vacillating King had no program to suggest, save pious hopes for national welfare, and he would not allow his ministers to present one. Nothing was said of a new constitution, which was so ardently desired. It was clearly indicated that the government intended the Estates to discover a way out of the financial difficulties into which the nation was plunged without tampering with the King's prerogatives or with established institutions. The reform element in the Estates-General was bitterly disappointed by this opening performance, at which the monarch had treated them like children and had given no sign of any real understanding of the problems facing France.

Methods of voting

To make sure that no radical changes should be made, the government had refrained from making any move to change the obsolete method of voting by order employed by former estates. The matter had been left for determination to the Estates-General. It was clearly evident that if the voting was done according to order, the privileged classes would still possess a majority and be able to block all reform. Just before the election the government had made a useless concession to the third estate of the right to choose as many delegates as the other two orders combined.

The Creation of the National Assembly

National Assembly

For about seven weeks after the opening of the Estates-General, all business was halted by a deadlock between the orders. The members of the third estate insisted that the work of the Estates-General should be conducted in a joint session where each man's vote should count. They refused to take any action toward organization until the other orders joined them. The nobles were just as resolved to act as a separate order, while sentiment among the clergy was divided. At length, on June 17, after vain attempts to persuade the privileged orders to join with them, the third estate, emboldened by constant exchange of opinion during the long period of waiting, and by the encouraging messages sent them by their constituents, without consulting the King took the revolutionary step of declaring themselves and the dozen clergy who had meanwhile come to sit with them, to be the National Assembly of France. They hoped that by this bold move they might force the King to act in their behalf, or overcome the opposition of the other orders, which was already weakened by the evident sympathy of the liberal nobles and the curés with their desires.

King's attitude

The King, with his customary vacillation, failed to grasp a second opportunity for leadership. He did not, as many deputies feared he might, dismiss the Estates-General to recover his lost authority; neither did he follow the wiser course of graciously accepting what the third estate had done and commanding the orders to sit together, thus renewing his popularity and retaining leadership of reform. Instead, moved by the Queen and the court, he announced a second royal session to be held about a week later, when he intended to assert his authority by ordering the estates to sit separately and refrain from discussing constitutional questions, which he considered to be his sole concern.

Tennis Court Oath

Meanwhile, to prevent further action on the part of the third estate, and to prevent the clergy from joining with them, the hall in which they sat was closed in preparation for the royal sitting. When they arrived on June 20, to resume their session, finding the hall closed, the delegates occupied instead a nearby enclosed tennis court. Greatly excited at the apparent intention of the King to block their plans, some members were in favor of moving to Paris, where they

might be protected by the people; others opposed this plan for fear of mob rule. At length, amidst the wildest enthusiasm, all pledged themselves to remain where they were, and not to adjourn until they had given France a constitution. This Tennis-Court Oath bears to the French Revolution somewhat the same relation as does the Declaration of Independence to the American Revolution. It was an expression of the national resolve to obtain a constitutional government at whatever cost. That this firmness on the part of the members of the third estate had its effect is shown by the fact that two days later the majority of the clergy came and joined them.

Royal session

On June 23 the royal session was held, and the King declared the action of the third estate in establishing a National Assembly void, and commanded the deputies to leave the hall at once and sit in separate orders for the conduct of business. Nearly all the deputies of the nobility and higher clergy retired as ordered. The others remained in their places "maintaining a profound silence." Upon this the Grand Master of the King's Household appeared at the door, near which a company of guards was drawn up, and announced that "His Majesty requested the deputies of the third estate to retire." Bailly, who was presiding, replied that "the Assembly would consider the question." Upon this Mirabeau impetuously rushed forward exclaiming: "Sir, go tell your master that nothing but bayonets will drive us out from here." When word was carried to the King, fearing that the troops could not be depended upon he wearily remarked: "They mean to stay! . . . . Well then, ... let them stay!"

The Assembly, upon winning this victory over the King, immediately resolved that it would persist in its previous decrees and declared its members inviolate, and all persons or courts who should arrest or proceed against them "traitors to the nation and guilty of capital crime."

King's surrender

In the days immediately following, more delegates from the privileged orders continued to join the National Assembly, among them forty-seven deputies from the nobility. Constant pressure was exerted on the members still recalcitrant by the crowds of people who surrounded the palace. At last, realizing that the soldiery could not be depended upon, and fearing outbreaks, the King urged the remaining nobles and clergy to join with the other members of the National Assembly, which, after some delay, they did. Thus, the King's power had slipped away from him, and a national power independent of him was created. The old division of orders was disappearing, and a newly unified France filled with patriotic zeal was emerging.

Plots of the court

All danger to the popular cause was not yet over. Many of the nobles and some of the higher clergy offered constant obstruction to the measures taken in the Assembly and threatened to leave and form a separate body. The court party was plotting to recover its lost

ground. Troops, many of them German and Swiss, were hurried to Versailles and Paris. It was rumored that the Assembly was to be dissolved and the deputies imprisoned. Suddenly, the government dismissed Necker and several other ministers, and replaced them with others more favorable to the court party.

Excitement in Paris

In this critical hour for the liberties of the nation, Paris came to the aid of the Assembly. Great crowds of people suffering from unemployment, high prices, and lack of food, together with many who had flocked to Paris from other parts of France, were on the verge of revolt. Urged on by popular orators, they were displaying a feverish interest in the outcome of political events. Many of the soldiers as they arrived were won to the popular side. The bankers, investors, and business men were vitally interested in the Assembly, since they saw in its success safety for the funds they had loaned the government, and restoration of business prosperity. Upon news of Necker's dismissal, royal bankruptcy was feared and the value of market securities fell.

Action of Paris electors

Fearing disorder and resolved to prevent if possible the overthrow of the National Assembly, the electors from the various wards of Paris gathered at the city hall and set up a permanent committee there. They called upon each ward to furnish two hundred citizens for the formation of a national guard, and requested the commander of the Invalides for arms to maintain order, and to defend the city against attack.

Taking of Bastille

Meanwhile the wildest rumors spread that the aristocrats were coming to massacre the people and destroy the city. The populace sought to get arms, and demanded to be allowed to march upon Versailles and drive out the King's ministers and rescue the Assembly. Finally, they broke into the Invalides, obtained some guns, and on July 14 surrounded and took the prison of the Bastille, the strongest fortress in Paris. The taking of the Bastille is regarded as one of the outstanding events of the French Revolution, since it seemed to mark the determination of the people to uphold the Assembly and the reform program, and was their first success against the old régime. At present, July 14 is celebrated as the great French national holiday. As a matter of literal fact, the Bastille was stormed chiefly by the lawless and criminal element in Paris who desired to free their fellow-criminals. This act of the most sordid mob violence was, however, reported to the Assembly at Versailles as a noble gesture for liberty on the part of their friends in Paris. The Assembly was only too glad to accept this interpretation, and thus was born the legend of Bastille Day.

Its effect

Upon hearing of the fall of the Bastille, the King contemplated flight; thinking better of it, he promised the Assembly to withdraw the troops from Versailles, and from near Paris, and recalled Necker to the ministry. Thereupon, many of the court nobles, officers, and bishops left Versailles for the frontiers. To show his acquiescence in

the popular will, and to restore tranquillity, the King paid a visit to Paris. Received by the people with transports of joy, he accepted the revolutionary red and blue cockade, approved the establishment of the national guard, and of Lafayette as its commander, as well as the setting up of the new council or commune, and the choice of Bailly as Mayor of Paris. On the same day the authority of the Assembly was recognized by the Parlement of Paris. Thus a new national authority was erected.

Municipal revolution

The rising at Paris had been successful in forcing the central government to accept the Assembly and to permit its reform program, but to destroy feudalism throughout France the widespread movement which occurred in July in the cities, towns, and villages was required. In the cities, crowds burned the tax offices and pillaged the houses of magistrates and wealthy citizens until revolutionary communes and national guards, formed after the fashion of Paris, restored order. In some cities, members of all three orders coöperated to accomplish this purpose. Sometimes the electors of the third estate, sometimes a general gathering of all the inhabitants chose the members of the new communes. In some places, the old city government was replaced by the new; in others it continued to exist beside the later creation. Each large city became a center for a group of smaller places. Everywhere the intendants and other royal representatives, the Parlements, and even the military commanders, since their troops espoused the popular cause, lost their control.

Rural uprisings

Long before the events just narrated, even as early as January, 1789, and extending with greater intensity through the spring and summer, many riots and peasant uprisings occurred. In many cases the peasants, excited by the prospect of the abolition of feudal dues, decided to take matters into their own hands. Châteaux and monastic establishments were sacked and frequently destroyed in the eager search for manor-rolls and other records of feudal obligations, which upon discovery were promptly burned. To make doubly sure, lords were forced to sign releases from all dues and services formerly exacted from the peasantry. Some lands were seized and divided. The hated tax-bureaus and salt warehouses were demolished, and both payment of government taxes and labor on the lords' estates were stopped. Amid all this turmoil a panic or "great fear" traversed France. Everywhere it was rumored that thousands of brigands were coming, plundering, burning houses, and destroying grain. Peasants armed to meet them; upon failure to discover them, they turned their attention to securing their demands from the lords. With it all, it must be noticed that there was strangely little loss of life.

August 4

The news of the many peasant uprisings, which threatened to become universal, filled the National Assembly with dismay. Their attention had hitherto been absorbed in maintaining their position and creating a new constitution. The anarchy into which the country had been cast by the peasants' action, the danger to life and property,

the actual overthrow in large sections of the nation of existing economic arrangements before new ones might be determined upon, called for quick and determined action of some sort. It was therefore a great relief to the deputies of the third estate when, on the night of August 4, amid scenes of wild enthusiasm, the representatives of the nobility and clergy renounced their privileges and the feudal dues, of which in many cases they had already been actually deprived by the peasant revolt. This was followed by the surrender by their deputies of the immunities and special favors possessed by certain of the provinces and cities.

August Decrees

These resolutions, in the days immediately following, were embodied in decrees known as the August Decrees. The surrender made by the nobles was not so great as it at first seemed, since they were to be well paid by the peasants for all dues which had been incurred by contract in return for property; nevertheless, the destruction without recompense of all feudal monopolies of hunting rights and servile dues, and, so far as the clergy were concerned, of all tithes and fees, the surrender of all exemptions from taxation, and the requirement that in future taxes should "be collected from all the citizens, and from all property, in the same manner and in the same form" went far toward the legal abolition of the old régime. Still further blows at privilege were struck by the provisions that "all citizens, without distinction of birth," were "eligible to any office or dignity, whether ecclesiastical, civil, or military," and that no profession "should imply any derogation," and that the sale of judicial and municipal offices should be abolished and justice freely dispensed.

Question of a declaration of rights

Thoughtful Frenchmen had long been attracted by the assertions of Rousseau concerning the rights of the individual, had regarded Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights as the basis of English liberties, and had later been highly interested in the American Declaration of Independence. These statements appeared to reserve certain rights to the individual and to guarantee him against governmental tyranny. Although such a declaration for France had been suggested in many of the cahiers, much hesitation had been felt by the members of the Assembly in declaring what the rights and status of the individual should be before the new political institutions had been decided upon. Moreover, the bourgeois members of the third estate, interested as most of them were in property and in establishing the political power of their class, doubted the wisdom of so soon calling the attention of the peasant or the artisan to his individual rights, many of which they might soon feel disposed to limit in their own interest. The peasant insurrections had forced the Assembly's hand, and shortly before declaring the abolition of the feudal system, it finally decided, upon the initiative of the liberal nobility and the democratic clergy, that the constitution should be preceded by a declaration of the rights of man which should summarize "the general principles upon which the new régime should be erected." During that same month its terms

were drawn up and accepted by the Assembly. Thomas Jefferson, then the American Minister to France, frequently met with the committee and gave them his advice.

Contents of Declaration of Rights of Man

This declaration contained much of the spirit of Rousseau's philosophy as well as restatements of British and American provisions. Its importance lies in the fact that it provided a platform for the Revolution and vitally affected later political thought in France and elsewhere. Together with the August Decrees, it furnished "the two fundamental charters of the Revolution." Among its most important provisions are the following: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights."—"The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression."—"The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body or individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation."—"Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its formation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents."—"No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in cases and according to the forms prescribed by law."—"No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law."—"The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law."—"All citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representatives, as to the necessity of the public contribution, to grant this freely; to know to what uses it is put; and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and of collection and the duration of the taxes."—"Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration."

King's attitude toward Assembly's acts

This great work of the National Assembly was not accepted by the King without a struggle. Once more he proved obstinate; the court again sought to use force; and again Paris rescued the Assembly. The King not only refused to accept the August Decrees, the Declaration of Rights, and the first articles of the constitution, but ordered the Flanders regiment to Versailles. Political agitation in Paris had been kept alive by the many journalists, by the popular assemblies formed in each of the city's sixty districts, and by the increasing seriousness of the economic crises. It was rumored that the Flanders regiment was intended to guard the King on a journey to the frontier, where he would collect an army to subdue the country by force. Again the dreaded specter of ruin confronted the bourgeoisie. The match was set

to the tinder by a banquet held by the royal body-guard in honor of the officers of the Flanders regiment. Amidst the excitement of drinking toasts to the royal family, the tricolored cockades were cast away and the black cockade of Austria was donned in honor of the Queen. Excited by this insult to the revolutionary colors, contrasting their want of food with the apparent plenty at Versailles, and angered by the King's unwillingness to coöperate with the reformers, the crowds determined to go to Versailles and force him to send away the Flanders regiment, accept the Decrees and the constitution, and accompany them back to Paris where they would take care that he remained free from the influence of the counter-revolutionaries. At the same time, it was thought that if the King were willing he could see that they had bread.

Events of October 5

Accordingly, on October 5, a crowd composed of women and men dressed as women, said to have numbered six thousand, set out in the rain and the mud for Versailles with the ostensible purpose of demanding bread. These were soon followed by fifteen thousand national guards, besides many volunteers, bringing with them their commander, Lafayette, as an unwilling participant. Upon receiving news of the approaching mob, the King, urged by some of the conservative members of the Assembly, thought of flight to Normandy, where the Assembly might follow him, to escape popular pressure. True, however, to his usual indecision of character, and apparently considering flight a disgrace (he kept repeating: "A fugitive King! A fugitive King!"), Louis decided to stay and face his people. Meanwhile, the Assembly planned to make use of the popular demonstration to force the King to agree to the Declaration of Rights and nineteen articles of the Constitution. This he did after much hesitation.

After a night of disturbances, during which Lafayette sought to maintain order, some of the crowd, in search of the King to take him back to Paris with them, during the early hours of the morning succeeded in entering the palace, where they might have caused damage if the royal family had not been warned in time. Upon the hasty arrival of Lafayette, order was restored and the King and Queen greeted their subjects from a balcony, and promised to return with them to Paris.

Return to Paris

The return to Paris was one of the most spectacular and momentous events of the Revolution. Amidst the thunder of cannon, the procession of more than thirty thousand people set out. In the van marched the national guards bearing loaves of bread on their bayonets, immediately followed by carts of grain and flour furnished by the bakers of Versailles. To add to the picturesqueness of the scene, "here and there rode women wearing tricolored cockades, mounted on horses of the guard or seated on the gun carriages, holding branches of trees decorated with ribbons." In sign of submission the King's body-guard without arms, humbly wearing "hats of the national guard with tricolored cockades," followed by the Flanders regiment

and Swiss guards, marched like captives surrounded by the Parisian grenadiers. Then came the huge, lumbering coach bearing the royal family, with Lafayette trotting on his white horse at the door. This was followed by carriages bearing a hundred members of the Assembly. The rear was brought up by a mass of national guards and the heterogeneous crowds wild with joy at what they had accomplished, chanting: "We bring the baker, the bakeress, and the small cook-boy; now we shall have bread," and stopping every once in a while to fire off their muskets.[1]

Its consequences

Thus the events of October 5 and 6 had completed the independence of the National Assembly from the armed force of the court, which the "Fall of the Bastille" had begun. The King had once more been humbled and forced to agree to the Declaration of Rights and the first articles of the constitution, and the court had been obliged, after an absence of one hundred and twenty years, to return from aristocratic Versailles to democratic Paris, where in future it would be obliged to meet the popular wishes. Although virtually a prisoner, the King was still reverenced and, if he had been capable, might have made himself popular, and have exerted a moderating influence. October 5 and 6 brought an end to "the preponderance of the moderate faction of the patriot party who had wished to stop the Revolution." At the same time, it had the unfortunate result of placing the National Assembly, which soon followed the King to Paris, at the mercy of the Parisian mob. Surroundings in which the members might feel obliged to take hasty or perhaps radical action were ill suited to the completion of a sound reform program.

Difficulties attending Assembly's sessions

It took up its sessions in the long, narrow hall of a riding school near the Tuileries palace. The public might watch the proceedings from the galleries and when it pleased, interrupt the debates with applause or curses. Instead of a few well-chosen delegates, "twelve hundred men discussed constitutional articles before three galleries filled with excitable crowds." Each speaker had to mount an elevated tribune at the far end of the room, and shout to be heard. The difficulties in maintaining an orderly consideration of business were increased by the fact that a new presiding officer took the chair every two weeks. The Assembly's attention was also distracted from its main concern by the unaccustomed task of governing a disordered country.

The Reforms of the National Constituent Assembly

Extensive character of reforms

Freed from fear of dissolution by the King and his armies, the Assembly created a limited monarchy in place of the old absolute régime and carried out many far-reaching reforms for the transformation of French society. These aimed at establishing civil liberty and equality, and at changing economic, financial, administrative, and religious conditions.

[1] *L'Histoire de France Contemporaine*, vol. I, 107–109.

Civil liberty

The injustices of the old judicial system were corrected and greater safeguards for the individual's liberty were provided by an improved court procedure. The use of the trial jury, borrowed from England, was decreed in criminal cases in 1790, but not put in operation until 1791. Two judges instead of one were now required for commitment, and the accused was to be given complete information of the complaint against him within twenty-four hours of his arrest, and was allowed the assistance of counsel in his defense. A penal code, which sought to proportion punishment to the crime committed, and which abolished torture, was drawn up in 1791. Liberty of the press, proclaimed by the Declaration of Rights, was practiced from 1789 to August 10, 1792, while right of peaceful assembly and petition was accepted.

Civil equality

The clause of the Declaration of Rights which said that "men are born and remain free and equal in rights" was largely put into effect by the abolition of the feudal system. There were to be no more serfs, and no more civil privileges of nobles and clergy. Even titles of nobility were abolished. All religious disabilities in the enjoyment of citizenship or the holding of civil and military positions were likewise removed. Unlike other European countries, in France all men were to be equal before the law.

Economic reforms

A new impetus was given to individual initiative. By the suppression of the gilds, labor was freed from restrictions, and every man was now at liberty to exercise the trade of his choice. By the abolishment of seigniorial, provincial, and municipal customs dues, trade might freely circulate to the great advantage of business.

Freedom of cultivation of the land was promoted by the abolition of the hunting privileges of the nobility, and of many of the royal hunting preserves, and the removal of feudal restrictions. In future the individual might work for himself without restriction all the days of the week, including Sunday. The land was no longer burdened with unjust taxes; taxes were assessed on all property according to its estimated value. All obstacles to the disposal of land, such as the restrictions on the acquisition of a nobleman's land by a commoner and the rights of primogeniture, were abolished. If no will was left, the property was to be equally divided among the heirs.

The economic reforms thus far enumerated had excellent results, but two great economic measures, the abolition of feudal dues according to the resolutions of August 4, and the acquisition and sale of church property to restore the national credit, were not equally successful.

Question of peasant's dues

On the surface it might seem that the August Decrees had entirely relieved the peasant of his burden by removing without recompense the servile dues and feudal monopolies, and by arranging that other dues might be purchased. This was far from being the case. So difficult was it to distinguish between the dues of servile origin and those originating from property rights that many important exceptions in the lord's favor were allowed, even in the case of dues ordinarily considered servile and in that of monopolies.

So far as those important dues such as cens and champart, immunity from which was to be purchased, were concerned, the conditions were made so favorable for the lord that he would have profited if this transaction were carried out, while it was made nearly impossible for the ordinary peasant under the existing conditions ever to free himself. To purchase this freedom from taxation an amount of money would be necessary equal to the dues for twenty years, or twenty-five if payments were made in produce. All too frequently the peasant, who under the old régime had barely existed, had no reserve of capital with which to meet such a payment, and if he freed himself would have to borrow at ruinous rates from money-lenders. He was restrained by the fact that all back rents, as well as many occasional dues which he might never ordinarily have occasion to pay, would have to be met. A further restriction lay in the fact that some dues were owed jointly by a number of people, and none might be freed unless all paid what was due. As an actual fact, although some peasants purchased their release, the majority neither redeemed their dues nor continued to pay them. Many, at first, took it for granted that the Assembly had freed them unconditionally from all such payments. Inspired by this belief and by the Declaration of Rights, the peasants refused to pay when the seigneurs or their agents attempted to enforce their rights. Deceived and disappointed the peasants continued during 1790 and 1791 their destruction of the chateaux. On their part some of the lords refused to accept the Assembly's decrees and attempted to continue old customs and the collection of dues now illegal.

Necessity of maintaining national credit

It had been the danger of state bankruptcy which had alarmed the King's government and compelled it to assemble the Estates-General, and the hope that the National Assembly would succeed in restoring the value of their investments in government loans had been a strong motive with many of the bourgeoisie for the support they gave the Revolution. Now that the National Assembly was in a position of power, it was of the first importance, as it was throughout the course of the Revolution, that the nation's credit should be maintained. If that body had been obliged to declare national bankruptcy it would have meant the ruin of so many middle-class fortunes that all of the upper middle classes and probably many members of the lower would have turned against the Revolution, thus causing its failure.

Increasing seriousness of financial situation

Instead of improving, the financial conditions which the Assembly had to face had been growing steadily worse. Some duties and taxes upon which the government had hitherto depended had been abolished, and the Assembly had been unable to collect others which they had decreed should remain in force until different arrangements had been made. Due to the unsettled condition of the times, manufacturers reduced or stopped their production, discharging many workmen. For fear of uprisings which might endanger the new government, the large number of unemployed in Paris and other large cities were given work in public workshops. The government paid

out thirty-two thousand dollars a month to maintain the workshops in Paris and it also advanced money, which during two months amounted to three million four hundred thousand dollars, to keep the Parisians supplied with food at reduced rates. Such demands as the expenses of the court, the huge interest on government loans, the payment of the nobility for hereditary positions which were taken from them, all swelled the state's indebtedness.

To make the matter more serious, much of the accumulated capital upon which the government might hope to rely for further loans was sent to foreign countries for safe-keeping, or was removed by emigrés who left the country. Due to the uncertain political conditions, even Necker, who had previously succeeded in securing loans, found it impossible to borrow any large amount of the money which remained in France. In its desperation, the government resorted to an appeal for patriotic gifts, which, while it resulted in some returns, could only be regarded as a temporary measure.

Confiscation of Church property

Just at this time, when there appeared to be no solution to the financial problem, Talleyrand proposed, and it was voted, that the extensive Church properties should be placed at the disposal of the nation and sold to pay the national debt. Anti-clerical members of the Assembly rejoiced at the blow which would thus be delivered the Church, while those of tender conscience recalled that French Kings had at times confiscated monastic property, and therefore the nation in its great need should be at liberty to do likewise provided it made provisions for the payment of the salaries of the clergy and for the care of the poor. In this way, it was argued, it would be possible to eliminate the luxurious living of the higher clergy, thus restoring their virtue, while every curé would be assured a living wage. It was thought that this measure as well as the nationalization of the royal domains, which had already been decreed, would equalize the land-holdings of France by creating many small properties for the people's benefit.

Failure to relieve financial difficulties

It was expected that the Church property would be more than enough to wipe out the national debt. This, however, was not the case, for after the Assembly had provided large sums for the maintenance of the schools and hospitals which the Church had previously conducted, and after it had voted a large budget for Church maintenance and another large sum for the Church debts, it found the amount at its disposal considerably reduced. What was still more important was the fact that the Church property was to a large extent in land and buildings; extensive sales of such property might be difficult to make and, according to economic law, the disposal at one time of so much property was sure to force down its value.

Assignats

Due to the difficulty of realizing at once on the land, it was decided to issue assignats or paper money based upon land as security. While this scheme was sound if the amount of the issue had been carefully limited, more and more assignats were issued to avoid a crisis,

with the result that their value rapidly declined, while the real specie left the country, and trade was disorganized by the depreciated currency.

Land sales

So far as the Church property was concerned, so many people hoped by waiting to get it cheaper, or perhaps for nothing at all, that its disposal proved difficult. The sales were then entrusted to the cities, which made disposals for their own rather than for the national interest, and frequently paid the government in worthless municipal bonds. The fact that assignats were accepted at their face value in payment for such property, while their value constantly decreased, caused still further losses for the state, especially as payments for the property were made in instalments so that the purchasers actually paid only one-third or one-fourth of the original purchase price.

The sales and the assignats filled the country with speculators. These, together with the bourgeoisie of the towns and some of the better-off farmers, were able to out-bid the average peasant, and so the government's intention of increasing the number of small holdings was only partly realized.

Political effects of disposal of Church property

Like the disposal of the Church property in England during Henry VIII's reign, the sale of the land of the Church and that of the nobility, which later took place, created supporters for the Revolution. On the other hand, its immediate consequence was that the great mass of the clergy, many of whom had aided the bourgeoisie in bringing the Revolution about, now turned against it and in many cases offered resistance to it.

Governmental reforms

To prepare the way for governmental reform, the Assembly abolished all former political and ecclesiastical divisions of France, and discharged all former officials such as governors-general, intendants, and subintendants. In place of the provinces, so unequal in size and importance, varying in history, customs, and privileges, were created eighty-three departments named after natural features, all similar in rights, and as nearly equal as possible in size.[1] These were divided into districts, districts into cantons, and cantons into communes, each division with its own elected council and officials. Judicial tribunals, systematically graded and dependent upon one another, with elected judges, replaced the privileged Parlements and chaotic mass of lesser courts. It was hoped that thus the last remains of privilege would be destroyed, and local differences and loyalties would give way to national feeling and zealous support of the new government.

Political aims of reformers

So far as the central government was concerned, the main objects of the bourgeoisie who controlled the Assembly appeared to be on the one hand so to weaken the powers of the King and his ministers that there would be no danger in future of a royal despotism, and on the other, so to establish themselves in power that they and their prop-

[1] Aulard is of the opinion that the division "was not, as has been asserted, purely geometrical," but was made "after careful consideration of geography, history, needs and customs."

erty interests would not be disturbed by the masses. There was at that time, as Aulard believes, no thought or desire within or without the Assembly to overthrow the King and establish a republic. Monarchy was regarded as essential for French institutions, and the King, properly controlled, as too useful a tool to be cast overboard.

New position of King

Louis was left only a shadow of his old powers. Before he had had "sovereignty without division; now he shared his power with the nation and he came after it." In place of his former control of legislation, he was allowed no power of decreeing measures or of initiating legislation in the Assembly, and was merely permitted a suspensive veto. This latter power the bourgeois majority had allowed him as a protection for themselves against the democracy of the masses. The King could not dissolve the Assembly, and if annoyed by the interference of his veto, they could refuse to vote the budget for his ministry. Although he was to choose his own ministers, these were not to be members of the Assembly. Neither the King nor his ministers could, as formerly, appoint, suspend, or dismiss the local administrative officials, since they were all elected. Although the King was to appoint the commanders and part of the superior officers of the army, the troops were to swear to protect the nation. Although he kept direction of foreign affairs and appointed the ambassadors, he no longer had the power of declaring war or of making peace, and while he signed treaties they had to be ratified by the Assembly before being effective.

Legislature

The legislature itself was to comprise one chamber. This was to be elected for a term of only two years. The members of the First Constituent Assembly were not eligible for election to the new body. The natural result of this "self-denying ordinance" was inexperienced legislators and unstable policy. The only Frenchmen with any experience in self-government were arbitrarily and foolishly excluded from participation in the first representative government in France.

Establishment of bourgeois power

Although the Declaration of Rights had proclaimed the equality of rights, neither the French philosophers nor the American revolutionists had favored universal suffrage. Although it had been with the assistance of the proletariat that the bourgeoisie had succeeded in overthrowing the old régime, they were not in favor of sharing political power with them. Through restrictions upon suffrage and office-holding they prevented the realization of a true democracy, placing their own class in a position of political privilege and power. French citizens who paid taxes equal to three days' labor were in the active class and might vote for the electors who chose the deputies of the Assembly. All who did not pay that amount of taxes were passive citizens deprived of voice in the government. Direct electors and members of departmental, district, or municipal councils were obliged to pay taxes equal to ten days' labor, while to be eligible to the National Assembly payment of taxes equal to a silver mark or fifty days' labor was required together with the ownership of property.

The democracy of peasant villages was destroyed by the abolition of their general assemblies in favor of middle-class mayors and councilors. The cities were made bourgeois strongholds governed by councils made up of richer citizens, who were chosen by a suffrage of property-holders, and were defended by bourgeois national guards to which no passive citizens were eligible.

Summary of defects in new political arrangements

Summing up the situation: (1) Over the nation was placed a weak central executive without control over the local administrative agencies. It was further weakened by its dissociation from the legislative chamber. The frequent renewal of the Assembly made it difficult to pursue a continuous policy on any matter. (2) Elections so arranged as to assure bourgeois control replaced venality and heredity in office, but so many elections were held that the best people tired of them and abstained from voting, thus defeating the original intention. (3) By the creation of many officials and small councils such care was taken to furnish a check upon official action that effective administration was greatly hampered.

Civil Constitution of Clergy

The Assembly was not satisfied to stop with depriving the Church of its privileged position, its tithes, and its property, but quite contrary to the promises of the Declaration of Rights, it interfered also in its internal organization. First, it abolished the religious orders and then, without regard for the wishes of the clergy themselves, and without consulting the Pope, proceeded to reorganize the Church government in such a way as to make the Church simply a department of the state with its clergy differing from other officials merely in function. The Assembly's desire for equality being quite justly disturbed by the lack of uniformity in the size of existing dioceses—some of which contained as few as from seventeen to eighty parishes, while others held as many as from five hundred to fourteen hundred—they reduced the number of dioceses to eighty-three, each with its bishop, and each coinciding as nearly as possible with the area of a department. Cathedral chapters, priories, and monasteries were abolished, and it was ordered that in future the clergy were to consist merely of bishops, vicars who assisted them in their work, and the parish priests. Bishops were to be elected by the regular electoral bodies of the departments, and priests by the district councils.

Bishops were forbidden to look to the Pope for their installation. They were permitted, upon assuming their offices, merely to write him a friendly letter of greeting. Their authority was considerably reduced by the provision that they had to obtain the consent of a council of their vicars to their official acts. Non-residence in both priest and bishop was guarded against by the requirement that the consent of the local civil authorities had to be obtained for an absence of more than a fortnight. Financial abuses were checked by fixing the clergy's salaries at definite figures according to the importance of their positions, and assuring that even the least important curé should have a living wage of twelve hundred livres ($234).

Effect of regulation of Church affairs

While many of the regulations just mentioned were a necessary and laudable correction of abuses which had long existed in the French Church, the facts that its independent organization was interfered with, that arrangements which had been the result of treaty between the French government and the papacy had been violated, and above all that the clergy were chosen by electoral bodies in which non-churchmen, Protestants, Jews, and Deists might take part were open to strong objection by all earnest Catholics. Already incensed at the confiscation of Church lands, and by the suppression of monastic orders, the clergy offered stubborn resistance. Bishops protested, and parish priests denounced the measures from their pulpits, raised opposition to the Assembly, and discouraged the purchase of Church lands. Finally the agitation led to outbreaks of violence, and a popular movement contrary to the Revolution first became discernible.

Civic Oath

The Assembly made matters worse by requiring that all members of the clergy should take an oath of fidelity to the Constitution on penalty of dismissal from their positions. Administered first to the clerical members of the Assembly, the oath was refused by two-thirds of the curates and by all but two of the higher ecclesiastical delegates. This stand encouraged the clergy outside the Assembly to resistance, and only four bishops and half the clergy consented. Thus by the unwise measures of the Assembly bitter religious discord was added to the other disturbing factors of the time.

Revolutionary forces

As the work of the Assembly progressed certain revolutionary organizations were developed which supported it against existing reactionary forces. These were the political clubs, the most important of which was the Jacobin Club. Originally only deputies were members, but later many leading revolutionaries of Paris were enlisted in its membership. By the fall of 1791, as many as four hundred and six branches of this society were organized in the various cities of France. The Jacobin Club exerted great influence because it provided a place where deputies might agree upon action to be pursued in the Assembly, and because, through correspondence with its branches in the provinces, it could agitate in favor of measures before the Assembly and win support for those passed. Besides the Jacobin Club, the Cordelier Club of more democratic tendencies, and the conservative offshoot from the Jacobins, the Feuillants, the defenders of the Constitution, played a large part among revolutionary forces.

Patriotic journals such as *L'Ami du Peuple* and the *Moniteur*, placards posted on the walls, the assemblies of the districts of Paris, the cafes and salons where revolutionary measures were discussed, the municipal councils, and the national guards all were important revolutionary agencies.

The custom arose in 1790 of holding a great meeting or federation, as it was called, each year on July 14, Bastille Day, for which delegations from the national guards of all France came to Paris. Here, on the Champ de Mars patriots assembled "to renew their oaths,

revive their memories, and exchange their hopes" before the altar of their country. "In the midst of dances, songs and banquets," so Sagnac tells us, "old quarrels were quieted and distinctions effaced." From them a great wave of patriotic enthusiasm, of aspiration for "national unity and concord, a veritable religion of patriotism, with its dogmas, its liturgical words, its altar, its chant, its music and its insignia" came, which, like "a communion of all the provinces," animated all of France. Such gatherings served to show the aristocrats that the country was organized and ready to defend the Revolution with all its strength.

Reactionary forces

There were also, however, forces against which the Assembly had to contend. Over half the clergy, followed by many faithful parishioners, were forced by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy into opposition to the Revolution. Peasants refused to pay taxes and dues, and continued to pillage and burn property. Even the support of some of the bourgeoisie began to weaken; because of the slowness of reform and the economic disorder, bankers, merchants, and manufacturers turned from the Revolution and, in some cases, influenced their employees against it. Former royal officials, judges, and lawyers put out of employment by the Revolution also joined the opposition. Aristocrats for a time sought to popularize themselves by joining benevolent societies and distributing money and bread to the people. They published opposition papers. They urged the King to dissolve the Assembly, attempted to retard its financial measures, made futile efforts to corrupt the army, and finally were successful in arousing discontent with the Assembly's religious measures. Meanwhile, many émigré nobles, who had left the country at the beginning of the Revolution, or who had been forced to leave later by the treatment which they had met at the hands of the peasantry, carried on constant intrigues with foreign powers. The remnant of the court continued for some time to hope that the Assembly might be overthrown and the King become more powerful than ever in a France freed from provincial Estates and troublesome Parlements.

King's flight

Ever more timid and irresolute, the King offered no opposition to the limitation of his powers imposed by the new Constitution. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the Civic Oath required by that body were, however, a much more serious matter for him, since they involved his conscience. A sincere Catholic, and a thoroughly well-intentioned man, Louis might have openly opposed these measures if he had not been persuaded that it would mean his overthrow. Sick with anxiety, he reluctantly gave way, only to feel that he had committed a mortal sin, especially when the Pope condemned his act. Straightaway, he began to plot with foreign powers to overthrow the Constitution and recover his former powers. He contemplated flight to the army on the frontier, where, supported by Austrian troops as well as his own forces, he would demand the dissolution of the Assembly. His resolution to attempt this solution of his problem was

increased by the refusal of the people of Paris to allow him to leave the city on Easter Sunday to go to the suburb of St. Cloud to attend a mass celebrated by a non-juring priest; the refusal revealed that he was virtually a prisoner in his capital. Finally, after supposedly careful arrangements had been made with Bouillé, in command of the armed forces at Montmédy, the flight took place on the night of June 20–21. The royal family was stopped at Varennes, only a short distance from their destination, and obliged to return to Paris.

Results of King's flight

First as a fugitive, and then as a despised captive, Louis had presented a sorry figure. He had lost the confidence of the nation, and, although his dethronement did not immediately follow, his fate was already in sight. During nearly two months the Assembly took his place as executive, revealing the fact that France might be governed without him. Now for the first time, led by the Cordelier Club, many people of Paris openly demanded a republic, and this demand found an echo here and there throughout the departments, though the majority of Frenchmen were still royalists. Both from genuine conviction and from realization that a republic would mean alteration of much of the Constitution which had so laboriously been erected, and would affect adversely bourgeois privileges and political control, the Assembly continued to uphold the monarchy. The King was provisionally suspended from his functions, but was restored to his position on September 14, after he had consented to uphold the new Constitution.

Massacre of Champ de Mars

The King's flight caused not only an estrangement between him and his people, but also contributed to the growing divergence between the sentiment of Paris and that of the departments, and led to a direct break between the Parisian bourgeoisie and the masses. On July 17, 1791, a petition for the King's removal and trial, drawn up in the radical Cordelier Club on the motion of the patriot leader Danton, was taken to the great altar in the Champ de Mars for the people's signatures. In an attempt to disperse the large crowd which had gathered, Mayor Bailly and Lafayette with his national guardsmen appeared upon the scene. Before receiving the order, the guardsmen discharged their muskets at the mob, with the result that some of the people were killed and others wounded. This fateful event, while it checked the advanced liberals, and for the time strengthened the conservatives, aroused the bitter hatred of the Parisian populace for the bourgeoisie, and commenced "the war of the classes." The massacre on the Champ de Mars, therefore, resulted in the separation of "the men of 1789 into two parties," the bourgeois Constitutionalists on the one hand, and the Democrats on the other.

Revision of Constitution

Alarmed by the popular movement which they had just succeeded in checking, the Assembly strengthened the bourgeois hold upon the country still further by establishing a heavy property qualification for electors. For fear of republicanism and democratic innovations, it was decreed that no change might be made in the Constitution for ten years after its promulgation.

The strong reaction against democracy and the fear of anarchy resulted in a closer approach to the King, and some enlargement of his powers. The completed Constitution was presented to him for his acceptance. When his agreement with its terms became known, he was enthusiastically greeted by the Assembly, and whenever he appeared in public was zealously acclaimed by the people. Although enthusiasm for the monarchy appeared for the moment the prevailing sentiment, republicanism was not dead, but merely driven under cover.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE LIMITED MONARCHY AND THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC

The Legislative Assembly

Character of Legislative Assembly

As soon as the Constitution was completed and accepted by the King the National Constituent Assembly was succeeded by the newly elected Legislative Assembly. Since it had been decided that no member of the former body might be chosen for the new Assembly, it was composed of young men more than half of whom were under thirty years of age, and who were inexperienced in national affairs, although many of them had served in the local administrations. The body as a whole was "representative of the new privileged class, the bourgeoisie," and the members were for the most part moderate in disposition and supporters of the Constitution. Since the deputies were elected during the period of the King's flight, some democrats were chosen. This was particularly true of those coming from Paris, but though democratic at heart, for the time they consented to the limited monarchy under bourgeois control. More to be feared was the desire of a number of ambitious but inexperienced members, "new to glory," to make names for themselves by promoting further changes.

Parties in Assembly

Although parties in the Assembly were not as yet clearly defined, that body may be divided into Right, Center, and Left. On the Right were the Feuillants or Constitutionalists, who wished to continue the policy of the National Assembly and to strengthen and maintain the royal power. Although good liberals of such a type as would have been on the Left in the previous assembly, they were now termed "Anti-revolutionaries" and were suspected of belonging "to the Austrian Faction." On the Left were one hundred and thirty-six Jacobins and Cordeliers, who would have liked to "reduce the royal authority to almost nothing," but quelled by the events of July 17th they no longer mentioned the dethronement of the King. Prominent among this group were the deputies from Bordeaux, for the most part young lawyers and literary men, who, since they came from the department of the Gironde, were later known as Girondists. Highly emotional, great admirers of classical authors and writers, they were so fond of extravagant expression and of winning applause for themselves that they frequently said more than they meant. The Cordeliers were still more advanced liberals, and sat on the extreme Left. In the Center, composed of moderate men, sat the majority of the Assembly. Freer and more violent in its expressions, more homogeneous, more regular in attendance than the other elements, supported by the people in the galleries, the Left from the start led the Assembly.

Outside the Assembly as well as within, there was a general and cordial intention to support the monarchy and the bourgeois rule. It was the Assembly's action against the refractory clergy and the émigré nobility, which the King, backed by many of the Constitutionalists, refused to accept, together with the outbreak of war with Austria, which precipitated the crisis that led to further revolutionary changes.

Reasons for new crisis

It was felt by the Assembly that France was threatened from within by the non-juring priests, whose ranks, after Pope Pius VI's solemn condemnation of the Civil Constitution, had been greatly swelled. Through northern, central and western France, incited by their old priests, the people had manifested opposition to the new religious arrangements. In some cases non-juring priests continued to occupy their pulpits, or preached to their former congregations in the fields, and loudly proclaimed the acts of the new clergy as invalid.

Opposition of non-juring priests

From without, the French government was threatened by the many nobles, ex-officials, and ex-army officers who had left the country. Many of the nobles had been forced to emigrate by the continuous mistreatment and danger to which they were subjected in the country districts. If order were restored and protection assured, many of these were anxious to return. Somewhat different was the position of the army officers who had resigned or deserted their posts, and the courtiers who had left Versailles, and who now busied themselves in inciting the hostility of foreign powers to the Revolution, and in urging their intervention. Among this group were to be found the King's two brothers. Most of the émigrés were along the River Rhine; others had taken refuge in England, Belgium, and Piedmont. Under the leadership of Condé some had formed a small army at Worms.

Émigrés

The Assembly proceeded against these two dangers in summary fashion. They decreed that unless the émigrés returned by January, 1792, they would be subject to the death penalty and their property forfeit. The King's eldest brother, the Count of Provence, who had during his exile assumed the title of Regent of France, was ordered to return within two months or lose all his rights. So far as the non-juring priests were concerned, they were ordered to take the Civic Oath or forfeit their pensions. As suspected rebels they were to be placed under the surveillance of the authorities, and in case any disturbance occurred in their neighborhood, they were to be arrested and imprisoned.

Action of Assembly concerning émigrés and non-juring priests

Although he accepted the decrees in relation to his brother, the King refused to accept those concerning the émigrés and non-juring priests because they appeared to him as contrary to the Constitution. In this belief, he was upheld by the Directory of Paris and by the majority of the Constitutionalists. They might have succeeded in maintaining their position if the hostile attitude of Europe, incited by the émigrés, had not precipitated further difficulties. The King, moreover,

King's refusal to sanction decrees

when he sought to save the émigrés and non-juring priests, seemed to the radicals to be espousing the cause of "traitors at home as well as conspirators abroad" and suspicion was aroused that he was himself plotting with foreign sovereigns.

Attitude of foreign powers toward Revolution

Both the émigré question and the attitude of the foreign powers were causing concern to the new French government. At first other European governments had not been hostile. Liberals in other countries were keenly interested, and certain governments felt that they could afford to be indifferent. Prussia in particular was not displeased to see France so involved at home that it was incapable of playing an important rôle in foreign affairs, and both Austria and Prussia, busy with their own concerns, turned a deaf ear to the clamorous urging of the émigrés. Even Louis XVI himself, when, after the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, he made a secret appeal for interference by an armed congress of the powers, was met by vague replies. Later, however, the attitude changed. The King's flight, the indignities connected with his return, and the appearance of republican spirit in Paris began to make the European monarchs associate Louis XVI's cause with that of the maintenance of their own monarchies, and brought concern to the Emperor for the safety of Queen Marie Antoinette.

Declaration of Pilnitz

Although not yet prepared for and not desiring immediate action, the sovereigns of Prussia and Austria, pushed by the émigrés for a statement of their intentions, issued, August 27, 1791, the Declaration of Pilnitz. This stated that if all the European sovereigns would cooperate with them they would act promptly to support the French monarchy. This declaration they were confident would not lead to immediate action, since England still refused to interfere, but it would satisfy the émigrés and might possibly over-awe the French radicals.

Causes for friction between France and its neighbors

The annexation of Avignon, the abolition of feudal rights in Alsace, and the question of the émigrés were more direct causes for precipitating strife between France and its neighbors. Although by the new Constitution, France had renounced all ambitions for conquests or annexations, only two weeks after the Declaration of Pilnitz, led by the expressed wishes of the Avignonese and by the powerlessness of the authorities to suppress an insurrection, the national Assembly had annexed the papal territories of Avignon and Venaissin in the south of France. Not only was this a violation of another sovereign's territories, but the precedent once established might lead, it was feared, to popular risings in other lands bordering France and to further annexations.

Ever since the August Decrees, a grievance against the Revolution had existed among the ecclesiastical and lay princes along the Rhine. Many of these dignitaries had property in Alsace, and when tithes and feudal dues had been swept away in all French territory, the Alsatian peasants had likewise been freed, despite the loss to their German lords. It was feared that peasant insurrections might thereby be encouraged throughout the Rhineland, where the feudal system still

existed. About the time of the Declaration of Pilnitz, the Imperial Diet, to which an appeal had been made by the dispossessed princes, rendered a decision maintaining their feudal rights in Alsace. Austria and Prussia were the more inclined to attempt to enforce the Diet's decision, now that the Avignon affair aroused fears that further encroachment upon the sovereignty of European princes might be attempted by the French revolutionaries.

On their part the Legislative Assembly felt a real grievance against the German princes for allowing the émigrés to use their territories as centers of conspiracy against France.

Ultimatum to Elector of Trèves

Now that the law just passed against the émigrés, but vetoed by the King, had failed of effect, the next logical move appeared to be to force the German princes to expel those conspirators from their possessions. The King was requested to demand that the German princes drive out the émigrés, or incur the penalty of war. He consented, and dispatched an ultimatum to the Elector of Trèves. He also conceded to the war sentiment by appointing Narbonne, who was in favor of warlike measures, as Minister of War.

War desired by France

Louis had come to the conclusion that a war would provide him with an army which might be used to recover his power. If a victory were won over the German princes it was likely to popularize the monarchy. On the other hand, it was probable that the intervention of the European powers would be forced, which was the very thing which the King had for some time desired. If France were defeated Louis might win power as a mediator. The Constitutionalists on their part thought a war might strengthen the Constitution by diverting attention from domestic affairs. The Girondists on the Left were the most zealous of all for a war, as they believed it would raise them to power, give them control of the King, and put a stop to royalist intrigues. Securing from the Assembly the impeachment for treason of the King's chief minister, they forced the resignation of the others and secured the ministry for themselves.

Declaration of war

Meanwhile, Emperor Leopold had announced that he would support the decision of the Imperial Diet concerning the feudal rights of the German princes in Alsace, and in case of attack from France he would come to the princes' aid. At last, convinced that war was inevitable, Leopold and Frederick William of Prussia concluded a definite treaty of alliance against France. About a month later, the Emperor's death brought the more resolute and warlike Francis II to the Imperial throne; when Dumouriez, the new French Minister of Foreign Affairs, demanded the suspension of the Austrian alliance with Prussia, Francis refused unless France gave compensation to the German princes for the rights they had lost in Alsace and recompensed the Pope for the annexation of Avignon. Thereupon the Girondist ministry decided upon war, and on April 20, 1792, the King proposed to the Assembly, and it was almost unanimously voted, that war

should be declared on the Hapsburg monarch. It was hoped that part of the Empire and possibly Prussia would remain neutral.

Importance of war

Thus hastily was begun that "tremendous series of wars" which culminated in Napoleon's attempt to dominate Europe. While the war served to propagate the Revolution throughout central and southern Europe and to bring the Republic into being in France, the very warlike conditions in the midst of which the Republic was born led to its failure and the establishment of military despotism. The war's more immediate effect was the ruin of the Girondists, who had urged it, and the overthrow and execution of the King, who consented to it.

Unpreparedness of French

In spite of the eagerness of the French government for war, they were utterly unprepared for it. Dumouriez's attempts to secure the neutrality of Prussia and to form an alliance with England met with failure, thus leaving France to face alone the power of Austria, Prussia, and many of the German princes. While the French had hoped to have four hundred thousand men to face the enemy, their army aside from the garrisons consisted of only eighty-two thousand men, many of whom were raw recruits. Supplies and ammunition were short; the troops, paid in depreciated assignats, were undisciplined, mutinous, and distrustful of their officers. The army was further disorganized by the emigration of about six thousand out of its nine thousand trained officers.

French defeat

As was only to be expected from such troops, when they first met the enemy in Flanders, they fled from the field in complete rout. Astonished at the ease of their victory the Austrians were not prepared to take immediate advantage of it by marching on Paris. They believed they might take their own time for the invasion of France. This saved the day for the French.

Aftermath of French defeat

The court was filled with hope by the French defeats. An emissary was sent by the King to persuade Austria and Prussia to issue a manifesto to overawe the French liberals, while the national defense plans were revealed to the enemy. The treachery of the court was suspected and denounced in the Assembly. Wild dismay and conflict of ideas reigned in that body. The cry arose that the King was preparing a second St. Bartholomew and the Constitutionalists, to satisfy the Left, voted that the King's constitutional guard should be dismissed, thus leaving him helpless and at the mercy of the mob. A decree for the banishment of suspected non-juring priests from the country was likewise passed. It was commonly rumored in the Assembly, though groundlessly, that these priests had been to blame for the loss of the army's morale.

The Paris National Guard was believed to be an insufficient protection against the danger of a counter-revolution and not to be depended upon for the carrying out of more revolutionary changes; consequently it was proposed by Servian, the Minister of War, that each French commune should fully arm and equip five delegates to the annual festival to take place July 14, on the Champ de Mars. These

should remain and form a permanent camp of twenty thousand as a guard for the Revolution. Though opposed by parts of the ministry and of the Assembly, and by the bourgeois districts of Paris, who rightly feared that the federates might be employed to support a further popular revolution which was already being busily prepared by agitators in many parts of Paris, the measure was finally passed.

King dismisses Girondist ministry

Emboldened by the division in the ministry and the Assembly, and by the energetic demand sent by Lafayette, commander of the French central army, for the suppression of the Jacobin Club as the source of sedition in the army and nation, the King, although accepting the dismissal of his guard, refused to sanction the Assembly's other decrees. Going still further, when a peremptory message censuring him for his refusal was delivered to him by the Chief Minister, Roland, he dismissed him and a number of the other Girondist ministers, who were soon followed into retirement by the remainder.

Demonstration of June 20

Aroused by this opposition on the King's part, the radical leaders and the dismissed ministers planned to make use of a festival which had been arranged in honor of the anniversary of the Tennis-Court Oath to force, by a popular demonstration, the King's submission. An attempt on the part of the Directory of Paris to prevent the occurrence by employing the national guards was forestalled by the Girondist Mayor, Petion. A huge crowd of perhaps twenty thousand men, women, and children as well as some national guards bearing weapons of various sorts appeared before the Assembly to present a petition, and after that body had been addressed by a popular orator in threatening tones, and many of the people had filed before it, a large part of the crowd broke into the royal apartments in the Tuileries. The King showed extraordinary calm in the face of the danger which confronted him, and the vile abuse which was shouted at him. To cries from the leaders of the mob demanding that he "sanction the decrees," "recall the patriot ministers," and "drive out the non-juring priests," he quietly replied that this was not the time or place for looking into the matter of the decrees, that he would uphold the constitution and was a true patriot, and to prove it, he placed a red liberty cap upon his head, and drank a toast to the people. The mob, which intended no personal injury to the King, finally became weary and were persuaded to leave by Mayor Petion, who purposely arrived late upon the scene.

Results of June 20

The events of June 20 aroused varied emotions throughout the nation. Many of the cities, particularly in the south and east, indignant at the King's incapacity and possible treason, applauded the action of the Parisians. On the other hand, the governments of the departments, firmer believers in the maintenance of the bourgeois monarchy, indignantly protested to the Assembly at the King's humiliation. Lafayette, who was in command of one of the French armies, left his troops and appeared before the Assembly to demand in the army's name the punishment of the instigators of the demon-

stration and the dispersion of the Jacobin Club. Influenced by the Queen and the Court, who hoped for speedy delivery by the Austrian armies, the King missed another opportunity to regain his lost influence, since, instead of coöperating with Lafayette, he revealed a plan of that general for employing the national guards to suppress the radicals.

Proclamation of Country's Danger

Two occurrences of the following month, the Proclamation of the Country's Danger and the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto, served to arouse the nation to the defense of the Revolution, and to further its progress. Realizing its powerlessness to save the country from invading armies and internal disorder, the Assembly appealed to the people to prepare themselves for service. Everyone, even the poorest peasant or the humblest workman, was required to go to the nearest commune to declare himself, surrender his arms, and receive a tricolored cockade which he must constantly wear as a badge of loyalty. Everywhere, volunteers were enlisted and the national guards chose those from their membership who should proceed to the front. Whereas formerly wars had been regarded as the King's affair, now each citizen was made as never before to feel his responsibility and interest in the national cause. After the storming of the Bastille and the rural uprisings, nothing had so profoundly stirred the nation.

Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto

The national resolution thus aroused was still further heightened by the threatening manifesto issued by the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the invading armies. This demanded that the King be set at complete liberty, and threatened Paris with destruction if any further insults were offered the royal family. It stated that if national guardsmen or the inhabitants of towns and villages attempted to resist the invading armies they would be treated as enemies of their King. This clearly identified his cause with the enemy's and contrary to the expectations of the court proved a further step in his downfall. It made the nation resolve "to resist the enemy to the death" and was "worth to France," according to a contemporary, as much as "an army of a hundred thousand men."

Preparations for insurrection

Meanwhile, the Paris radicals, who had been checked for the moment by the reaction which had followed the people's excursion to the Tuileries, commenced to prepare for further action. Assemblies in the city's forty-eight districts held nightly sessions, while a central correspondence bureau was set up at the city hall. In spite of the King's veto some departments sent armed federates to Paris. With these the Assembly decided to form a camp of reserves at Soissons, but as many as eighteen hundred refused after they had arrived to leave the city. Organizing a committee at the Jacobin Club, they petitioned for the deposition of the King. Their forces by the beginning of the next month were swelled by a band of five hundred picked men from Marseilles sent at the request of the Paris leaders, who did not yet feel strong enough to begin an insurrection. Marching through France they chanted with such fervor the battle hymn written by Rouget de

Lisle for the army of the Rhine that it has ever since been called the Marseillaise and has become the French national anthem.

King's deposition demanded

In early August, after the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto reached the city, revealing as it did the King's complicity with the enemy, delegates from the district meetings met at the city hall and drew up a petition repeating the request of the federates for the King's deposition. Controlled by Constitutionalists who still supported the King and by the Girondists who hoped to recover their lost position in the King's ministry, the Assembly refused to act. At last on August 4, the district of Quinze-Vingts sent word to the Assembly that if they had not deposed the King before midnight of August 9, the people of Paris would rise in insurrection.

Insurrection of August 10

No action having been taken by the evening of August 9th, three commissioners from the assemblies of each district went to the city hall, expelled the regular city council and took their place. The Tuileries was then attacked by the people led by the Marseillaise. Although the King's Swiss guards remained loyal, the national guards who were assigned to the defense of the palace refused to fire on the people. The King and his family decided to take refuge with the Assembly, less than half of whose members had convened at news of the uprising. Here, while the King watched the proceedings from the reporters' gallery, a delegation from the new revolutionary council at the city hall arrived to demand his deposition and the convocation of a convention to establish a new constitution. Still believing a monarchy to be to their interest, the Assembly suspended the King until the national convention, for which it issued a call, should decide his fate. A day or two later the royal family was handed over by the Assembly to the Revolutionary Commune, which shut them up in the tower of the Temple, part of the old palace of the Templars.

Provisional executive council

The King thus disposed of, the Assembly dismissed his ministers and appointed new ones, who formed a provisional executive council. As Chief Minister, the Assembly selected Danton, "the leader of the party of insurrection," hoping thus to guard itself against, and bring about a reconciliation with, the Popular Party.

Danton

Danton, a brilliant lawyer and scholar, had early allied himself with the most radical political clubs. It was he who, realizing the weakness and inefficiency of the King's government, had been most insistent in demanding the King's dethronement. Impulsive, passionate, and audacious in disposition, a "noisy and powerful orator," but possessing real genius as a statesman and thoroughly sincere and patriotic, Danton now played the leading rôle in the country's government.

Revolutionary Commune

Although the executive council presided over by Danton controlled military and diplomatic affairs, it had to reckon seriously in the direction of domestic concerns with a new power, the Revolutionary Commune or Council of Paris, which, after the insurrection, had been recognized by the Assembly as the regular government of the city.

Such an influence did this Commune exert that it had to be constantly consulted by the ministers, and thus came to be a dominating force in French affairs. It represented the lower classes of the people as opposed to the bourgeoisie, and was composed of the most radical popular leaders.

Attitude of country

Largely due to the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto and certain compromising papers found in the Tuileries, in spite of the fact that throughout much of France sentiment was divided in regard to the events of August 10, all the departments except eight gave their assent to the new political arrangements. In the north, Lafayette temporarily led the department of the Ardennes and the municipality of Sedan in direct opposition, and attempted to lead his army against Paris, but failing to gain the support of his troops was obliged to leave France. It was of much more serious concern that the peasants of La Vendée, in the west of France, began to rise for King and faith.

Further French defeats

The danger from the invading foreign armies appeared greater than ever. Although Dumouriez, who had succeeded to supreme command, was skilfully reorganizing the French forces and patriotic ardor had seized the ranks, not enough had yet been done to prevent the veteran Prussian armies from taking Longwy and Verdun, the last fortresses which obstructed their road to Paris.

September massacres

Meanwhile, in Paris the Commune strove to gain power over the government and to prevent the elections for the convention, which were soon to take place, from falling into bourgeois hands. The alarming news of the close approach of the enemy's armies as well as rumors of royalist plots afforded them the desired opportunity for action. Possessing the police power over the city, they secured from the Assembly on August 28 authority to search all houses for arms and suspects. They were thus enabled to terrorize the moderates. The jails and the monasteries used as jails, which had already been filled with Swiss soldiers captured on August 10, with the relatives of royalist émigrés, and with refractory priests whom the Assembly had ordered imprisoned, were still further crowded with many suspects arrested as a result of these domiciliary visits.

Aided by a widely disseminated rumor that as soon as the Parisian volunteers departed for the battle line, the aristocrats would rise, release the King and other prisoners, and massacre the patriots' families, the Commune's work of terrorizing the city was completed by a general massacre of the political prisoners in the Paris prisons. During the first five days of September, no less than eleven hundred persons, many of them priests, were brutally killed. Due to its weakness and to fear of civil war in face of the approaching enemy, the government took no active steps to stop the outrages or to punish the offenders.[1] The massacres had the effect desired by the Commune of terrorizing the electors. The Girondists, who still hoped to maintain the mon-

[1] Danton, who was the main force in the ministry, was afraid that if the massacres of the prisoners were not permitted there would be a popular uprising.

archy, became alarmed and allowed the Radicals to force a republic upon a hesitating people.

Political reforms of Legislative Assembly

The events of August 10 not only resulted in dethroning the King, but they also caused a reform in the suffrage which brought to an end the bourgeois system. The division of Frenchmen into active and passive citizens was abolished. Henceforth, all males, except domestic servants, who were twenty-one years of age, resident one year, and self-supporting, might vote.

A further reform resulted in transferring the registration of births, marriages, and deaths from the ecclesiastical authorities to the municipalities, and in the establishment of civil divorce.

Agrarian reforms

Recognizing the need of restoring order throughout rural France and of securing in the hour of national crisis the support of the peasantry, the Assembly largely freed them from the dues with which their lands were still burdened. While the Constituent Assembly had freed the peasantry from servile dues, in its desire to protect property rights it had decided that all dues which had resulted from contract must continue to be paid until redeemed. In case of dispute the burden of proof was imposed on the peasant. The Legislative Assembly reversed this decision and obliged the noble to produce his original title papers. If he were unable to do so, as was generally the case, the dues were abolished without recompense. Peasant ownership was likewise greatly furthered by the sale of the émigrés' lands in small lots. Thus France, before other European lands, became a land of free peasant properties.

The Convention

Proclamation of Republic

With the first meeting of the National Convention, September 21, 1792, the Limited Monarchy and Legislative Assembly came to an end, and the First French Republic was declared. Until it could form a new Constitution for France, the Convention took charge of the government. To mark the break with past religious and political institutions, and the importance to French life of the new changes, the old calendar was discarded and everything in future was to be dated from the Year One of the establishment of the Republic.

Composition of Convention

Although actually numbering no more than one hundred and sixty-five deputies out of the seven hundred and eighty-three who comprised the Convention, through the influence they exerted over the five hundred or more members of the Center or as it was variously termed Plain, or Marsh, composed of "undecided men," "property-owners and conservatives by instinct," the Girondists were at first the controlling party, and from their numbers the first ministry was chosen. More than ever they drew their strength from the departments outside Paris, for Brissot and Condorcet, prominent Girondist leaders, representing the capital in the previous Assembly, failed of reëlection from that city, but secured their seats by provincial votes.

Party strife

The sessions of the Convention from the very beginning were characterized by bitter partisan strife between the Girondists and the Mountain Party, so called from the higher seats they occupied. The Mountain was the party of action; it relied for backing upon the Paris Commune and the Jacobin and Cordeliers Clubs, and its members were frequently termed Jacobins. Among them was Robespierre, prominent in the Commune, and in the Jacobin Club and Paris' chief representative in the Convention; who later came to dominate the government of France. There also was that radical journalist so active in promoting the September Massacres, Jean-Paul Marat, half Italian and half French, olive skinned, his black locks bound with a "bandanna handkerchief soaked with vinegar" as a remedy for violent headaches, "a man whose violence sometimes verged on insanity." Danton, who was no longer in the ministry, was also to be found among this group.

Girondist and Mountain platforms

Judging from actions, it would seem that to the Girondists and the Mountain the task of forming a new constitution and of saving France from civil disorder and foreign invasion was of less concern than was gaining control of the Convention and stipulating the provisions of the new government which was to be erected. Both parties now supported a republic, but the Girondists, representing the middle class of the departments, wished to establish a loosely centralized government which would allow the departments much independence. They objected to the control of national affairs exercised by Paris. The Mountain, on the contrary, largely composed of Parisians and representing the Paris proletariat, wished a strongly centralized government under the dictatorship of Paris. The Girondists were as ever a party of words rather than action, who detested and distrusted the Paris Commune and dreaded mob violence and therefore found support from "the elements of order." The Mountain, on the other hand, saw in the requirements of the hour the need of vigorous action. They did not hesitate at violence when they considered it necessary to attain their ends. They had the sympathy of the masses and knew how to organize them.

Struggle between Girondists and Mountain

Without a definite plan of campaign the Girondists commenced a series of attacks on the leaders of the Mountain. They accused them, without result, of being involved in the September Massacres, and Robespierre of attempting to set up a dictatorship. They attempted to break up the power of the Paris Commune and to secure a guard for the Convention from the departments. In both of these endeavors they failed. The Mountain replied by accusing the Girondists of being federalists and royalists, and by demanding the King's trial for treason; they forced his execution, which they knew neither the Girondists nor their constituents favored.

The Girondists had been strengthened by the success the French armies under Dumouriez won at Valmy on September 1, 1792, and by the further victories which followed; but their cause was dealt a death blow by that general's disastrous defeat at Neerwinden on

April 4, 1793, and his desertion to the enemy. These campaigns will be discussed later.

Incapable themselves of meeting the crisis, they refused to accept Danton's patriotic efforts to reconcile the two parties in the face of the national danger. At this juncture, the Paris Commune came to the aid of the Mountain by employing the same methods which had dethroned the King. Collecting an insurrectionary army from the Paris streets, upon refusal of the Convention to accept their demand that it vote the arrest of thirty-seven of its members, including twenty-two leading Girondists, it surrounded that body on June 2, 1793, and forced it to take action, thus securing the expulsion of thirty-one members, who were placed under surveillance, but not immediately imprisoned. After this fashion, the victory of the Mountain and their control over the Convention was secured.

King's trial and execution

It has been seen that the trial and execution of the King were precipitated by party strife. The Mountain desired in this way to cut off all retreat from the advanced position the Revolution was taking, and thus assure the radical leaders against prosecution for their deeds. As St. Just, a follower of Robespierre, expressed their sentiment: "The death of the tyrant is necessary to reassure those who fear that one day they will be punished for their daring, and also to terrify those who have not yet renounced the monarchy. A people cannot found liberty when it respects the memory of its chains." Accused of treason on the basis of the papers found in the Tuileries, which revealed his correspondence with the enemy, the King was convicted and after vain attempts made by the Girondists to have the matter referred to popular vote, his death was voted by the Convention. Louis met his fate calmly and bravely in a most kingly fashion.

French foreign policy

At the time the Republic had been announced the Convention had declared that it would not interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbors nor engage in wars of conquest. Most of the above-mentioned successes of the French armies had been aided by liberals in the territories invaded. Upon the French occupation these liberal leaders took control of the government. If the French now, in accordance with their policy already announced, refused to support those who had assisted them against the enemy, they could not hope in future for such assistance. Accordingly, when the republicans of Mainz appealed to the Convention not to abandon them, that body on November 19 declared that it would aid all peoples who desired to recover their liberties. The promotion of revolution became an element in the foreign policy of the Convention.

Several days later, the Convention took a still further step toward altering its previously announced policy, when Savoy, whose inhabitants were largely of French descent, petitioned for annexation to France. It was soon decided that although the government had renounced "the brigandage of conquests, they had not declared that they would repulse from their bosom men brought near to them by an

identity of principles and of interests," especially when their territory was within the "limits set by the hand of nature to the French Republic." Thus persisted, along with newer revolutionary sentiments, the old French ambition to secure for France her natural frontiers, the Alps and the Rhine. When a way for making annexations without violating cherished revolutionary principles had thus been discovered, it was uncertain where French ambitions would stop.

The danger to surrounding European states was soon apparent. The Belgians, from whose land the Austrians had been expelled by the French, refused to consider either annexation to France or the introduction of French institutions; this gave rise to the decision that, when a country was occupied by French troops, provisional administrations chosen by the people should take the place of the authorities then in existence. The people who chose the new government were not, however, to include nobles, former civil or military officials, or members of privileged corporations. Former systems of taxation, feudal dues, tithes, titles of nobility, and all special privileges were to be abolished and the property of the State and Church was to be turned over to the guardianship of the French Republic. The people of the territory should pay the expenses incurred by the French in defending them, and should support their troops if it was found necessary for them to remain. After this fashion the French government placed upon its neighbors the expense of maintaining its armies. In case any people should refuse to accept French institutions on these terms, and should seek their old rulers, they should be treated as enemies.

Attempted annexations

No sooner had this policy been announced, than the French set about carrying it out. Their leaders now clearly stated that the Alps and the Rhine had been the old frontiers of France and to secure them was not conquest, but simply reunion. Spurred by the realization that annexations would swell French revenues and that the acquisition of the property of the privileged classes in the Netherlands and elsewhere might restore the value of the assignats, now sadly depreciated, assemblies for voting annexation, carefully guarded by French soldiers against the influence of anti-annexationists were held in the Belgian Netherlands and along the Rhine and proved highly successful.

Formation of First Coalition

Having finished with Belgium, the French were next preparing to listen to the call of Dutch radicals, when they were diverted by the opening of war with many European nations precipitated by the execution of Louis XVI. Upon news of that startling event, the Bourbon King of Spain mustered his army against France and was answered by the Convention by a declaration of war. The execution of Louis also led to a declaration of war by England, which had already been aroused by the threatened invasion of the Dutch Netherlands, by the French intrigues with English radicals and Irish revolutionaries, and by France's action in opening, contrary to international agreement,

the River Scheldt to the ships of all nations.[1] Portugal, Tuscany, Holland, Naples, the Roman States, and the Holy Roman Empire likewise followed with declarations of war; Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia resumed their warlike operations. United by opposition to French revolutionary propaganda and alarmed at French aggression, the powers formed a coalition largely financed by the English. Dumouriez, whose army had become disorganized after its successes, was decisively defeated at Neerwinden on March 18, 1793, and driven out of Belgium as rapidly as he had overrun it. With most of his principal officers he deserted to the enemy because of disgust at the excesses of the Mountain party. His apparent treason dealt a fatal blow to his own party, the Girondists.

Civil war

Meanwhile France was torn with civil war, the result of the action of the Paris commune in driving the Girondist members from the Convention on June 2. Nearly two-thirds of the departments, indignant at the mistreatment of their representatives and fearing the dictatorship of Paris, rose against the Convention. Fortunately, the majority of the communes within them continued loyal, and, through the influence of Danton, plans for a new constitution were rushed through and submitted to the country for acceptance, thus quieting and reassuring it that it would be given proper representation. Armed forces however, were raised by the insurgents in Bordeaux, in the department of the Gironde, and at Marseilles, which might have proved dangerous if there had been proper coördination. Lyons and Toulon were taken by the government forces only after a protracted resistance. The latter city, defended by a British and Spanish fleet, was finally captured by skilful artillery fire directed by a young officer, Napoleon Bonaparte. Taking advantage of French difficulties, Corsica rose under Paoli, drove out the French, and placed itself under British protection.

In the part of western France which contained the old provinces of Brittany, Anjou, and Poitou, called La Vendée, the peasants rose in favor of their old priests, and in protest against the government's attempt to enlist them in the army. At first a popular movement led by ordinary men, it was diverted by some of the nobility into a royalist rising in favor of Louis XVI's son, called by them Louis XVII. This rising caused the government considerable difficulty, since it turned into guerilla warfare which the Convention did not succeed in completely putting down until the end of 1794.

Economic crises

Not only did the Convention have to fear foreign war and civil strife, but the people were growing weary of constant crises. Food was scarce, industry ruined, the assignats rapidly depreciating, many

[1] Under the able guidance of the younger Pitt, England had preserved through the first three years of the French Revolution an attitude of friendly neutrality, partly through sympathy with French reforms, but still more from desire to preserve peace in order that it might recuperate from the heavy financial burdens incurred by the War of the American Revolution, and in order to be free to support Poland and Turkey against the designs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

people impoverished. How serious the situation appeared during the spring of 1793 in the south of France is revealed by a letter of one of the members of the Convention: "Everywhere the people are tired of the Revolution. The rich detest it, and the poor are persuaded that we are at fault because they lack bread. Even the clubs have lost their energy. The municipalities chosen by the people themselves are weak or corrupt."

Dictatorship of Committee of Public Safety

To meet the desperate situation confronting it, the Convention resorted to dictatorship and terror. A secret committee, first of nine members and later of ten or twelve, called the Committee of Public Safety, was organized as a kind of "responsible ministry in disguise" to supervise and speed the operations of the Provisional Executive Council of the ministers, who were soon made mere servants of the Committee and were finally supplanted entirely. Subordinated at first to the Convention by the fact that it was reëlected each month and must make a weekly report to that body, the Committee ended by dominating it. It was granted a huge secret-service fund of ten million dollars to maintain its activities. It came to appoint and control all other committees. It selected, discharged, and directed the generals. It sent commissioners to the armies to arouse zeal for the Republic among the soldiers, to promote efficiency, and to watch over the conduct of the commanders, thereby preventing treason, from which the government had suffered so much before, and, by subordinating the military to the civil power, avoiding the danger of ambitious generals aspiring to political control.[1] The Committee likewise came to direct the nation's foreign policy. It had power to remove civil officials throughout the country and appoint others. Through its agents it had authority to enforce its will everywhere in France.

Changes in local government

Recognizing the weakness of the existing system of local government set up by the National Constituent Assembly, the Committee deprived the departments of all their important administrative functions with the exception of the distribution of the taxes and care of public work. The communes were entrusted with the execution of the revolutionary laws and with public security, and were carefully subordinated to the central government by the requirement that they should report every ten days to the Committee of Public Safety as to how they had executed their duties. National officials named by the Convention replaced the locally elected district and commune procureurs.

Deputies on Mission

The authority of the Committee of Public Safety over the local governments was further increased by the deputies on mission sent to the departments by the Convention with absolute power to raise recruits and make requisitions for the army, and with instructions to change the composition of local administrations thought to be "infected with Federalism" or with royalist sympathies, and to watch

[1] They had power to "degrade officers of any rank," even to arrest the commanders and they might interfere with military operations, overruling a general's orders.

for and arrest suspects. They were assisted in these latter tasks by the Jacobin clubs and by the special revolutionary committees which were set up in each commune to watch out for strangers and suspects. Thus nearly complete centralization of power in Paris succeeded local self-government, and there was suppression of nearly all popular election. All this, however, was regarded by the Convention as a temporary war measure. As soon as peace was restored, they intended to establish a democratic republic.

The Committee of Public Safety was not only given tremendous authority, but it was tireless in its activity. It was constantly backed by the Convention which passed with dispatch the measures required by the Committee. It was led at first by Danton and later by Robespierre.

Preparation of national defense

The first great task which the Committee of Public Safety undertook was the organization of national defense. A forced levy of all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five was decided upon, since it was realized that the method of appealing for volunteers, employed during the earlier years of the Revolution, would no longer prove satisfactory. The danger confronting the country was too great. The nation was weary and disgusted. The deputies on mission were obliged to force the young men into the army "at the sword's point," but when once they were at the front they proved brave soldiers.[1] To give stability, they were mingled with the old regiments. Daring young patriotic generals, who were obliged to succeed or undergo trial for treason, were chosen to lead them. While the young men went out to fight, the married men were set to manufacturing weapons and to transporting stores. The money for war expenses was obtained by selling the confiscated property of the émigrés and by issuing many new assignats.

All this great work was organized by Lazare Carnot, "the Organizer of Victory," who succeeded in restoring discipline and in preparing a well-equipped and well-officered army of seven hundred and fifty-two thousand men to meet the threatened invasion and to restore domestic order.

Reign of Terror

A further war measure was the employment of the Terror, by which the Committee of Public Safety crushed all opponents of the Revolution in France, destroyed, while the Terror lasted, all liberty of speech and all freedom of the press, and forced the members of the Convention into registering the Committee's measures without venturing to discuss them. The Terror was besides used by the Mountain faction to destroy its political rivals. It was through the Terror that no less than twenty-one prominent Girondist deputies, zealous patriots, met death at the hands of their rivals, who had gained control of the Committee of Public Safety. When at last their political opponents were crushed, a rivalry arose between the Mountain Party leaders

[1] This is the opinion expressed in Louis Madelin: *The French Revolution*, 360. Some other accounts differ in regard to the willingness of the French to enlist.

themselves which resulted in the overthrow and execution of Danton, and the assumption of dictatorial powers by Robespierre until at last he too met the fate of his opponents.

Agencies of Terror

The Reign of Terror prevailed in its more acute stages from September, 1793, to July, 1794. By a series of laws, treason was re-defined, and on September 17 the Law of Suspects made liable to immediate arrest all suspected to be "enemies of liberty." In charge of the operations of the Terror was the Committee of General Security, which had been in existence since 1789, and had been working in conjunction with the Committee of Public Safety to maintain order throughout the country. It had charge of the police and might order the arrest of any individual and have him brought to Paris on trial. Arrests made by revolutionary committees had to be immediately reported to it. To assist it was the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris, which at the time of its greatest activity consisted of sixteen judges, sixty jurors, a public accuser, and five substitutes. To facilitate the trials this court was finally divided into four sections.

In Paris the other agencies of the Terror were a revolutionary army largely drawn from the slums of the city, and the revolutionary committees which made it their special duty to discover and arrest suspects. Each citizen was required to carry a guarantee card on which was inscribed an account of his life and what he had done for the Revolution. Denunciations were encouraged; credit for patriotism was given on a guarantee card for each person denounced by the bearer. If one made the slightest anti-revolutionary remark or showed the least sign of discontent with the existing régime, if one was of noble birth, if one had held office before 1789, if one was related to or had served an émigré, or if one was unable to show that he had made some sacrifice, one was likely to be brought, without a moment's notice, before a revolutionary committee and sent to prison.

Terror in Paris

Under these conditions it was not long before the prisons, which had been emptied by the September Massacres, were again crowded. At first those persons tried by the Tribunal were selected by the Committee of General Security with some care and a few at a time; later, as the Terror increased in severity, the prisoners were tried and executed in batches with little regard to guilt or innocence, for apparently the great aim was to provide sufficient executions to intimidate all who might oppose the government's plans. Exceptions to this rule of multiple executions, however, occurred in the case of Marie Antoinette, of the Girondist deputies, of a number of the generals, of the former mayor, Bailly, and the Duke of Orleans, which served to intimidate "courtiers, deputies, generals and ex-Constituents." In all 2,625 victims are said to have fallen in Paris by that new apparatus for execution, the guillotine.[1]

[1] The guillotine was a heavy knife suspended in a frame invented by Dr. Guillotine. It provided a rapid and efficient method of execution.

Terror in departments

In the departments, the Terror was directed by the deputies on mission and was facilitated by the many small revolutionary committees established in every city, district, and village throughout the country. The local committees searched out suspects, examined them, and sent them on to Paris for further trial and sentence. Special agents and troops were dispatched to such cities as Lyons, Toulon, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, and to La Vendée, which had risen in opposition to the government; wholesale executions of all those who had conspired or risen in arms were carried out in the most brutal fashion. While it led to the unpopularity of the Republic, the Terror did succeed in crushing all opposition except in La Vendée.

Paris Commune and Committee of Public Safety

After the Terror was well on its way, the Committee of Public Safety under the influence of Robespierre came into conflict on the one hand with the radical ideas of the Paris Commune, and on the other with the attitude of men like Danton and Camille Desmoulins who believed the Terror had served its purpose and should be moderated. The Commune, which after August 10 regarded itself as almost equal in importance in the government to the Committee of Public Safety, was, since it controlled the mob and the Paris Revolutionary Army, a power to be reckoned with. It had fallen under the influence of the radical Chaumette and particularly under that of the journalist Hebert whose paper, the *Père Duchesne*, a violent and scurrilous sheet, was the most widely read Paris journal and had been most active in advocating the Terror.

State Socialism advocated

Due to the influence of the Commune, maximum laws limiting the prices of necessities were passed, with the effect that shops were closed and trade stopped, while the farmers kept back their grain. Upon this, Chaumette advocated that the state take possession of all trade and manufactures and destroy "the mercantile aristocracy."

Atheism established

The Commune's leaders also advocated the destruction of Christianity and the organization of a worship of Reason and Liberty. Their propaganda so far succeeded that, encouraged by certain of the deputies on mission, some of the people began to destroy the images of the Virgin and seize the Church silver, which was melted into bullion to pay the armies. Church bells were cast into cannon. Many priests, among them the Bishop of Paris, resigned their offices, learned other trades, and in many cases married. The Convention itself was finally won over to the declaration of the worship of Reason as the national religion of France. At a great civic festival staged by the Commune to inaugurate the new religion, an opera singer draped in a tricolored flag was seated on an altar to Reason erected in the great cathedral of Notre Dame, now transformed into the Temple of Reason.

Destruction of Hebert and Commune's power

Robespierre, who prided himself on his virtue and thoroughly believed in the Supreme Being and the sacredness of property rights, was shocked at the Commune's atheistic excesses and its socialistic tendencies, and determined to destroy its leaders and wreck its power. By clever maneuvers he soon succeeded. Hebert and his friends were

tried by the Tribunal and executed, and the Commune's chief support, its revolutionary army, was dispersed throughout the land.

Danton's foreign policy

Danton conflicted with Robespierre and the party of violence both in his foreign and domestic policies. Soon after coming into power, the Convention had promised to support all peoples who wished to free themselves, and on December 15, 1792, flattered by military successes, "it considered itself called to give liberty to the human race and to overthrow all thrones, and it declared war on tyrants." Danton, who was above everything a practical statesman, recognizing the impossibility of establishing peace as long as these sentiments were upheld, succeeded in getting the Convention to declare that it would not interfere in the government of other nations, nor would it allow other powers to intervene in the domestic affairs of the Republic. Thus, by offering "peace to Kings," the way for negotiations was opened, and agents were at once sent to establish friendly relations with those powers which were still neutral, and to make peace if possible with those which had formerly been friendly.

Robespierre's dissatisfaction with Danton's policy

This policy was far from satisfactory to many patriots who still believed in bringing liberty, equality, and fraternity to all peoples by the continuance of the war. This was particularly true of Robespierre, who opposed conciliation as a matter of both principle and expediency. In order to become dictator, as he aspired to do, he believed it necessary that the Revolution should "increase in violence" and that the war with the country's enemies should become more bitter. He was an idealist who sincerely dreamed of the destruction of all Kings and aristocrats, and believed that in the accomplishment of this democratic triumph "the men of all countries as brothers—must aid one another as the citizens of the same state" since "he who oppressed one nation declared himself the enemy of all."

Danton's desire to moderate Terror

Danton's belief that the Terror had served its purpose and should now be moderated was even more distressing to Robespierre, since he was relying on the Terror to establish himself in power and believed it to be necessary as long as the war continued. Sickened by the constant slaughter, Danton vainly sought to have the Terror stopped. He enlisted his friend, the young journalist Camille Desmoulins, in the cause, and promised to support him with all his influence. Desmoulins published the *Vieux Cordelier*, in which he attacked the Terrorists with such arguments as, "You would exterminate all your enemies by the guillotine! What madness! Can you possibly destroy one enemy on the scaffold without making ten others among his family and friends?"

Danton's overthrow and execution

Little by little, Robespierre undermined Danton's influence. He succeeded in having him excluded from the Committee of Public Safety, secured his own election to that body, and replaced Danton's influence there. While Danton unwisely retired to the country, Robespierre built up his influence in the Convention. Warned of Robespierre's plans to have him executed, Danton refused to flee or to save himself by an appeal to the Convention, whose support he might per-

haps have won, and he was too loyal to the nation, and too tired of bloodshed to incite a popular uprising. He allowed Robespierre to secure his arrest and that of his friends, exclaiming "I would rather be guillotined than guillotine others . . . and besides I am sick of the human race!" At his trial, however, so vigorously did he defend himself that the Committee had to force the Convention to decree the hearing at an end before the accused had been completely heard. In this arbitrary fashion, on a trumped-up charge, Danton and his friends were sent to their deaths.

Robespierre

Having disposed of his rival, Robespierre, through the influence which he exercised over the government, for more than three months was virtually dictator of France. This little man with his "light green eyes" glistening "behind blue spectacles, carefully curled and powdered hair, elegant attire, scrupulous neatness, pedantic manner and tiresome speech" thought himself and was believed to be the embodiment of virtue. His republican wisdom was considered profound; "above all his reputation for being absolutely incorruptible, and sincerely patriotic" made him indispensable as a figurehead to the Revolutionary government in rendering acceptable its measures. He sanctified the Terror as a patriotic duty required for national salvation, and, thoroughly convinced of his own virtue, he believed it his duty to make similar virtue prevail whatever the cost. A firm believer in Rousseau's philosophy, he wished to make France a republic presided over by the Supreme Being and ruled according to the principles of natural law.[1] In this republic there would be neither rich nor poor, opulence would be a crime, the children would be taken and trained by the State in Spartan fashion, and upon reaching twenty-one each citizen would be required publically to declare his friends, and if he had none he would be banished. The people's prejudices must be destroyed, he believed, its habits altered, its vices eradicated, and its desires purified to make all this possible.

Robespierre's dictatorship and downfall

Robespierre began by replacing the atheistic Worship of Reason by the deistic reverence of the Supreme Being, appearing as a veritable prophet at the splendid festival which inaugurated the new worship. His régime meant an intensification of the Terror and a halting of all negotiations with foreign powers. Counsel, and in many cases witnesses were no longer allowed to the accused. "Every imaginable attitude of opposition" was considered a crime. Prisoners were mechanically sentenced in batches. In seven weeks more were executed than during the previous fifteen months. At length affairs came to such a pass that nobody even in the Convention or the Committees, except Robespierre's closest adherents, considered himself safe, and this at a time when, since the tide of warfare had turned in favor of France, there was no longer an excuse for the Terror. At length, the situation became so unbearable that a plot was formed and amid the most dramatic scenes, on July 27, 1794, the 9th Thermidor, the arrest of Robes-

[1] Rousseau had not, however, favored republicanism for so large a state as France.

pierre and his close adherents was voted by the Convention, and was followed the next day by their execution. Robespierre was in no sense a man of action. When faced by formidable opposition, he practically collapsed and perished because of cowardice and indecision. Shot in the mouth the day before his execution, he was executed, suffering greatly from his wound, on the same scaffold where nearly fifteen hundred innocent persons had been sacrificed to his ambitions.

End of Terror

Robespierre's downfall produced such a reaction in favor of justice and sanity that the Terror was brought to an end. Although the Revolutionary Tribunal continued in existence for some time, its judges and jury were altered, and its proceedings were conducted according to the principles of justice. Upon popular demand, it diverted its activities from the suspects in the prisons to trial and punishment of many of the Terrorists themselves. As the reaction progressed, many members of the Commune, many judges and jurymen of the Tribunal, the public prosecutor, Fouquer-Tinville, himself, and some of the worst of the agents of the Terror in the departments were tried and executed.

Reaction against Terror

For fear of the recurrence of dictatorship, the Convention deprived the Committee of Public Safety of most of its powers by decreeing that one-fourth of its members must be changed each month and might not be immediately reëlected, and by distributing the administrative work among sixteen committees it limited the powers of this particular committee to war and diplomacy. Thus, the Convention resumed the authority which it had lost to its committee. To its membership were soon readmitted seventy-five Girondist deputies, who had fled to the country after the insurrection of June 2, 1793. These, together with the Center, which had joined with the Thermidorian deputies in overthrowing Robespierre, placed the Mountain Party in a minority, and gave a moderate character to the Convention.

The reaction also resulted in the limitation and finally in the suppression of the Jacobin Club, in the replacement of the Paris Commune by two commissions, in closing the assemblies of the sections or wards, in reducing the revolutionary committees (so active throughout France in arresting suspects) to one in each district, and in the eventual abolition of these committees. Many of the restrictions upon the freedom of the press were removed. Emigrés and refractory priests were allowed to return. Amnesty was offered the Vendeans, and the worst features of the Maximum Law were repealed.

Reasons for maintenance of Republic

Although the unpopularity which the Terror had brought to the Republic and the ardent general desire to punish the Terrorists resulted in a revival of royalism, the Republic was saved by the prestige derived from the victories of its armies, and by the fear of the restoration of the old régime. The attachment to the Republic as such was slight, but there was great desire to preserve the accomplishments of the Revolution. So long as the Count of Provence (who after the Dauphin's death in 1795 assumed the title of Louis XVIII)

persisted in the resolve expressed in his proclamation of Verona (July, 1795) to restore the old régime and absolute monarchy, as well as to punish all who had been concerned in the Revolution, most Frenchmen except the émigrés were opposed to the restoration of a monarchy. On the other hand, some years later, when Napoleon Bonaparte both restored order and promised to preserve the revolutionary gains, his monarchy was welcomed by the French.

Fall of Mountain Party

Meanwhile, the Mountain Party was disrupted through the arrest of its members who had become involved in several insurrections of the Paris proletariat caused by the food shortage. After it had several times been invaded, the Convention succeeded in suppressing these insurrections.

Republican Constitution of Year III

The Convention, now of moderate character, was dissatisfied with the democratic constitution so hastily drawn up in 1793. The popular risings and the spectacle of the Terrorist democracy had convinced them that it would be a mistake to introduce so democratic a system as that constitution provided. Accordingly, they proceeded to construct another which would restore the property-owning bourgeoisie to power. In place of universal suffrage, a suffrage based once more on taxation and property qualifications with the added precaution of a literacy test was established. As a further safeguard, it was decided to establish a bicameral legislature consisting of a "Council of Elders" of two hundred and fifty members and a "Council of Five Hundred," "each renewable every year by one-third its members." The Five Hundred was to propose all laws in the form of resolutions to the Elders, who "could only approve or reject a measure as a whole." For fear of a revival of monarchy or a second Robespierrian dictatorship, it was decided that the executive should consist of five Directors, chosen by the legislature, one of whom should retire each year. The Directors carried on their functions through ministers whom they appointed. They could neither initiate legislation, nor veto bills, and had no control over the treasury.

In the local government the departmental councils were replaced by five elected officials. The districts were suppressed, leaving the municipalities as the only subdivisions of the departments. The larger cities, regarded as "breeding-places of the democratic spirit," were divided into a number of elected municipal administrations, while those communes considered too small were combined into larger units, thus forming communes of nearly uniform size which were henceforth designated as cantonal municipalities. Resident commissioners appointed by the central government saw to the enforcement of the laws by the departmental and municipal administrations, whose acts might be annulled by the national executive if considered contrary to the general interests.

The members of the Convention knew they were unpopular with the country and feared that reactionaries might get control of the next

Rising of thirteenth Vendémiaire, October 5, 1795

government and punish them as regicides. Accordingly they took the precaution to declare that two-thirds of the councillors of the new government should be selected from the Convention's membership. Since it was believed the republican sentiments of the army might be depended upon, soldiers were allowed to vote in the plebiscite accepting the constitution, and forces were brought up to guard the Convention. So indignant was the Paris bourgeoisie with these measures that it started to attack with a force of nearly thirty thousand national guardsmen the Tuileries, where the Convention was sitting. The Tuileries was successfully defended by Napoleon Bonaparte, who, although his forces were inferior to those opposing him, succeeded in putting the mob to flight by artillery fire. Before describing the achievements of the new government under the Directory, we shall pass in brief review the reforms accomplished by the Convention.

Reforms of National Convention

Starting as it did under democratic influences as opposed to the bourgeois régime, the Convention during its busy career sought to promote greater social equality than had yet been attained. Even those of the former seigniorial dues which had been maintained by the Legislative Assembly were now abolished. Much of the confiscated land sold during 1793 and 1794 by the state was divided into smaller lots than before, frequently two or three acres, thus giving peasants a better chance to purchase it. In an effort to help the poorer classes, prices of grain and flour, and later of other food stuffs, were limited by the Maximum Law.

That there were men of real ability as reformers in the Convention is shown by the inauguration of a system of state education and of a carefully systematized law code, both of which great enterprises were completed during the Napoleonic régime, and lie at the basis of modern French institutions. It was due to the Convention that slavery and imprisonment for debt were outlawed, and inheritance laws were so fixed that children inherited property in nearly equal portions from their parents. A most admirable reform was the adoption of the metric system of measurement according to decimal reckoning, which is in use to-day in most civilized countries.

In an attempt to create a republican atmosphere and break as far as possible with the attachment to, and memory of, past civil and religious institutions, certain reforms which did not permanently survive were introduced. The calendar was changed. The Republican Era dating from September 22, 1792, the date of the proclamation of the Republic, replaced the Christian Era. The months were now named according to nature, thus the time of the winter rains was designated as the month of Pluviose; that of growing spring crops as Germinal, and that of summer heat as Thermidor. The weeks were lengthened from seven to ten days. The tenth was set apart as a festival day in place of the Sunday rest. The names of streets and public squares were altered to obliterate all association with past royalty, and commemo-

rate the Glorious Republic, "One and Indivisible." The designations of "citizen" and "citizeness" replaced the more aristocratic "monsieur" and "madame." Styles of clothing were affected. Silk stockings and knee-breeches and low shoes with silver buckles gave way even in the highest society to the plebeian long trousers and boots. Tricolored cockades were obligatory, and red liberty caps and shirts open at the neck were popular.

French military successes 1792–1795

Meanwhile the military forces were making headway. The armies were composed of the best of French manhood and were commanded by brilliant young generals who were rapidly promoted from the ranks to fill the places of the three hundred and seventy-three who had resigned or who had been discharged. These commanders were spurred to their best efforts not only by patriotic ardor but also by the demand of "victory or the guillotine." The armies were supported by all the country's resources, and in every way they furnished a striking contrast to the enemy forces, which were commanded by old, irresolute, or incompetent generals possessing no common plan of action. Having the advantages of a "central position," of "energy, enthusiasm, weight of numbers, absolute unity of plan," and promptness in taking the offensive, the French were not slow in driving back the enemy. Belgium was once more overrun. Assisted by Dutch republicans, Holland was secured. Germany was invaded, and the Rhine from Basle to the sea fell into French hands. The Sardinians were driven over the crest of the Alps and northern Spain was invaded.

The powers were filled with a new respect for the French Republic by its military successes, by its repression of domestic disorder, and by the ending of the Terror. Consequently the Convention was able to make treaties in 1795 with Prussia and Spain at Basle, and with Holland at The Hague, while the lesser powers also came to terms, leaving Austria, England, and Sardinia still at war with the Republic.

Treaties of Basle and The Hague

Its interest again diverted to securing Polish territory, Prussia consented to French occupation of the left bank of the Rhine on condition that France allow her to secure compensation from ecclesiastical territories in western Germany and form under Prussian protection a league of northern German states whose neutrality France agreed to respect. Spain, a Bourbon power, humbled herself in recognizing the Republic and handed to France her portion of the Isle of Haiti. Holland became the Batavian republic under French protection, and besides consenting to cede Dutch Flanders and other territory to France, agreed to furnish a fleet, twenty-five thousand troops, and a large war indemnity.

In three years, the Republic had given to France her natural frontiers of the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, which for centuries the monarchy had sought in vain to secure. These the nation might perhaps have retained, if it had not later been led astray by the fatal ambition of Napoleon.

The Directory and the Emergence of Napoleon Bonaparte

Condition of country on accession of Directory government

Instead of bringing immediate prosperity and happiness to everyone, the Revolution appeared, like other great movements whose benefits are fully realized only in the long run, to have direct effects which caused suffering and dissatisfaction. In spite of the vast amount of property which had been seized from the Church and the émigrés and sold to redeem French credit, the finances were in as bad a state as ever. The assignats, of which no less than twenty-nine billions had been issued by the time the Convention terminated its labors, had depreciated in value until they were nearly worthless. Prices for necessities were abnormally high. Food itself, especially in the cities, was very scarce. Industry and commerce were ruined, and there was general unemployment among the artisans. On the other hand, the peasantry, which had benefited by release from dues and taxes and had been afforded an opportunity to acquire land, had reason to feel satisfaction. The speculators and dishonest government officials, moreover, had greatly profited from "the liquidation of the old régime." Now while the poor suffered, this new plutocracy, as if to erase from their memory the anxieties of the days of Terror, plunged into a perfect orgy of expenditure for eating, fine clothes, gambling, dancing, and other pleasures.

Directory's incompetence

To restore society to its normal functions from the disorder into which it had fallen, some leader of superior genius, or at least a strong and able government, was required. The Directory furnished neither. In the four years of its power, it was responsible for not a single constructive measure. Composed as it was, with the exception of Carnot, of men of mediocre ability of the regicide faction, it was unpopular from the beginning and lacked the support of any strong party group. It had no program of action except to govern for the bourgeoisie, who had regained political control, to maintain the balance between democratic republicans and conservatives of monarchial tendencies, and to keep itself in power by playing its opponents one against another, by actively interfering with the elections through the use of wholesale bribery and threats, and by forcibly decimating the Legislative Body if it offered opposition. Noting the new government's incompetence and uselessness, the people were filled with contempt and hatred for it.

Political opponents

The Directory had to face active opposition from the democratic republicans, who had been forced out of the government as a result of the Thermidorian reaction and now wished to secure both adoption of their ideals and restoration of their lost power. These, to gain their ends, joined forces with the socialist Babeuf, who, due to popular discontent with existing social and economic conditions, had secured a popular hearing for his plan for the radical reorganization of society upon the basis of common property. A kind of "radical-socialist party" was thus formed, which plotted with the police, who as

former members of the Revolutionary Army of Paris were in sympathy with the radicals, to overthrow the government and secure the execution of its members. The plotters were discovered in time, and Babeuf and thirty-two others were executed. In January, 1797, a royalist plot was suppressed. In the army, where discontent with domestic affairs was rife, ambitious generals were beginning to form their plans for interference and to gather their parties among the ranks, but as yet had taken no action. The Directory was greatly disturbed by a sweeping religious revival in favor of Roman Catholicism which affected the upper classes as well as the peasantry.

Failure of Directory's financial measures

Meanwhile, the condition of the state treasury grew rapidly worse until no more funds were available. In desperation the Directory flooded the country with fresh issues of assignats, which rapidly declined in value and brought no permanent relief. A forced loan levied upon the wealthiest one-fifth of the population added to its unpopularity, and had the result of raising prices to still higher figures and of obstructing industry. New notes called territorial drafts, issued in place of assignats, suffered the same fate, and within the course of a few days lost seventy-four per cent of their original value.

Condition of French armies

The French armies were unpaid, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-equipped, but the troops, whose losses were constantly supplied by the conscription system, had through arduous campaigning become professionals capable of meeting the best European troops. New methods of organization were adopted, the army being arranged in divisions, each a small army of itself, composed of infantry, artillery, and cavalry under the charge of its divisional general. This arrangement resulted in "greater mobility" and made it possible for the commander-in-chief to give "brief orders." The French improved upon the fixed battle line still employed by their enemies, moving their divisions, screened by crowds of skirmishers, back and forth wherever they might be most effectively employed. Likewise, since foraging, rather than supply trains furnished the provisions, French armies might be rushed with great rapidity from one field of action to another.

Renewed military enterprises

Although the French military successes had broken up the First Coalition against France, the Directory had in Austria and England, assisted by Sardinia, Naples, and the southern German States, formidable foreign opponents to face.[1] The year 1795, as a result of General Pichegru's treachery, ended in the failure of the French armies to drive the Austrians from Germany and in the hasty retreat of the French forces to the Rhine. For 1795 elaborate plans were evolved, according to which two French armies under Jourdan and Moreau were to outflank the Austrian forces in Germany, and advance upon Vienna along the Main and the Danube Rivers, while a third army should defeat the Sardinians and Austrians in northern Italy, secure Piedmont

[1] England and Austria had also formed an alliance with Catherine II of Russia, but received no active assistance from her.

and, driving the Austrians from Lombardy, attack Vienna from the South.

Special reasons for desiring success of Italian campaign

Aside from its value in securing the defeat of Austria, the Directory had special reasons for desiring success in Italy. It was hoped that if Lombardy, then an Austrian territory, could be taken from the Austrians they might consent to the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) to France in exchange for this valuable Italian territory. Sardinia might be forced from the war, and Naples into neutrality, the Pope brought to terms, Genoa made vassal, and a decided blow struck at English commerce by closing all of Italy to English ships. Above all, being in desperate financial straits the Directory hoped to save themselves by the seizure of the riches of northern Italy. They decided to entrust the command of this important enterprise to Napoleon Bonaparte.

Napoleon Bonaparte

Napoleon at this time was only twenty-seven. A Corsican of gentle blood, he left his native island to attend the French military academy at Brienne, from which he was graduated at the age of fifteen. He early exhibited a reflective, self-absorbed, and masterful temperament, and possessed much of the Italian imagination and suppleness of mind. He is described by one of his teachers as "taciturn, preferring solitude, capricious, haughty, and inordinately self-centered," possessing "great self-esteem" and with aspirations "that stop at nothing."

In the years following his graduation he served as lieutenant in the French artillery, but returned on several occasions to engage in intrigues in his native Corsica, for which he felt an intense love. He finally won distinction and promotion to a generalship in the artillery as a result of the part he took in the siege of Toulon, but later refusing a transfer to an infantry command in the Army of the West where he thought there was no chance for distinction, he was retired from the list of active officers. Obtaining for a time a place on the committee directing military operations, he was once more dropped, and was actually in want, when he was entrusted by Barras with the task of defending the Convention against the uprising of the 13 Vendémiaire, in which he was so successful that he was given a post as general in the Army of the Interior. Having established himself, he made an influential marriage with Josephine, widow of General de Beauharnais. Meanwhile, attracted by some plans for the Italian campaign which the brilliant young general had submitted, and desiring a bold, enterprising man to command the Italian expedition, the Directors offered the command to him.

Italian Campaign

Nothing could have suited Bonaparte better, since he had made a careful study of the possibilities of an Italian campaign, noting the physical character of the territory and the strategy of previous Italian wars. Rapidly and unexpectedly crossing the Apennines, he managed to separate the Sardinian army from the Austrian. Crushing the Sardinians in a series of battles, within ten days he had exacted from their King an armistice ceding Savoy and Nice to the French

Republic. Then turning upon the Austrians, he drove them from Lombardy and entered Milan in triumph. Meanwhile, the French armies under Jourdan and Moreau, after overrunning much of southern Germany and reaching as far as Bohemia, were driven back over the Rhine by the brilliant strategy of the young Archduke Charles, then twenty-six. Thus Austrians were released to reinforce the army in Italy, but Bonaparte was equal to the occasion. He successfully met and defeated the armies sent against him although they greatly outnumbered his forces. Then forcing his way through the Tyrol into Austria, he defeated the Archduke Charles, and since the way was now open to Vienna, Austria agreed by the preliminaries of Leoben, April 17, 1797, to conclude her war with France.

Treaty of Campo-Formio October 17, 1797

The peace terms were embodied some months later in the Treaty of Campo-Formio. Austria agreed to the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands by France, and recognized the Rhine as the French frontier. It promised to use its influence at the Congress of Rastadt, shortly to be held, to conclude peace between France and the Holy Roman Empire, to secure the Empire's consent to the Rhine frontier. In return for surrendering Lombardy and Belgium, Venetia east of the Adage, including Istria and Dalmatia, which Napoleon had meanwhile seized, was ceded to Austria, thus bringing to an end the glorious career of the Venetian Republic, and making Austria a maritime power.

Creation of new republics in Italy

Meanwhile, Napoleon began the construction of a new Italy. Not much concerned with securing Austria's Italian territory, the Directory would have been satisfied with a peace which recognized France's right to the natural frontiers of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. Bonaparte, however, was dazzled with the prospect of an imperialistic policy and desired to try his hand at state building. By threatening to resign his command, he compelled the Directory to give unwilling consent to his unjust seizure of Venice; and by using this prize, he secured from Austria a free hand in northern Italy. Straightaway, through Napoleon's influence, with a constitution modeled on that of France the Cisalpine Republic was created from the territory between Piedmont and Venetia, including Lombardy and a number of smaller states. Genoa also was given French institutions and became the Ligurian Republic. The importance of these creations lies in the fact that by them Italians were awakened for the first time during the modern era to a desire for unity and independence.

War conditions

Acting upon the order of the Directory, Napoleon collected immense contributions from the northern Italian States, and, after deducting half for the support of his troops, sent home immense treasures to relieve the government's financial difficulties. Not only was Italy thus plundered of her wealth, but hundreds of Italy's choicest works of art and priceless manuscripts were sent to grace the National Museum at Paris.

England and French Republic

During 1797, the Republic's other great enemy, England, staggering under a debt which had risen to $2,478,600,000, and suffering from food shortage and high prices, had sought to come to terms, but had been checked by the French refusal to restore the Netherlands. France, on its part, attempted to attack England through Ireland. An expedition under General Hoche in 1797, destined to coöperate with the United Irishmen in setting up an independent Irish Republic, was beset by heavy storms and did not effect a landing. The Directory next sought to utilize the fleets of its Spanish and Dutch allies to overcome English sea-power. Again they were doomed to disappointment, for on February 14, 1797, the Spanish fleet was defeated at Cape St. Vincent by the English under Jervis and Nelson, while a strong Dutch fleet met a similar fate at Camperdown, October 11, 1797. Thus, England retained command of the sea and prevented invasion.

Napoleon and Directory

Meanwhile, Napoleon had placed the Directory under still greater obligations by sending them troops to forestall a new royalist plot. Fearing his rising importance and immense popularity with the army and the people, the Directory sought to keep him from interfering in politics by engaging him in new foreign enterprises. Napoleon himself, though possessing political ambitions, believed the time not yet arrived for realizing them; "the pear was not yet ripe." He was desirous of further opportunities for securing military renown. He was therefore gratified when the Directory entrusted him with the command of the Army of England, so-called because of the plan to invade the British Isles.

Egyptian expedition

Realizing after investigation that a direct attack upon that land was not then feasible, he thought, as did other Frenchmen, that England might be brought to terms by ruining its commerce. A heavy blow might be struck against English trade in the eastern Mediterranean by securing Malta and Egypt, and the latter might be used as a base for an expedition against India, England's source of wealth. The plan offered the further possibilities of dazzling the public with spectacular exploits in the East, while the Directory, left to its own devices, would have plenty of opportunity to discredit itself. Napoleon might then return and play the rôle of national savior.

Maintaining the utmost secrecy as to its destination, the fleet carrying Napoleon's army managed to evade Nelson's fleet, and, after taking Malta, landed safely in Egypt, but Nelson, coming up afterward, destroyed the French fleet at the battle of the Nile (Aboukir Bay), August 1, 1798, thus cutting off Napoleon's forces from retreat and reinforcements. Egypt, which at the time was a vassal state of the Turkish Empire, after a number of battles, the most notable of which was the battle of Pyramids (July 21, 1798), submitted to Napoleon's control. He then reorganized its administration, laid plans for developing the country, and attempted to allay Egyptian opposition by declaring himself a believer in Mohammed and attending in

Oriental costume the services in the great mosque of Cairo. He even founded a scientific institute where French scholars and artists who had accompanied the expedition studied the remains of Ancient Egyptian civilization as well as existing natural phenomena. The Rosetta stone was discovered, making possible the deciphering of hieroglyphics. Bonaparte likewise wrote to Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, to encourage him in his revolt against the English East India Company, and ordered several ships to be constructed on the Red Sea to open communications with him.

Campaign in Syria

Learning that two Turkish armies were on the way to drive him from Egypt, Napoleon decided to forestall one of them by invading Syria and possibly later to advance upon Constantinople. Although he defeated some of the Turkish forces, he failed after a siege of two months to take Acre; his supplies of ammunition giving out, and many of his troops dying of the plague, he was obliged to beat a hasty retreat to Egypt, where he succeeded in defeating at Aboukir the second Turkish army, which had just been transported there by sea. Then, having learned that the French armies in Europe were suffering reverses, Napoleon decided to seize the opportunity to play the rôle of deliverer. Unable to take his army with him, he left it and managed with some of his officers to elude the British warships and reach France.

Directory's foreign policy

Meanwhile, both the Directory's foreign and domestic policies were adding to its discredit and leading toward its downfall. The cessation of Bonaparte's European conquests stopped the large indemnities which for two years had assisted the Directory in maintaining itself, and the annual deficit at once rose to $57,900,000. Money for the Egyptian expedition was lacking, and ways had to be discovered for either maintaining the French European armies, or paying them off. Further heavy demands were therefore made upon the Cisalpine and the Batavian Republics. Funds particularly for the Egyptian expedition were secured by driving the Pope from Rome, that "old Catholic Idol," as the Directory called him, and by the erection there of the Roman Republic, and by taking advantage of a political quarrel in Switzerland to create from the Swiss cantons the Helvetic Republic. Before the year was ended, Naples, which, fearing for its existence, and relying upon the aid of the European powers, had started an offensive against the French forces in Rome, had been transformed into the Parthanopian Republic. After an unsuccessful rising, Piedmont came directly under France. In every case large sums of money had been collected by the French armies, and the further object of the Directory's policy of surrounding the French territories with a series of allied republics had been attained.

Second Coalition

Alarmed by these continued encroachments upon European territories, and at the same time encouraged by the Directory's weak position at home and Napoleon's absence with many of the best French troops, the European powers decided to renew their efforts to

defeat the French Republic. A second coalition was formed, and France was soon at war with England, Austria, Russia, part of Germany, Naples, Sardinia, Turkey, and the Barbary States.

French reverses

The French suffered defeats at the hands of the Russians and Austrians under General Suvaroff, which deprived them of all of Italy except Genoa. After defeating Jourdan in Germany the Archduke Charles threatened the Rhine. English and Russians were in Holland, and Russians forced their way into Switzerland, but due to dissension among the Allies and the brilliant strategy of the French generals, both these countries were saved for the French, and an invasion of France, which seemed imminent, was prevented.

Domestic difficulties

In the government of France the Directory was continuing to prove both inefficient and corrupt. Once more the Directors resorted to illegal measures, this time to suppress the radical democrats by them termed "Anarchists," who they feared would control the councils. Elections were nullified by the Directory and minority candidates declared elected. Upon this the radicals accused the government of corruption, and formed an alliance with the Catholics, whose worship the Directors were seeking to break up. This political combination succeeded in gaining a majority in the Councils, compelled the resignation of three of the Directors, and secured the election of Siéyès, reputed to be the greatest constitutionalist, who immediately took command of the Directory.

In the Councils the radicals revived the Mountain Party, and began to talk of a new Committee of Public Safety. Jacobin Clubs were opened, and Jacobin newspapers resumed publication. The Councils passed conscription laws, seized as hostages the relatives of aristocrats, and imposed heavy forced loans upon the wealthy. A second Reign of Terror appeared imminent, but the country this time refused to permit it. The conscripts revolted. As a result of the hostage laws the country was swept by uprisings. The forced loans resulted in general business stagnation and increased suffering for the masses.

In the midst of all this disorder, the conservatives once more appeared in strength, this time convinced that the government was a failure and that the constitution must be again changed. They longed for the appearance of some man who could restore order. Siéyès, who succeeded in closing the Jacobin Club and thus in breaking the strength of the radicals, believed himself equal to the task of furnishing the brains of the new undertaking, but realized that he needed a general to defeat the foreign enemies which still threatened, and to preserve domestic order. After failing to secure the tool he desired in General Joubert, who was defeated and killed at Novi, he turned, though with some hesitation, to Bonaparte, who had just at the opportune moment appeared upon the scene. Paris had gone wild with enthusiasm and joy upon news of his landing and of his recent victory at Aboukir over the Turks. Here was the invincible general who might now save France.

A plot was soon prepared between Siéyès, his friends, and Bonaparte, who had been placed in charge of the troops, which resulted in the Coup d'État of the 18 Brumaire, and the overthrow of the Directory government by clever strategy and the employment of military force. A provisional consular commission made up of Bonaparte, Siéyès and Ducos, and two legislative commissions representing the former councils took temporary charge of the government and proceeded to alter the Constitution of 1795. It soon became evident, however, that, though the form of the republican system was to be preserved for a while, France was now to have a dictator in the person of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Coup d'État of 18 Brumaire November 9, 1799

The Revolution had thus far succeeded in destroying the Old Régime with its inequalities in every phase of life. Socially and economically it had accomplished much. Politically it had not yet succeeded in giving France a permanent democracy, and had lamentably failed in replacing the old monarchy with a system of government which was capable of maintaining order and assuring stability. Politically the French people had yet to pass through various governmental changes, lasting through three-fourths of the nineteenth century, during which they experimented with three republics and three sorts of monarchy before securing a permanent republican form of government.

Summary of accomplishments of French Revolution

In the turmoil of the Revolution a new French nationalism had risen, based on popular participation in the activities of war and peace, and an ever-growing national self-consciousness and pride. From the Revolution also had risen the rivalries between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, produced by the popular distress amid which the first premature beginnings of Socialism had appeared, to be for the time suppressed. The bourgeoisie had captured the position of privilege.

Outside France, the Revolution, with its principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, however imperfectly they may have been realized, shook the fabric of the Old Régime and finally, together with the Industrial Revolution, brought about its downfall everywhere. It was to be the destiny of the Napoleonic armies both to carry forward the revolutionary gains, and to produce a reaction which during the years following Napoleon's overthrow was a detriment to progress.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

Special Works on the Later Phases of the Revolution

Besides the references given in the preceding chapter dealing with the Revolution in general, the following special works on the later Revolution will be found useful: *Histoire de France contemporaine*, vols. I and II (1920); A. Aulard, *Les Orateurs de la Convention* (1886); *La Société des Jacobins*, 6 vols. (1889–97); A. Mathiez, *Les Origines des Cultes révolutionnaires* (1904); Paul Pisani, *L'Église de Paris et la Révolution*, 4 vols. (1908–11); A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire 1793–1812*, 2 vols. (1893); A. Chuquet, *Les Guerres de la Révolution*, 11 vols. (1886–96); Charles de Ricault Hericault, *La révolution de thermidor* (1878); Ludovic Sciout, *Le*

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CHAPTER XXVI

NAPOLEON

The Consulate

So accustomed by this time were the people to *coups d'états* that they were not shocked by the employment of military force to bring to an end the discredited Directory government. While previous revolutionary changes had frequently inspired both distrust and fear, this one, as the Prussian ambassador remarked, "cheered the spirits of everyone and awakened the liveliest hopes," and if one eliminates the opinions of a few far-seeing Republicans his impression of the popular attitude was perfectly correct. The whole country was tired and disgusted with weak government, with "revolutionary horrors" and "the heroics of demagogues." The Directory had attempted to restore France to normality and had failed. Bonaparte had displayed such strength and ability throughout his career that it was believed that with him at the helm the Republic would be governed by a firm hand. France might now perhaps rest under the direction of a master-mind as it had been accustomed to do in the days of its past greatness, and at the same time the peasant would be protected against "the return of the Old Order" and the bourgeoisie against "terroristic democracy."

Popular confidence in Napoleon

During the forty-four days which elapsed before the new government of the Consulate was organized, while Sieyès, the philosopher, turned to framing a new constitution, Bonaparte, the practical man of affairs, who had shown his administrative ability in Italy and Egypt, sought to restore order and tranquillity to French domestic affairs. By appointing men of ability to office, no matter what their previous political affiliations had been, by giving permission to return to all exiles "who had been proscribed by legislative act without trial," by releasing those priests still imprisoned, by suppressing the detested Law of Hostages, by substituting a regular war-tax for the disastrous forced loan, by revision of the tax lists, and by insistence upon arrears being made up, Bonaparte gave immediate relief from many evils that had existed under the Directorate, and secured public confidence in the government and backing for it from the financiers and business men.

Napoleon's first administrative measures

It was Bonaparte who finally shaped the new Constitution upon which Sieyès had been working, changing the framework of the new government in such a manner as to center authority in the executive. When it came to choosing its personnel, although Sieyès had intended to reserve the chief place for himself and shelve Bonaparte in a position of honorable and lucrative inactivity, it was he himself who suffered this fate.

Forming of Constitution of Consulate

Suffrage and government lists

The Constitution as finally adopted provided for almost universal manhood suffrage, but was so arranged that the people did not elect their representatives, but merely voted for lists of candidates. The voters in each communal district were to choose a tenth of their number as a communal list, whose members should be eligible to appointment to communal offices. Those who were on this list chose a tenth of their number as a departmental list from which were to be appointed the departmental officials. Those on the departmental list selected a tenth of their number to form a national list who should be eligible as "candidates for the legislative body, and for central administrative offices up to that of minister." Since the various lists were to be drawn up permanently and included so many persons, the result was to nullify completely the effect of popular suffrage and thus exclude the people from political life.

Legislature

There were four central assemblies concerned with making the laws, the Senate, the Council of State, the Tribunate, and the Legislative Body. Composed of life members over forty years of age, the Senate was entrusted with choosing the legislators, tribunes, consuls, judges of appeal, and commissioners of accounts from the National List. It had the duty of accepting or rejecting as unconstitutional the measures sent to it for confirmation by the government or the Tribunate. The Legislative Bodies had no power of initiating legislation, as it was the Executive alone which proposed the laws. They were drafted by the Council of State, and then submitted to the Tribunate, which discussed, but could not amend them. The Legislative Body listened to the three tribunes and the three councillors of state, who came before it as delegates from their respective bodies to propose the law, and then voted by secret ballot without further discussion, for or against the proposed law. Since the power of legislation was divided between two bodies, and since these did not rest immediately on popular suffrage and had no initiative, the real power of government lay with the Executive, which was strongly organized with all real authority centered in one man.

Executive power

The executive power was entrusted to three Consuls who were appointed by the Senate for ten years and were eligible for renomination. To get the government started the first three Consuls, Bonaparte, First Consul, Cambacérés, Second Consul, and Le Brun, Third Consul, were chosen by the legislative commissions which took part in drawing up the Constitution. To the First Consul alone had been entrusted the power to promulgate the laws. He was to appoint and dismiss the members of the Council of State, the ministers, ambassadors, the officers of the army and navy, and the local administrators. He was to appoint all the judges except the justices of the peace, but did not possess the right to recall them. The Second and Third Consuls had only advisory powers. The Consuls were not made responsible to any other power. There was no actual "legal barrier" to Napoleon's will.

Napoleon took good care both that his ministers should be efficient and that they should not become too powerful. He did not convene them to deliberate together, but dealt with each minister separately. To lessen the importance of the principal ministers, their functions were divided between two officials. Thus, for example, in addition to the Ministry of War there was created a Ministry of Military Affairs. To limit still further the ministry's power, independent boards under the direction of councillors of state were created within their departments. *Ministry*

The system of local government was so arranged as to destroy local spirit and subordinate everything to the central power. The cantonal municipalities, which had combined many of the smaller communes into units large enough to develop a spirit of local government, were replaced by the thirty-six thousand to forty thousand communes into which France had been divided by the First Constitution. Prefects in the departments, sub-prefects in the districts, and mayors in the communes, all appointed by the central government, had charge of local affairs. Although there were elected councils, these had merely advisory functions. *Local government*

Realizing that above everything else the French people desired peace, and that failure to secure it would arouse the hostility of rival factions and weaken if not overthrow the new government, Napoleon ostentatiously made proposals to England and Austria for terminating hostilities. These, as he expected, did not meet with success, and he prepared once more to bring about a general peace by force of arms. Deceiving the Austrians as to his intentions, Napoleon accomplished a most spectacular feat by marching his troops over the Alpine passes to take them in the rear and sever their line of communication. His Italian successes, particularly the victory at Marengo, together with Moreau's success at Hohenlinden in southern Germany, forced Austria to conclude the Peace of Lunéville (February 9, 1801) in which the main features of the Treaty of Campo-Formio were embodied with the added provisions that the Emperor recognize the Helvetic and Batavian republics, and consent without further consultation with the Imperial Diet to the concession of the land on the left bank of the Rhine to France. *French victories and Peace of Lunéville*

The annexation of this German territory by France, and the compensations allotted from ecclesiastical territories in southern and western Germany to recompense the German princes for their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine resulted in a veritable revolution in German affairs. The Empire lost one hundred and fifty thousand square miles of territory inhabited by three million, five hundred thousand people, in all, about a seventh of its whole population and territory. The French annexations were organized into four new departments. *Reorganization of German territories*

Since the Germans found it impossible to agree among themselves in regard to the redistribution of German territories to compensate those who had lost on the left bank of the Rhine, much to Napoleon's *Advantages to French policy*

satisfaction, the matter was arbitrated by France. Soon crowds of dispossessed rulers or their agents were rushing to Paris. In order to gain concessions, they showered bribes upon the French officials, particularly Talleyrand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who in this manner heaped together a huge fortune. Napoleon himself welcomed the opportunity to increase, by the decisions rendered, the importance of the southern German states—Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Hesse-Cassel—thus forming a "Third Germany" as an offset to Austria and Prussia. As a price for securing liberal concessions each of these states was induced to make an alliance with France. Prussia obtained the greatest gains of all, but since they were in western and central Germany she was removed from proximity to the French territory along the Rhine. Through the exchange of territory, Austrian interests were confined more than ever to eastern Germany.

Influence toward unification of Germany

By the consolidation of the larger German territories the way was prepared for the later unification of Germany. One hundred and twelve separate states in southern and western Germany, besides ninety-seven others on the left bank of the Rhine, were extinguished. The Reformation had resulted in the enlargement of the northern German states by the absorption of ecclesiastical domains, but had left southern Germany largely Catholic, and covered with a network of ecclesiastical territories. Now, all of these except one bishopric were swept away, mostly for the benefit, as has been seen, of the larger southern states. Only six out of the fifty and more free cities remained after the distribution, and many knights and barons lost all their territories by the cessions to France, and failed to secure recompense.

Effect upon government of Holy Roman Empire

All this wrought radical changes in the government of the Holy Roman Empire. In the Diet the delegates from the free cities and ecclesiastical domains had practically disappeared. By the suppression of two ecclesiastical electors—Treves and Cologne, and the addition of four lay-electors, a Protestant majority was created, which made very doubtful the election of future Hapsburg Emperors. A Protestant majority among the princes of the Diet likewise resulted. The alliance between the Empire and the Papacy was thus completely broken, and upon the destruction of German ecclesiastical states the higher clergy lost their national interests so characteristic at the time of the Reformation, and became more devoted than ever to the Papacy.

Changes in Italy following Peace of Lunéville

In Italy, the Cisalpine Republic was renamed the Italian Republic and placed under a newly reorganized government headed by Napoleon as President. The Ligurian Republic, whose government was likewise reorganized, became the Republic of Genoa. Piedmont was divided into six departments and in 1802 annexed to France. Although the republics of northern Italy were restored in altered form, a new Pope, Pius VII, was left undisturbed in his possession of Rome, and the King of Naples was allowed to hold his territories. Napoleon's masterful hand was likewise felt in the changes of government in the

Helvetic Republic, which became the Swiss Confederation, and in the Batavian Republic.

League of Armed Neutrality

Meanwhile, England had been hampered in her struggle with France by the League of Armed Neutrality of the North, which Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia had organized to resist her restrictions upon neutral commerce. The points in dispute were finally compromised after the British fleet had bombarded Copenhagen and destroyed the Danish fleet. England succeeded in taking Malta and the French army in Egypt, thus recovering her position in the Mediterranean.

Peace of Amiens

Now that her allies had made peace with the enemy[1] England also longed to end the protracted struggle. It seemed impossible for her to overcome French military power, or for France to deal with the British navy, which, in addition to winning the battle of the Nile, had defeated the Spanish, Dutch, and Danish fleets. The British desire for peace was increased by the knowledge that the national debt had mounted to $2,478,600,000, which necessitated income taxes of ten per cent on all incomes over $972, and although French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies had been acquired, commerce had suffered heavily, no less than three thousand ships having been lost to French privateers, to say nothing of the disturbance to business resulting from the Continental war and the ill-will of neutrals. England insisted on no concessions regarding the Continent. It promised to hand back the French colonies and restore Egypt to the Turks and Malta to the Knights of St. John.

Napoleon as founder of modern France

Of even greater consequence to France than the military successes of its First Consul, which brought it at least temporary peace with its neighbors, were the institutional reforms of the years 1801–1804, which have ever since that day molded French life and institutions. The student who lives outside France is disposed to dwell upon Napoleon's great exploits as a general and the influence of his campaigns upon Europe; the Frenchman, while recognizing all this, regards him as among the founders of modern France. It was during the Consulate that such accomplishments of incalculable influence upon later French history as the Concordat of 1801, the establishment of religious peace, the Napoleonic Law Codes, the national system of education, and the National Bank with its attendant financial system were realized.

Reasons for Napoleon's settlement with Roman Catholic Church

It was essential for the restoration of a united and peaceful France that the religious problem should be settled. At the time of the establishment of the Consulate there were several religious parties: a persecuted, refractory clergy, faithful to the old Catholic régime, and followed by a majority of the peasantry and many townsmen; a discredited constitutional clergy, seeking to regain its lost position; and the "Theophilanthropic Sect," which combined the Worship of the Supreme Being with reverence of civic virtue and was supported

[1] Russia had dropped out of the war because of disputes with Austria and England.

by the Directory, though it was fast losing popular favor. The narrow intolerance of many of the officials added to the confusion created by these divisions. The refractory clergy were a danger to the state since they recognized the control of the Pope; the émigré bishops were favorable to the old monarchy and hostile to the Republic. Napoleon realized that the hold which the Bourbons thus continued to exercise upon the country had to be broken if governmental stability were to be restored. He recognized that a Church which enjoyed an independent position was a source of weakness in the system of control he wished to establish. He desired, as in the case of all other French institutions, to subordinate the Church to the central government and make use of it for political ends. Since the Constitutional Church established by the National Assembly was based upon the electoral system, it was difficult to control, and inconsistent with governmental institutions whose officials were no longer elected, but appointed by the central government. Napoleon recognized the value for his political ambitions of an alliance with the papacy, and he also wished to bring about a final pacification of La Vendée.

Concordat of 1801

Following as one of the consequences of Napoleon's victory at Marengo was an understanding with the Papacy, resulting in the Concordat of 1801. This recognized Roman Catholicism as the religion of the great majority of the French people and particularly that of the Consuls, and provided for its free public exercise. The Pope agreed to a rearrangement of French dioceses. New bishops appointed by the government and confirmed by the Pope were to replace the existing non-juring and constitutional bishops, who were required to resign. The clergy were to be appointed by the bishops. The Pope accepted the loss of the Church property secularized during the Revolution, and the government engaged to pay the clergy's salaries. The government was given police jurisdiction over the Church in so far as was "necessary for public tranquillity." This provision was employed by Napoleon to subject the Church to close control by the state, which was further made possible by the government's appointment of its principal officials. Under this arrangement, the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state were regulated until the Concordat was finally abrogated by the Separation Act of 1905. While the measure was in some respects reactionary, by its acceptance of the secularization of Church property and its refusal to recognize the Roman Catholic as the sole and only Church of France it preserved revolutionary gains.[1]

Return to old religion

Although many republicans, even among Napoleon's associates in the Council of State and in the Legislative Bodies, opposed the Concordat as a reactionary move which would lead to the restoration of the monarchy and destroy the accomplishment of the later Revolution in freeing the state and its institutions from ecclesiastical

[1] The civil and religious rights of Calvinists, Lutherans, and Jews were likewise recognized by the state.

influence, it was welcomed by the mass of the people. The return to the old religion was emphasized by the appearance of such religious associations as the "Priests of the Mission," the "Brothers of the Christian Schools," the "Nursing Sisters" and the "Sisters of Charity," and by the government's prohibition, upon the papal envoy's protest, of Theophilanthropist services in churches. The religious tendency of the time was still further evidenced by the immense popularity of Chateaubriand's *Genius of Christianity*, which endeavored to show that Christianity was not "the enemy of literature, art and liberty" but was the most "poetic, the most human, the most favorable to liberty, to the arts, and to letters of all the religions that have ever existed."

Civil Code

The Revolutionary governments had all intended to draw up a code of laws which, while embodying the new principles resulting from the Revolution, should adjust them to those of Old France which had survived. Two of them, the Convention and the Directory, had set committees to drafting codes, but these had all proved unsatisfactory and could be given so little attention by the government of the time that it was left for Napoleon to push through the great work. The Civil Code was first drawn up by a commission of four jurists, and before submission to the Legislative Bodies had been reviewed by the courts, and thoroughly discussed clause by clause in the Council of State. Napoleon presided at nearly half the sittings devoted to this work, many of them eight or nine hours in duration. In nothing was his ability as a statesman more clearly displayed. Not himself a jurist, and with only limited knowledge of the law, he imparted to the debates "hard-headed common-sense and imaginative vision." He did not think in "legal rules but in concrete cases, keeping always in sight the gain and loss to the whole state." So keen was his ability for seeing how principles would apply to the individual's life or to political affairs that he was invariably able to make valuable contributions to the discussion.[1] Thus, the Code in its final form, justly bears the title of Code Napoleon, since it was welded and stamped by his genius.

Here, as elsewhere in the institutions he influenced, may be discovered consideration for the maintenance of the government's authority. Recognizing the family as vital to the welfare of the state, the Civil Code substituted for the republican concept of the liberty and equality of its individual members the idea of strict paternal control. Thus, French character was trained in a submissiveness which lent itself to willing obedience to the government's wishes.

The Code, which preserved in practical form the revolutionary changes tempered by past experience not only is at the base of modern French legal institutions; but it was adopted by or influenced the countries conquered by Napoleon's armies. Its effects have been felt in the codification of law all over the world, in Belgium, Holland,

[1] H. A. L. Fisher, in *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 151, 152.

Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Spain, Roumania, Latin America, Canada, Louisiana, The Dutch East Indies, and Japan. Codes of civil procedure, of criminal procedure, of criminal law, and of commerce were begun, although they were not completed until the days of the Empire; they also have proved of great value and wide influence.

National education

The Revolution had removed the obstacles in the way of a comprehensive system of education, and the Convention had drawn up elaborate plans laying down the principles for such a system, but it had been prevented by strife and lack of money from successfully carrying them out. The elementary and secondary schools which were established were undermanned, insufficiently supported, and little attended. It is said that in 1799 there were less than one thousand pupils in the elementary schools of Paris, and in the rural districts conditions were as bad. While the principal work of organizing educational institutions was not accomplished until the time of the Empire, a statute was passed in 1802, for the establishment of primary schools, under the supervision of the sub-prefect, in every country parish and for secondary schools under the supervision of the prefects, in the capitals of the departments. Special government schools for secondary education, called lycées, were created. Here prominence was given to exact and applied sciences; a military atmosphere was created by careful attention to military drill and by marking the beginning and ending of classes with the roll of drums. While the lycées grew with considerable rapidity, the growth of the other schools was very slow.

Legion of Honor

By sweeping away inequalities and social privileges derived from birth, the Revolution had opened the way for the recognition of talent. Napoleon constantly rewarded ability, promoting men from the most ordinary walks of life to the highest positions in his government and army. He had the true statesman's desire to call forth and utilize talent wherever it might be found. It was in consonance with this desire that he created as a special distinction for civilians and soldiers who distinguished themselves the Legion of Honor, which still exists. He is said to have remarked that "men are led by toys . . . . the French are not at all changed by ten years of revolution; they are what the Gauls were, fierce and fickle. They have one feeling—honor. We must nourish that feeling; they must have distinctions."

Restoration of financial stability

Napoleon had succeeded in restoring public credit by a number of skilful measures. Regular tax rates instead of those which had varied capriciously from year to year were instituted. A careful survey of the nation's real estate was made to ascertain what taxes might be imposed. Expenses were reduced as far as possible and carefully regulated. The proceeds from the disposal of national lands still unsold, instead of being squandered as previously, were regularly set aside in definitely assigned proportions for the redemption of the state bonds, for public instruction, and for the support of disabled soldiers.

Government annuities, salaries, and pensions which had long been unpaid were now promptly met in coin.

Bank of France

To act as the government's financial agency, and to promote prosperity, the Bank of France was organized with a capital of $5,790,000, subscribed in part by high officials, including Napoleon himself. It was soon granted the exclusive privilege of issuing bank-notes. Its capital, in return, was put at the disposal of the Treasury whenever it was needed. It proved to be both a very useful and highly successful institution, and still remains at the head of the French financial system.

Napoleon as administrator

All these important developments bear evidence of Napoleon's great ability as an administrator. His mind was always keen and alert. In his council meetings "it was always he who bore the burden of the talk and contention." "His confidence in his own powers" was boundless. At times, when his councillors' opinions differed from his, tapping his head he would exclaim: "This good instrument is more useful to me than the advice of men who are accounted well-trained and experienced." He possessed great intuition, an "exact and capacious memory" even for details, and great "lucidity of mind." He was indefatigable, sometimes working eighteen hours a day, and seldom spending longer than ten or twelve minutes at a meal, unless pleased by the conversation of those who sat at the table. "In action he sped straight to his end." "He was a sure judge of men." He was an exacting taskmaster, acquainted with all the mechanism of administration and unequalled in giving clear and forceful directions. So exact was his memory for detail that it was seldom that he overlooked slovenly work and he not only knew how to inspire and encourage, but also how to frighten and coerce.[1]

Colonial ventures

In his designs for the foundation of a colonial empire, Napoleon's efforts proved unsuccessful. He was inspired in his colonial policy by a desire to strike a blow at the English commercial and colonial empire. Moreover, the stimulation which, if the ventures succeeded, would be given to French commercial and shipping interests would complete the measures which he had taken to restore economic prosperity, and would help to call forth the nation's best energies to a wider existence than natural boundaries afforded.[2]

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 391; H. A. L. Fisher, *Napoleon*, 87–89.

[2] It is uncertain how far Napoleon believed in the success of these ventures. It is also uncertain how far he may have been inspired by other motives, such as the recovery of French prestige as a great colonial power, lost during the reign of Louis XV. Perhaps he had listened to Talleyrand's arguments that overseas ventures would serve as an antidote for "the general restlessness of mind" and "need of movement" resulting from the Revolution. The nation might thus be purged of the "restless spirits of the towns," agreeable occupation for the soldiery be discovered, and careers opened for army officers who might prove to be dangerous rivals. Again, Napoleon's character itself craved vast undertakings, while the failure of the Egyptian enterprise to yield permanent results may very well have piqued his vanity and have driven him to fresh exploits overseas. See Rose: *Life of Napoleon I*, 355–358, for an interesting discussion of Napoleon's motives.

Napoleon's schemes embraced both a western and an eastern colonial empire. In the west, using Santo Domingo, the sugar colony, as a center, it was planned to extend the French Empire northward through Louisiana, which had been acquired from Spain in 1801, to the Canadian border; southward it was to reach through French Guiana into South America. Before Napoleon's plans, which included the reëstablishment of slavery (which had been abolished by the Revolution), could be carried out, a negro rising had to be suppressed in Guadeloupe, and Santo Domingo had to be taken from the control of an able negro leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had organized a considerable colored force and sought to secure the independence of the island under French protection. Napoleon dispatched a large fleet and army under the command of his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, but because of a terrible outbreak of yellow fever among the troops, and the stubborn resistance of the natives, the expedition, though further reinforced, ended in failure. Because of this disaster, and because of the possibility of a renewal of war with England, Napoleon abandoned his plans for a western empire and sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States for eleven million, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.[1]

In the East, General Decaen was dispatched to take possession of the French trading posts in India, which England had promised to restore, and in case war was renewed, as Napoleon believed it would be, he was to attempt to seize the English, Portuguese, and Dutch Indian possessions. Under pretense of a scientific expedition, ships were likewise sent to Australia, apparently with the intention of seizing South and Central Australia and Van Dieman's Land. Meanwhile, General Brune was sent as ambassador to Constantinople to recover if possible the favored position which France had enjoyed for two hundred years with the Turks. He was also to gain protection over the Christians in Syria and Armenia, and secretly to instigate the Balkan peoples against the Turks. Colonel Sébastiani was sent to Egypt and Syria to examine the possibilities of the French securing them. It appears also that French ambitions extended to the Barbary States of northern Africa.

The Empire

Rise of Napoleon to Emperorship

While Napoleon had been actively engaged in constructing French institutions, and in securing stable and prosperous conditions, he had constantly had in mind the increase of his own personal power. In 1802, playing upon his great services to the country, he had secured by popular vote the appointment as Consul for life, with the right of designating his successor. At the same time, he gained absolute control of the Senate by obtaining the right to nominate the majority of its members, while by the creation of a privy council he lessened the

[1] Rose, however, believes that Napoleon abandoned Louisiana to concentrate on schemes for expansion in the Orient.

chances of opposition in his Council of State. His powers over local administration were further increased by the right to appoint the justices of the peace, who had formerly been elected. At length, the danger from the renewal of war with England, and a number of plots against his life, culminating in the Cadoudal Plot for his abduction, which had its origin among the royalist refugees in England, and was backed by British gold, aroused such apprehension that it furnished the occasion for the realization of Napoleon's fondest desire. He was proclaimed Emperor of the French on May 18, 1804, by the Tribunate and the Senate, and this act was confirmed by a plebiscite of three million, five hundred and seventy-two thousand, three hundred and twenty-nine to two thousand, five hundred and sixty-nine votes.[1] Further confirmation was given by the Pope, who was induced to attend the coronation ceremonies in Paris, and consecrate the new Emperor.

Import of Imperial title

Although at first it appeared that Napoleon had assumed the title of Emperor rather than King to avoid recalling to French minds memories of the Bourbons, it soon became apparent that its adoption had much wider significance. When the Pope was brought to Paris to attend the elaborate coronation ceremonies at Notre Dame, and to consecrate Napoleon in his new powers, when somewhat later Napoleon journeyed to Aix-la-Chapelle, Charlemagne's old capital, to hold court and receive the Emperor Francis II's recognition of the new French Empire, and when the next year he transformed the Italian Republic into the Italian Kingdom and at Milan placed on his own head "the iron Crown of the Lombards" as King of Italy, Europeans began to fear that his aspirations would not be limited by anything short of a revival of an imperial domination which encompassed the European world. Such indeed was his aspiration, for in the year of his coronation, he remarked to a circle of his intimates: "Europe cannot be at rest except under the rule of a single head who will have Kings for his officers, who will distribute his kingdoms to lieutenants, making of one King of Italy, of a second King of Bavaria, of a third Landamman of Switzerland, of a fourth Stadtholder of Holland, each having his position in the Imperial household with title of Chief Cup-Bearer, Grand Master of the Pantry, Grand Master of the Horse, etc." With such ambitions in mind, it was clear that the Empire would not mean peace for France, although that was what Frenchmen ardently desired. Even from the moment when the last wars had been terminated, Napoleon had believed future wars inevitable, remarking: "the French government of to-day bears no

[1] Popular consent was given as a result of both pressure and self-interest. Office-holders, businessmen, and the owners of the lands which had been confiscated from the Church and the nobility wished to maintain existing conditions, and, alarmed at the prospect of Napoleon's removal through assassination or abduction, thought the securing of a Napoleonic dynasty would prevent the return on the one hand of the Bourbons with the old conditions they stood for and on the other of revolutionary anarchy.

resemblance to anything which surrounds it. Hated by its neighbors, compelled to hold in restraint within its domain sundry classes of evil-disposed persons, in order to preserve an imposing appearance in the face of so many enemies it stands in need of brilliant deeds and consequently of war."

Rupture of Peace of Amiens

It became more and more apparent that the Peace of Amiens between France and England could only be temporary. The retention of French troops in Holland, renewed French intervention in Switzerland, and the annexation of Piedmont and the Isle of Elba showed Napoleon's intention increasingly to dominate the Continent. Not only was the balance of power destroyed, but since Napoleon's refusal to come to a trade agreement with England, English goods were more rigidly excluded from France itself and from the lands under French control. Each extension of French influence meant another market withdrawn from English trade. Napoleon's aggressive colonial policy proved a still further menace to English business, and seemed to threaten a revival of the French colonial and commercial rivalry which had characterized the earlier eighteenth century, and had only been defeated after a tremendous struggle between the two nations. On his part, Napoleon was angered at the attacks of English newspapers, and complained that French princes, rebel bishops, and other émigrés plotting against his government were sheltered in England. The rupture was finally brought about by England's refusal to return Malta to the Knights of St. John, as it had agreed to do, and by Colonel Sébastiani's mission to Egypt. England believed herself justified in retaining Malta as compensation for Napoleon's recent continental aggressions, and, since her route to India around Africa was endangered as long as Napoleon kept control of Holland, to which the British government had just returned the Cape of Good Hope, she wished to retain Malta to protect the Mediterranean route to the East. Napoleon on his part wished to control the eastern Mediterranean himself and was insistent on the return of Malta to the Knights of St. John. His plans soon became evident upon his publication in the *Moniteur*, the government's official organ, of Colonel Sébastiani's report on the possibilities of a French reconquest of Egypt and Syria.

Proposed invasion of England

No sooner had hostilities been resumed with England than Napoleon occupied Hanover, a possession of the English Kings, and extended as far as possible his exclusion of English commerce from the European coasts. He also commenced to gather a large and carefully-trained army with its headquarters at Boulogne for an invasion of England, and to have hundreds of flat boats for their transportation constructed in the French ports. Large numbers of warships were prepared in French and Spanish ports, and when they were ready were ordered to proceed to a rendezvous in the West Indies with the idea that the British naval forces would rush to save the English colonies and shipping, leaving the British coasts insufficiently protected. The

French naval forces were then to return to European waters before the British, gain control of the Channel, and enable the French army to cross.[1] This plan failed of successful execution, and soon after the largest French and Spanish fleets had returned to Europe, they were almost completely destroyed at the battle of Trafalgar by an English fleet under Lord Nelson, who lost his life in the engagement. This battle secured for England from this time on control of the seas, rendering the island secure from invasion and enabling British commerce to survive the strain of Napoleonic trade restrictions. Moreover, while England was able not only to maintain but to extend her colonial empire, all further French colonial schemes were impracticable.

Ulm and Austerlitz

Even if Napoleon's fleets had succeeded in getting control of the Channel, events had meanwhile occurred which made it inadvisable to attempt an invasion of England. Incited by Napoleon's aggressive Continental policy and encouraged by British pledges of financial assistance, Russia, Austria, Sweden, and Naples joined with England in forming the Third Coalition against him. This time Napoleon decided to make Germany, instead of Italy, his main field of operations. He directed the splendidly-equipped army which the contemplated invasion of England had enabled him to gather, to meet the Austrian army advancing through southern Germany; he surrounded and almost completely captured it at Ulm. He was then enabled to occupy Vienna. On December 2, 1805, he met at Austerlitz the Russians who had recently arrived in Austrian territory, and so routed them that they hastily retreated and refrained from further engagements. Austerlitz was "one of the four battles eminently decisive upon the career of Napoleon as a monarch. Marengo had secured to him his control over France, Austerlitz established his ascendency in Europe."[2]

Treaty of Pressburg

Austria for the third time was at Napoleon's mercy, and by the Treaty of Pressburg (December 26, 1805), he inflicted more crushing terms upon her than he had at either Campo-Formio or Lunéville. Austria was obliged to return Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, and Cattaro, which it had received from Napoleon at Campo-Formio, and these territories were annexed to the Kingdom of Italy. It was also required to assent to all the changes Napoleon had made in Italy, and to acknowledge the Electors of Bavaria and Württemberg as Kings, while to them as well as to Baden it was compelled to surrender the territories still remaining to it in southern Germany. Thus Austria was forced from both Germany and Italy. It had to cede about twenty-three thousand square miles of territory and more than two and a half million subjects and pay an immense war indemnity to France.

The day following the signing of the Treaty of Pressburg, Napoleon announced the dethronement of the Bourbon dynasty in Naples.

[1] Some authorities believe Napoleon never seriously intended to invade England at this time, but used the projected enterprise to deceive his Continental enemies, and enable him to gather a large army for European campaigns.

[2] Fournier, *Napoleon the First*, 325.

Napoleon's treatment of Naples and Papacy

Naples was occupied by French troops, and Napoleon's brother Joseph was made its King. All of Italy was now closely controlled by Napoleon except Rome and the Papal States. Upon the Pope evidencing some independence of action, Napoleon wrote to him on February 13, 1806, in the following manner: "All Italy is to be subject to my law. I shall in no wise interfere with the independence of the Papal See, but upon condition that your Holiness shall show toward myself in things temporal the same respect which I observe toward your Holiness in things spiritual. . . Your Holiness is sovereign of Rome, but I am its Emperor." He arrogantly instructed his envoy to Rome to say to the Pope that Napoleon was "Charlemagne, the Sword of the Church" and he need "trouble himself no further with political affairs since his protection had been assumed by Napoleon against the whole world." The Pope was ordered to banish from his territories all English, Russians, Swedes, and Sardinians and close the port of Rome to their ships.

Formation of Kingdom of Holland and Confederation of Rhine

Napoleon was active in establishing a closer control over Holland and Germany. Holland was made a Kingdom with Napoleon's brother Louis as King. After having at Pressburg enlarged the principal southern German states with annexations of Austrian territory, Napoleon arranged to exercise control over them. In the first place, he made marriages between his relatives and the families of their sovereigns. Eugene, his stepson, married Princess Augusta of Bavaria; his wife's niece, Stephanie, married the Prince of Baden; and his brother Jerome married Katherine, the daughter of the King of Württemberg. In the second place he resorted to the method long contemplated by French statesmen but never executed, of forming the southern and central German states into a league independent of Prussia and Austria, but subject to the control of France. The Holy Roman Empire was dissolved and the Confederation of the Rhine was formed of fifteen German states. The French Emperor was to be Protector of the Confederation. He determined the admission of new members, appointed the Prince Primate who presided over its council, and had direction of the equipment of the Confederation's troops. Each prince must furnish a specified quota of soldiers who were to be completely under Napoleon's control and to be used in his wars. To make sure that the Confederation thus imposed by France should be accepted, a large French army was kept in Germany until all had been arranged.

Prussia and Napoleon

It was not long before Napoleon's sway was extended to northern Germany. It had been arranged by the Peace of Basle, 1795, that northern Germany should be neutralized under Prussian protection. For the next ten years, while the other powers had been at war with France, Prussia had remained at peace. In so doing she was influenced partly by traditional enmity for Austria, partly by friction between Prussia and England over English treatment of neutral ships, partly by suspicion of Russian designs upon her Polish territories, and perhaps most of all by her profitable annexations of German territory.

A war party, however, had arisen in Prussia as a result of various aggressive acts on Napoleon's part, such as the seizure of Hanover in 1803 contrary to the agreement of Basle, the abduction from Hamburg of Rumbold, a British agent, and the execution of the Duke d'Enghien.[1]

To keep Prussia from joining the Third Coalition Napoleon offered to present it with Hanover. Frederick William III, irresolute and covetous, hesitated as to what course to pursue, but upon learning that French troops were violating the neutrality of Prussian territories, he ordered the mobilization of his army, had an interview with the Czar Alexander, and sent an envoy, Haugwitz, with an ultimatum to Napoleon. Haugwitz delayed so long that before the ultimatum had been delivered the French had won the great battle of Austerlitz. Fearing that under these circumstances, war with France would be disastrous, Haugwitz agreed to take Hanover and remain at peace. Upon the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, and upon learning of disquieting rumors as to French intentions regarding its territory, Prussia's anxiety was once more aroused. It was at length plunged into war by Napoleon's offer to restore Hanover to England in exchange for Sicily, and by the execution of a German publisher for printing a book censuring the French régime in Germany.

Defeat of Prussia

Prussia had delayed too long to secure the advantages of the assistance of the Third Coalition, and now acted before Russia, with whom it had formed an alliance, could come to its aid. Filled with over-confidence due to the past reputation of Prussian armies, it ventured, with the aid of a few Saxon troops, to meet Napoleon's armies alone, and was disastrously defeated at Jena and Auerstädt, and, two weeks later, Napoleon was in Berlin with Prussia at his mercy.

Napoleon and Russia

Having vanquished the Prussians, Napoleon had to meet the Russian armies which were advancing against him. Realizing that his own forces were weakened by constant fighting, he encouraged the Poles in their national aspirations, and thus recruited considerable Polish forces. To divide the Russian armies, he succeeded in getting the Sultan of Turkey to commence hostilities against Russia and, with the same end in view, he even had correspondence with the Shah of Persia. After a winter of hardships spent amidst the snow and mud of Poland, and after the failure at Eylau to defeat the enemy, he at length won a decisive victory at Friedland over the Czar's army and the small Prussian forces which were assisting it. This resulted in peace negotiations which ended in the famous Peace of Tilsit.

The conversations between the two Emperors began in private in an elaborate tent erected on a raft in the middle of the Niemen river,

[1] The Duke d'Enghien was a Bourbon prince who was living in exile in Baden. Napoleon, desiring to terrify the Royalists to prevent further plots against his life, had him kidnapped, and although there was no good evidence of his complicity, had him shot. This had much to do with arousing sentiment against Napoleon throughout Europe, but especially in Germany, whose sovereign rights had been violated by the abduction.

Peace of Tilsit (June, 1807)

which flowed between the two armies; conferences were continued for two weeks at Tilsit. The King of Prussia came to the conference, but was given scant consideration by Napoleon, who arranged everything with the Tzar Alexander. Not only was peace established between France and Russia, but a secret alliance engaging their sovereigns to support each other in case either was engaged in war, was entered into, and each guaranteed the other's territories as well as those of "the Napoleonic states included in the treaty." The Tzar agreed to mediate between Napoleon and England, and if the latter refused to agree to peace within a month, he promised not only to exclude English commerce from his own country, but to join with France in compelling Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal to do likewise. On his part, Napoleon was to mediate between Russia and Turkey, and in case the Sultan refused to make a satisfactory peace, he promised to join with Russia in taking away from the Sultan all his European territories except Constantinople and Rumelia.

Crushing terms imposed on Prussia

From this conference Prussia emerged with losses of one-third its territory and nearly half its population. It was forced to give up all land west of the Elbe River, to cede considerable territory east of that river to Saxony, and to surrender most of the territory it had acquired by the partitioning of Poland. It was arranged somewhat later that the French troops would evacuate Prussia when an indemnity, the amount of which was not yet determined, was paid. This made it possible for Napoleon to keep his troops there indefinitely by requiring a sum beyond the ability of Prussia to meet. Prussia, like Russia, was to close its ports to English commerce, and join with France against England if that nation did not conclude peace.

Grand-Duchy of Warsaw and Kingdom of Westphalia

From the Polish territory taken from Prussia, Napoleon erected the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw. Due largely to the objection of Russia, he did not erect a Kingdom containing the whole of the old Polish States, as many of the Poles had hoped he might do. Frederick Augustus of Saxony who, encouraged by Napoleon, now assumed the title of King of Saxony and joined the Confederation of the Rhine, became also Grand Duke of Warsaw. Napoleon kept control of the new Grand Duchy. He planned to make it a buffer state by maintaining a French resident at Warsaw, and by requiring a contingent of thirty thousand men. In western Germany he established the Kingdom of Westphalia, containing the Prussian territories west of the Elbe with part of Hesse and Brunswick, for his brother Jerome.

Dominance of Continent

In 1802, Napoleon had written to his envoy in London: "If England attempts to kindle war on the Continent, her course will compel the First Consul to conquer all Europe." If he could not subdue England by gaining control of the sea, and after Trafalgar this was very improbable, he could, he believed, attain the same object by commanding the land. After Tilsit, with Russia pledged to co-operation in enforcing the Continental Blockade against England, with Germany completely under his control and its coasts patrolled

by French garrisons, with the Netherlands and Italy under French administration, with Spain in alliance, Austria crushed, and Cattaro and the Ionian Isles in his grasp, there seemed few gaps to fill in the complete mastery of the Continent with which he intended to strangle England.

English commerce in Baltic Sea

However, plans formed at Tilsit for forcing Denmark to close the Sound connecting the Baltic with the North Sea were forestalled by the prompt action of England in sending an expeditionary force to surprise the Danes, although they were still a neutral power. Copenhagen was bombarded for three days and the Danish fleet was carried off. Denmark, outraged, allied with France, but since its fleet was gone it could not guard the passages into the Baltic against the British.

Sweden, Papal States, and Portugal in Napoleon's system

Elsewhere, Napoleon was more active in extending his system. The Tzar was encouraged to attack Sweden, which had remained faithful to England. The Papal States, the last part of Italy possessing any independence, and therefore a weak point in Napoleon's system, were occupied by French troops and annexed to the French Empire (April, 1808). Portugal was occupied (November, 1807) by French and Spanish troops, and its King was obliged to seek refuge in his colony of Brazil.

Seizure of Spain

Aware that although Spain had rendered him constant service it had been because of fear, and that if his campaign in Germany had proved unsuccessful, Spain would have joined his enemies, Napoleon determined to unseat the Bourbons and place one of his brothers on the Spanish throne. A quarrel which had arisen between Charles IV and his son Ferdinand, resulting as it did in the dethronement of the former, facilitated matters. While the Spanish troops were engaged in Portugal, a French army advanced to Madrid under pretense of protecting the country against an English attack and of upholding Ferdinand. Then father and son were induced to meet Napoleon just over the frontier at Bayonne to settle their contentions. Both were obliged to surrender their rights to the government into Napoleon's hands, who transferred his brother Joseph from the Kingdom of Naples to Spain to become its new sovereign, and proceeded at once to remodel its institutions.

Never-accomplished Napoleonic plans

Even with this finishing stroke, which for the moment placed the whole Iberian Peninsula under his control, Napoleon was not content; if other events had not intervened he was contemplating sending an expedition to recapture Egypt, and still another to proceed around Africa and attack India, while, according to plans evolved at Tilsit, French, Russian, and Austrian forces should proceed to the dismemberment of Turkey, and from Constantinople march through Asia to attack India by land, thus completing the ruin of British commerce and making Napoleon's a world power.

In order to enforce his policy of commercial blockade against England, Napoleon issued a series of decrees for the regulation of the

Berlin and Milan Decrees and Orders in Council

lands he controlled. The Berlin Decree (November, 1806) forbade "all commerce and correspondence" with the British Isles, and excluded from all ports controlled by the French, vessels which came directly from England or the English colonies, or which visited them. Such ships and their cargoes were subject to seizure and confiscation. Every English subject discovered in any country occupied by French troops was to be made prisoner of war, and "all warehouses, merchandise, or property" belonging to British citizens were to be regarded as lawful prizes.

England retaliated with the famous Orders in Council of January, 1807, which provided that no ship should be allowed to sail to a European port without first touching at a British port and making payments on its cargo equal to an import duty. Napoleon thereupon issued the Milan Decree (December, 1807) which stated that: "Every vessel, of whatever nationality, which shall submit to be searched by an English vessel, or shall consent to a voyage to England, or shall pay any tax whatever to the English government, is *ipso facto* declared denationalized, loses the protection afforded by its flag, and becomes English property." Such vessels were to be regarded as lawful prizes.

Trianon Tariff and Fontainebleau Decree

In 1810, Napoleon supplemented his decrees by the Trianon Tariff and the Fontainebleau Decree. Convinced that the English controlled the trade in all colonial products, and were profiting from smuggling them to the Continent, he imposed the Trianon Tariff of 50 per cent on all such wares no matter where they originated,[1] thus, while raising prices, he actually collected a large customs revenue. The Fontainebleau Decree ordered the destruction of British manufactures discovered within four days march of the frontiers.[2]

Reward of French generals

Napoleon was aware that the great Continental Empire he had created exceeded the wishes and ideals of the French nation, which only desired the establishment of permanent peace upon the basis of its natural frontiers of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. Both to prevent opposition and to secure support for his ambitious policies, the Emperor resorted to many devices which must now be described. His generals were attached to his interests by his sharing with them the spoils of victory. Many were created Marshals of the Empire. Ducal or princely titles endowed with rich estates in Italy, Germany, or Poland, and large grants of money made all of them proud and wealthy dignitaries. Officers of lesser consequence who distinguished themselves were endowed with annuities.

New nobility

To foster an imperial feeling in France and to gain their devotion, the French civil and ecclesiastical officials such as ministers, senators, councillors, archbishops, bishops, presidents of the law courts and of

[1] An exception was made in regard to the duty on cotton, which varied with the place of origin. In the period of the Trianon Tariff to the close of 1811, Napoleon's customs revenues rose to $12,338,700 in comparison to only $2,238,800 in 1809. E. F. Heckscher: *The Continental System*, 221.

[2] British goods which had been imported under French license were excepted. Some of the other British goods were not destroyed, but were sold at auction.

the electoral colleges, attorneys general, and even many mayors, were also rewarded with titles. Criticisms of this policy, so contrary to the principles of the Revolution, were met with the argument that the new nobility was not based on birth but on service, and that no political privilege was associated with it. Such a hierarchy and the splendid court it adorned hedged the Emperor from the people, and while it did, as he intended, add to his dignity, it deprived him of popular appeal.

Encouragement of domestic prosperity

To keep the people contented with his government, he sought constantly to promote general prosperity; to avoid imposing the heavy burdens of war upon France, he laid them instead as long as possible upon the Italian, German, and Dutch portions of his Empire. Part of the war contributions from conquered countries were formed into a special fund for relief in time of financial difficulties and to promote public works. Neither issues of paper money nor income taxes were resorted to, and, although disturbed by the war, trade was encouraged by the markets opened by French control of other countries. To prevent poverty and unemployment, state workshops were opened, roads connecting Paris with the other countries constructed, canals dug, harbors improved, marshes drained, and the royal palaces near Paris restored and enlarged. Manufacturers were encouraged and the new machinery introduced so far as was possible.

Napoleonic dictatorship

While seeking to allay criticism and gain support by these policies, Napoleon sought to make sure by still other measures that no opposition should arise. The Tribunate, where laws were discussed, was suppressed. The Legislative Body was filled with officials or ex-officials. Laws were now seldom passed by it. Instead imperial decrees were issued through the Council of State, or ordinances were sent to the Senate, whose members were appointed by the Emperor, for its consent. So abject was their attitude that they ceased to discuss any measure but thanked the Emperor instead for even consulting them. Judges, formerly irremovable, now were in his power. Imprisonment for political offenders, the old system of bastilles, and lettres de cachet were partially revived; severe punishments which had been discontinued were resumed.

Censorship of press

All freedom of thought was checked. Some authors, such as Madame de Staël, who had displayed independence of mind, were banished. Others were obliged to refrain from discussing political and social problems. Newspapers were reduced to four in Paris and one in each department, placed in 1810 under the prefect's control. All were strictly censored. Political articles were written for the *Moniteur*, the government organ, by officials of the Foreign Office. Other papers were obliged either to refrain from all political discussion, or to quote from the *Moniteur*. Theatres were limited in number and closely censored. Plays dealing with contemporary problems were forbidden.

Napoleon extended his control of the intellects of his subjects to the training of the children. In 1806, a corporation called the Imperial

Control of education

University was constituted to have charge of the whole educational system from the primary schools to those of higher learning. At the head of the university was a grand master, appointed by the Emperor, assisted by a University Council of thirty members. The Council drew up regulations for the schools, enforced discipline, and designated textbooks and methods of instruction. Thus the education of France was strictly centralized, and no individual initiative left to the teacher. All was done with a purpose which was soon evident. A catechism to provide "the political creed" of the rising generation was constructed and was required to be taught throughout the whole system. In it the children were taught that to the Emperor they owed "love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, tributes decreed for the defense of the Empire and of his throne," and "that fervent prayers for his safety and for the prosperity of the state, both spiritual and material" were due him. They were "under obligations to perform all of these duties toward him" because God had crowned him, establishing him as their sovereign, "the instrument of His power, and giving him His own likeness upon earth." If they did not perform their obligation to the Emperor "they would sin against the ordinances of God himself, and draw down upon themselves eternal damnation." Since Napoleon, however, did little for the primary schools, the mass of the people were not affected by "the loyal prescriptions of the university."

Imperial dignity

Napoleon himself, upon assuming the Imperial dignity, sought to live up to his part. He filled with uneasiness and awe those near him. He took care not to be familiar with anyone, and surrounded himself with great ceremony. Even his generals were afraid of him, and did not venture to express a different opinion from his on any point.

Diversity and unstable character of Napoleonic Empire

While in France the fabric of Napoleon's Empire appeared reasonably secure, outside its borders "the Grand Empire . . . never lost the character of a great improvisation of war." Its boundaries and its political institutions were subject to constant change and its foundations were not laid upon nationality. Within its vast extent were three distinct parts: (1) France and the annexed departments without its borders; (2) the dependent states such as Westphalia, Berg, the Kingdom of Italy, Naples, the Illyrian provinces, Holland, and Spain, generally under some member of the Imperial family or favorite general; and (3) such autonomous states as Bavaria, Württemberg, the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, which were obliged to furnish contingents to the French army. The territories in the first classification at the Empire's greatest extent in 1810, were one hundred and thirty departments, forty-six of which contained other European peoples such as Dutch, Belgians, Germans, Italians, Croatians and Spanish, differing from the French in racial characteristics, language, and temperament.[1]

[1] In 1810 Holland and the northwestern German coast as far as Holstein were annexed. To the south, the Empire was carried to the Ebro River in Spain, and to Naples in Italy by annexations of Genoa, Tuscany, and the Papal States.

The problem of assimilation of this cosmopolitan population to French ideals and institutions was made easier by the fact that the French officials believed they had a mission to perform to diffuse a higher civilization throughout the European world, and at first, before the oppressiveness of French rule was felt, Europeans who had long been accustomed to regard France as the center of European culture were in a receptive mood to accept what principles and institutions the French had to give them. The familiarity with the French language in the larger European towns facilitated the task, which was further made easy in many cases by the fact that the French replaced inefficient and oppressive governments. The peoples, moreover, were tired of war, and submitted of necessity, even if they desired otherwise, to the overwhelming might of the French armies.

Problem of assimilation

Although what the French contributed varied with the character and needs of the territories they occupied, and with their distance from France and the length of time they had been held, certain general characteristic French contributions may be noted. Wherever Napoleon's sway extended, he introduced autocratic but efficient government. The feudal régime was swept away, and conditions of equality were introduced. Although the burden of public expenditure was increased, financial systems were so reorganized and simplified that the burden was more evenly distributed and did not weigh so hard upon the poor. Thus in Naples, in place of over a hundred kinds of direct taxes almost entirely paid by the poor, a single land tax from which none was exempt, was imposed. Expenditures for government purposes were carefully regulated. In many countries French rule meant a juster distribution of the lands. The French codes introduced civil equality, juster trials, and abolition of cruel and unfair punishments. Wherever brigandage and other disorder was prevalent, as in Naples and the Illyrian provinces, it was suppressed. In some countries, particularly Italy, school systems after the French pattern were started. French rule in many cases meant the construction of public works such as roads, bridges, parks, and municipal buildings. In Italy and Germany, it led, as we have seen, toward unification.

Benefits of French rule

On the other hand, French rule meant oppression. Heavy and continuous war contributions, the billeting of French troops, the raising of contingents for Napoleon's army, and the seizure of half or more of the national domains made French administration weigh heavily on the lands where it was imposed. To this must be added such evils resultant from war as the loss of the lives of many young men, and such irregularities as the pillage of libraries and art treasures, and the exaction of bribes even by high officials. The Continental Blockade, moreover, brought scarcity and high prices in certain commodities, and meant the ruination of the economic life of some of the greatest commercial centers such as Holland and northwestern Germany.

Evils of French rule

The Decline of the Empire

Decline of Napoleon's physical and mental powers

Based as Napoleon's Empire was on personal dictatorship backed by military force, it was absolutely necessary, since so much depended upon them, that Napoleon and his armies retain all their efficiency. This neither was able to do. Neither Napoleon's mind nor character was equal to the superhuman task he set himself of conquering the European world, and alone settling its complex problems. He became more irritable, more intolerant of opposition, less tactful, less willing to take advice. Whereas during his early career he was "lean" and full of "fire and spirit," he became in his later years fleshy, and more interested in his ease. Attacks of illness tended sometimes to weaken his resolution. He became more susceptible to sleep. His will and power of application seemed less keen.

Deterioration of army's morale

Napoleon's later armies lacked the national and revolutionary ardor of his earlier ones. Devotion to the ambitions of a leader had replaced the program of liberty, equality, and fraternity which had formerly inspired them. The quality of troops and officers had likewise deteriorated. In 1812, one-half of Napoleon's forces were composed of foreign contingents, speaking nearly every European language, torn by conscription from their native lands. Due to his despotic control, many of Napoleon's marshals lacked initiative, and were not sufficiently informed of the object of their movements always successfully to execute them. Even they tired of incessant fighting and desired an opportunity to enjoy their new honors and wealth. French peasants lost all sympathy for the war, and fled to the woods to avoid conscription; punishment had to be inflicted on their families to make them serve. When at length, due to the exhausting Spanish campaign, a deficit in national finances of forty-seven million francs occurred, the Emperor's policy of sparing France, and making war support war, so necessary to secure the consent of the French middle classes to his designs, at last broke down.

Failure of Continental System

Before Napoleon could hope to give permanence to his huge European Empire, England would have to be subdued. It would never willingly consent to such a European dominance as he had created. Although he put forth tremendous efforts to crush the Island Kingdom by obliging the whole continent to enforce the Continental Blockade, this, like all his other efforts where England was concerned, met with failure. England not only continued to trade with her own overseas possessions, but also seized Dutch and French colonies, and when Spain's American colonies rose in revolt upon the French occupation of their mother-country, their markets were thrown open to English traders. The French were prevented by the English fleet from pursuing similar overseas trade. Even in Europe itself, due to the activities of thousands of smugglers, and to the advantages enjoyed over the industry of other lands as a result of its Industrial Revolution, England continued to pursue a profitable though more precarious trade.

During the period of the operation of the blockade, the British cotton industry quadrupled in its production, the exports of iron were increased, and the Industrial Revolution continued unabated. Nevertheless, British finances were severely strained, and the people severely taxed by the costs of the protracted war. Between 1810 and 1812 there occurred a financial crisis produced partly through the stoppage of European sales by the Continental System, but due largely to speculation and the closing of the United States to British trade. This came the nearest to realizing Napoleon's desires, since the normal number of bankruptcies was increased three times, and many business houses were forced to close. Great Britain, however, was able to weather this crisis, whose results were only temporary. From this it is evident that, while causing considerable disturbance, the French Emperor failed to destroy English commerce and industry and ruin the national credit. He made no serious attempt to starve his antagonist out by shutting off English importations.

Antagonism aroused by Continental System

The Continental Blockade not only failed of its purpose, but by the stagnation and ruin it brought to many European commercial cities, by the high prices and scarcity of certain commodities such as tea, sugar and coffee which it produced, by the vexatious manner in which it was applied by French troops and customs officers, it aroused, aside from conscription and financial exactions, more hard feeling and dissatisfaction with French rule than any other thing.[1] It led to more rapid and far-reaching annexations than Napoleon could properly manage, and the apprehension of those states not yet annexed was constantly aroused. At first in France, and in some localities on the Continent such as Saxony, the protection it afforded stimulated such textile industries as cotton, silk, and woollen manufactures to considerable expansion. But the speculation and the general commercial depression it ultimately produced were the chief causes of the serious economic crises characterized by high prices, decreased exports, and unemployment which occurred during 1810, 1811, and 1812 in France and aroused increasing discontent with political affairs.[2]

Results of mistreatment of the Pope

By gaining the dislike of good Catholics through his mistreatment of Pope Pius VII, Napoleon aroused against himself another opposing force which led to his downfall. When in 1808 he proclaimed the temporal power of the Pope to be at an end and annexed the Papal States and the city of Rome to France, the Pope excommunicated him. Napoleon ordered his arrest and removal to Savona. When Pius, indignant, refused to consecrate any more French bishops, Napoleon did not hesitate to call a national Church council (1811), and make it agree that the archbishop might invest any bishop who had not been invested within six months after the Emperor had nominated him.

[1] While the tariff walls of French dependencies were reduced in favor of France, it, on its part, maintained high tariffs against them unless they had been actually annexed. The lack of a customs union embracing all the territories he controlled was one of the weak points in Napoleon's policy.

[2] Failures in Lubeck, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Geneva affected French business.

The Pope was obliged to consent to this, but only in the case of the French Church.

Rising national spirit as hostile force

Undoubtedly the strongest hostile force with which Napoleon had to deal was the awakening of a more vigorous spirit of nationality in Spain, Portugal, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. While during the revolutionary wars and Napoleon's earlier campaigns the French had possessed this advantage over their opponents, now the tables were turned and France, seeking to impose an imperial sway with large cosmopolitan armies, was met by enemy forces inspired by national ardor to defend their native lands against the aggressor.

Spanish uprising of 1808

It was the Spanish who first gave the world an example of what a real national uprising could accomplish against Napoleon, and, as so many times before in Spanish history, religious zeal and patriotism combined in resisting the conqueror. Napoleon's treatment of their sovereign and of the Pope was regarded by all loyal Spaniards as a double disgrace to be revenged. Everywhere, the French troops found themselves resisted by armed bands led by monks and by banditti, and Dupont's entire army corps was surrounded and forced to surrender. Upon news of this victory over the hitherto invincible French, so general did the insurrection become that King Joseph abandoned Madrid and retired behind the Ebro River. Meanwhile, an English force, which had landed in Portugal to aid the Portuguese and Spaniards, obliged the French forces in that country to capitulate at Cintra.

National spirit in Austria and Prussia

Alarmed by what had happened to the Spanish Bourbons and the Pope, which seemed to indicate the insecurity of all reigning dynasties, Austria began to prepare once more for war. This time a general appeal was made to the people through the enrolment in a national Landwehr of all able-bodied men from eighteen to twenty-five years of age. The people enthusiastically enlisted and looked forward with a new confidence to the approaching struggle. Prussia, filled with a new patriotic ardor, began to reorganize her institutions in anticipation of the renewal of war.

Conference of Erfurt

Aware of these circumstances, Napoleon did not venture to move troops from Germany to Spain until he had fresh assurances of support from the Tzar. Although Alexander was approached by Austria, the alliance with Napoleon still suited best his immediate designs. He desired to annex the Turkish territories as far as the Danube, and did not care to turn from this profitable undertaking to join a fresh coalition against the French. If Napoleon were occupied in Spain, he would not be free to interfere with the Russian designs against Turkey. Accordingly, Alexander at the Conference of Erfurt, in return for Napoleon's acknowledgement of Russia's claims to the Danubian provinces, and his promise not to interfere in the Turkish war, promised to aid Napoleon if Austria attacked him.

Thereupon, an army of two hundred thousand of Napoleon's best troops officered by his most trusted leaders, and led by the Emperor

marched into Spain. The Spanish met with constant defeat. Madrid was taken, and the British driven out of Spain. Joseph was replaced on the throne, and decrees abolishing feudal dues, internal customs lines, and the Inquisition, and reducing by two-thirds the number of monasteries were promulgated. The Emperor, however, aroused by news of political intrigues in Paris and further preparations by Austria, hurried home, leaving to his generals the task of subduing the Spanish people, who, although their armies had been defeated, stubbornly continued the struggle, holding large French armies in Spain, while the British remained in Portugal.

Napoleon's Spanish campaign

Almost immediately upon his return to France, Napoleon was plunged into war with Austria. That nation hoped to be able to take advantage of the French difficulties in Spain and, although the Prussian government refused then to coöperate with them, they hoped to rally the German people in a war of liberation. In the struggle which ensued both the improved fighting qualities of the Austrian armies and the deterioration of the French forces were evident. After the capture of Vienna and the French victory at Wagram, although the Austrians still possessed a large army, they agreed to a truce, hoping thus to preserve their forces for a later struggle when they might be assisted by Prussia, England, and possibly Russia. Although it had been disastrous to Austria, the war had, like the Spanish invasion, shaken Napoleon's power and was a step toward his ultimate downfall.[1]

War with Austria

By the Peace of Schönbrunn, Austria lost forty thousand square miles of territory inhabited by three and a half million people. It had to pay a war indemnity of $16,405,000, and reduce its army to one hundred and fifty thousand men.

Peace of Schönbrunn

Soon after peace was concluded, Napoleon divorced his wife Josephine, and married the Austrian Archduchess Marie Louise. He hoped by this new union to secure an heir to his throne, and by marriage with one of the most renowned houses of Europe to bring prestige to his dynasty. He expected a break with Russia, and hoped by this means to keep Austria from allying against him. Metternich, who had just become Foreign Minister of Austria, welcomed this marriage and the alliance with Napoleon since he saw that it was useless to fight him as long as Austria remained isolated. Reserving Austrian forces until Napoleon's military power became weaker, he hoped then to bring about alliances with Prussia and Russia, and throw Austria's reorganized military strength into the balance. As will later be seen, this was exactly what he accomplished. The master diplomat was to vanquish the unconquerable general.

Marriage with Marie Louise

Alexander had allied with Napoleon from irritation with England, and because he thought he could in that way better realize his designs

[1] Mowat: *The Diplomacy of Napoleon*, 225, expresses the opinion that it influenced the ultimate outcome of the great struggle with Napoleon, as the Battles of the Somme influenced the last great war.

Causes for war with Russia

in the Balkans. The alliance had never been popular with his people, and the two Emperors had for some time been dissatisfied with each other. In the recent war against Austria, the Tzar had shown a very lukewarm attitude toward aiding France as he had promised to do. At its conclusion, a large part of Galicia was presented by Napoleon to the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw. Already Russia had been anxious lest the reforms in the Grand-Duchy would make the Poles under Russian rule restive and desirous of uniting with their brethren to revive old Poland. The new annexation appeared to make the danger more threatening, and when Napoleon was asked for a public pledge that he would never allow the restoration of the Kingdom of Poland, he refused to give it, thereby hoping to secure Polish aid in the struggle which he anticipated with Alexander. The Tzar likewise had reason to be irritated at Napoleon's attitude toward his war with Turkey. French agents were encouraging Turkish resistance at the very time when Russian successes seemed to offer prospects of an advantageous peace.[1] When on December 13, 1810, Napoleon annexed the North-German Coast with the object of more strictly enforcing the Continental Blockade, he took the territories of the Duke of Oldenburg, the Tzar's cousin, which at Tilsit he had agreed to respect. To make matters worse, his annexation of Lübeck made it apparent that he sought to control the Baltic, which for some time Russia had regarded as a Russian sea. Therefore Alexander felt injured in both his family pride and his political interests.

Napoleon's pride had been wounded at the Tzar's delay and virtual refusal to accept his proposal to marry one of Alexander's sisters. On the other hand, the Tzar had cause to dislike Napoleon's Austrian marriage, as the basis of a possible hostile alliance. Alexander's refusal to adhere strictly to the Continental Blockade was more than anything else responsible for the crisis. Much to Russia's detriment, he had excluded British ships from his ports, but permitted neutral ones to enter. These latter brought large quantities of British manufactures and colonial wares, which not only were sold in Russia but were sent to other countries. Upon Napoleon's request that these ships be excluded, Alexander not only refused but issued a ukase facilitating their entrance and imposing heavy duties on all goods which entered by land, most of which were French.[2] Soon afterward, he issued an ultimatum demanding among other things that he be permitted trade with neutral ships. Napoleon felt that he could no longer permit such

[1] Napoleon, anticipating a war with Russia, desired to keep it at war with Turkey. He wished to defer a settlement of Turkish affairs until he was free to take part in the partitioning of Turkey.

[2] Alexander claimed that these duties were not aimed at France, but were necessary to rectify the exchange which at the time was very adverse to Russia. Napoleon on his part believed it a direct blow at France and asserted that due to Russian trade with neutrals, in 1810, seven hundred carts of British products came from Russia to the Leipzig Fair, and that twelve hundred ships bearing neutral flags but protected by British warships that year entered Russian ports. Mowat: *op. cit.*, 246.

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Sofia
OTTOMAN
Constantinople
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Scutari
Rumelia
Angora
Albania
Salonica
EMPIRE
Janina
Smyrna
Adalia
Morea
Cyprus
Cerigo (Br.)
Crete
ANEAN SEA

a breach in his blockade and welcomed the occasion which seemed to him to exist to gain complete mastery of Europe by crushing Russia, and perchance even pressing on into Asia.

Difficulties of Russian campaign

Napoleon was hampered in the great task which confronted him by the fact that he had to keep three hundred thousand soldiers in Spain to check the Spanish, who constantly resorted to guerilla warfare, and to hold back the English armies under Wellington which (1811) succeeded in driving the French from Portugal and in throwing it open to English commerce. He was further disappointed that Sweden, whose Crown Prince, Bernadotte, had been one of his former marshals, allied with Russia instead of with him, and that Turkey, instead of remaining at war with Russia, came to terms and remained neutral. Prussia, Austria, and the Poles, however, agreed to assist him, and English opposition was considerably diverted by the war which broke out in June, 1812, with the United States over the impressment of seamen and the rights of neutral commerce. The Grand Army which Napoleon finally assembled was the largest force which had yet engaged in modern warfare. Over six hundred thousand men invaded Russia before the campaign's close, of whom only about a half were Frenchmen.[1]

Napoleon's usual strategy unavailing

In Russia, just as in Spain, the character of the country and the method of fighting resulted in disastrous failure to French arms. In both lands, it was found impossible to adopt the method used by Napoleon of making the occupied territory support his army as he went along, a method which had enabled him to win speedy and spectacular successes by the superior mobility of his troops. In Spain guerilla warfare, and in Russia the constant retreat of the enemy armies into the vast reaches of their country, overcame Napoleon's skilful strategy, and he found it impossible to invent new methods to meet the situation. He had successfully followed two plans of attack in all his campaigns. If his army was inferior, he struck a swift blow at the enemy's center, penetrating it, and then dealt rapid blows in succession at his separated wings. If, on the other hand, the French forces were superior in numbers he sought to envelope the opposing forces and cut them to pieces.

Invasion of Russia (1812)

Napoleon attempted to follow the second of these plans in his Russian campaign. Such an enveloping movement was, however, impossible because of the rapid Russian retreat, because of the great distances to be covered, because of the difficult roads, because of the lack of opportunities to support so large an army by foraging, and because of his inability, in days when telephones did not exist, to communicate his orders with sufficient speed to his distant divisions. The very effort to keep up with the enemy armies and force them to fight defeated his ends, since supplies could not be brought up so rapidly over the wretched roads, and the fighting strength of his

[1] The invasion began with four hundred and fifty thousand men; one hundred and sixty thousand followed later.

army was as much reduced through hunger, desertion, and disease as if a severe battle had occurred.

For fear that the army's morale would be lost, he unwisely changed his plan of wintering at Smolensk and waiting until the next year to resume his advance. Instead, he continued his march into the heart of Russia until he had reached Moscow, hoping that the capture of the city might force the Tzar to conclude peace. Instead, when he reached it, with only about one hundred thousand troops, he found it nearly deserted by the enemy. Before he had been there many hours terrible fires broke out, destroying a large part of the city.

Forced by lack of supplies, after a five weeks' stay at Moscow, he retreated to save his army from starvation. Because of strong Russian forces to the south of the city, he was obliged to retire amid the terrible cold of a Russian winter, constantly harassed by Cossacks, over the same route by which he had entered the land, now barren of supplies. He finally reached the Russian frontier with only a tenth part of the Grand Army with which he had invaded Russia.

Napoleon's efforts to repair Russian disaster

Since Napoleonic Europe was solely based on the power and loyalty of the Imperial Armies, the Russian disaster, which had swept away such numbers of his officers and men, proved an irreparable blow. In spite of the discouraging circumstances which confronted him, Napoleon was resolved to make no concession to his enemies. Instead, leaving what remained of his shattered army, he hurried to Paris to raise forces sufficient to defend his Empire, before the European world was fully aware of the extent of his disaster.

Never did he exhibit greater ability than in his success in organizing and putting into the field within the space of three short months another huge army. Unable to draw many troops from Spain, he pressed into service the marines and even the national guards, who were not supposed to serve outside the country. The majority of his forces were young conscripts, mere boys who had never before seen service. Artillery could not be supplied in as large quantities as in previous campaigns, and due to the great loss of horses in Russia, he was unable to provide his army with sufficient cavalry to make his victories decisive by pursuing the enemy from the field. In order to secure the money necessary for the new struggle, Napoleon resorted to selling the lands belonging to the communes.

Although France had continued to support him in his hour of adversity, Napoleon knew that the people had not favored his ambitious plans for European domination, and were tired of constant war. While he had been in Russia, the rumor had been purposely spread that he was dead, and a plot for overthrowing his dynasty had been formed. To avoid such a contingency in future, definite arrangements were made for a regency in case of his death, until the young son, the result of his marriage with Marie Louise, should come of age. He took the further precaution for assuring loyalty during his absence of having the prefects in each department enroll a hundred young

men, taken from the most prominent families. These were to form a special guard, and would serve as hostages for the good behavior of their families. He sought by forming a new concordat with the Pope to reconcile Catholic opinion.

Regeneration of Prussia

Meanwhile, conditions in Germany were none too secure. The Prussians had been hampered by the crushing terms which Napoleon had imposed at Tilsit, but in the hour of national adversity a series of reforms carried out by the great statesman Stein and his successor Hardenberg had regenerated the country and prepared the way for a war of liberation. Serfs had been freed in order that they might become citizens interested in the state and ready to serve in its armies. Many restrictions upon property ownership had been removed, and by the Agrarian law of 1811, the peasants had become owners of from one-half to two-thirds of their holdings and were freed from all obligations to their former masters. Employments had been thrown open to all classes of citizens,[1] industrial freedom had replaced the old gild system, and restrictions upon internal trade had been removed. Efficiency had been promoted and civic consciousness awakened by freeing the cities from the burdensome control of the central government, or the manor lord, and entrusting them with their own government.

Universities had been created at Berlin and Breslau, and the system of education in the public schools reformed and extended so as to quicken and enlighten national opinion. Patriotic songs and poems were composed, and the great philosopher Fichte uttered ringing appeals in his *Addresses to the German Nation*, in which he pointed out that since selfishness had caused Germany to perish "it could be restored only by a new ideal, the self-surrender of the individual for the good of the community." To promote these ideals, a non-political association, the "Tugendbund," was founded.

In the army, the hiring of mercenaries was discontinued; the army offices formerly held exclusively by the nobility were now opened to some extent to the middle class. In order to train a large number of men for service in a war of liberation in spite of the drain of money to the French, and their requirement that the army should not exceed forty-two thousand men, the ingenious device was invented of drilling men in the army for a short time, after which they were retired to a secret reserve and fresh men called to the colors.

Formation of alliances between Russia, Prussia, and England

Much against their will the Prussians had been compelled to assist in Napoleon's Russian invasion. Upon news of the disaster which had overtaken the French Emperor, General Yorck, who had been campaigning with the Prussian contingent in the Russian Baltic provinces, concluded a two months truce, and Stein, commissioned by the

[1] Nobles could engage in burgher occupations without affecting their station, and burghers could engage in peasant or peasants in burgher occupations.

Tzar,[1] organized East Prussia against the French. King Frederick William, who had not taken part in these proceedings, then moved to Breslau from Berlin, where he was too closely watched by the French garrison, and by the Treaty of Kalisch (February 27, 1813) agreed to an alliance with the Tzar, who promised to assist Prussia to recover the position of power she possessed before the war of 1806. The next June, Great Britain, which still controlled the sea and was overcoming the French in Spain, joined the alliance with Prussia and Russia, promising to advance subsidies and protect the Prussian coasts.

War in Saxony

Meanwhile, the Russians pushed the French out of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, and with the Prussians occupied Saxony. Napoleon rushed from Paris to save his Empire in Germany. On May 2, he succeeded in defeating the Russo-Prussian forces at Lützen, although he was unable to destroy them. While winning another victory at Bautzen at the cost of heavy losses, he was aware that unless he had large reinforcements, particularly more cavalry, he would not be able to deal a decisive blow. His "unripe army" through sickness, death, and desertion had fallen to half its original strength. Still worse, there was danger that Austria, which thus far remaining out of the struggle had preserved its army, would ally with his enemies unless he consented to peace. With the intention of gaining time for reinforcements to come up, he consented to a temporary armistice.

Napoleon's refusal of concessions

Ever since the Russian catastrophe Austria had urged him to accept its good offices as mediator. Unable to swallow his pride and feeling that the prestige gained by constant success was necessary for the maintenance of his power, he had persevered in his stubborn resolve not to surrender an inch of territory. When, on June 26, Austria offered once more to mediate on the basis of the surrender of his German and Polish conquests and the cession of the Illyrian provinces, he doubtless would have been wise to have accepted peace on those terms. Instead he refused, exclaiming, "What is it you wish of me? That I should dishonor myself? Never—I shall know how to die but never yield an inch of territory. Your sovereigns, who are born on the throne, may get beaten twenty times and yet return to their capitals. I cannot, for I rose to power through the camp." So long as this attitude prevailed, it was hopeless to pursue further discussions, although temporarily to pacify Austria, Napoleon agreed to accept Austrian mediation at a congress to be held at Prague, July 5. As might have been expected nothing came of the proceedings, and on August 10 hostilities were renewed, this time with Austria and Sweden allied with Napoleon's enemies.

After one more success at Dresden (August 26-27), Napoleon suffered a disastrous defeat at the great Battle of the Nations fought at

[1] Yorck agreed to the truce on his own responsibility after the Tzar had promised to help Prussia regain her lost possessions. Stein had been forced into exile by Napoleon, and had taken refuge in Russia, where he became an adviser to the Tzar. He acted in East Prussia without Frederick William's consent.

Leipzig (October 16, 17, 18). At once Napoleon's political structures in Germany and Italy collapsed. By November 2, the Emperor had been forced across the Rhine. *Battle of Nations and collapse of Napoleon's Empire*

The Allies later invaded France. Although they offered as a basis of peace to allow Napoleon to keep his throne and retain "the ancient boundaries of France," encouraged by a series of victories, he could not make up his mind to the sacrifice, constantly hoping that one more victory would bring better terms. At length, when he was willing to abdicate in favor of his son, the Allies would not accept this settlement, and Napoleon was compelled to renounce for himself and his successors all right to sovereignty over the French Empire and other European lands. In return, he was permitted to keep his titles and rank. The Isle of Elba lying off the Italian coast was given to him as a principality and residence for the remainder of his life, and an annual revenue of $386,000 was assigned him. Napoleon's wife, Marie Louise, was given the sovereignty over the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, which were later to pass to her son and his descendants. *Dethronement of Emperor*

The Bourbons, who had been absent from France for twenty-two years, were restored to the throne in the person of Louis XVI's eldest brother, who assumed the title of Louis XVIII. According to the Treaty of Paris (May 20, 1814) which was concluded between the Allies and the new King, with the exception of slight additions, the boundaries of France were to be those of January 1, 1792. Thus France lost most of the territorial gains made during the Revolution, and all the vast conquests which Napoleon had won for her. She was, however, not obliged to pay any indemnity, and even retained the priceless art treasures which she had taken from other European countries. *Treaty of Paris*

A still more serious task confronted the Allies in deciding what course to pursue in regard to the territorial changes Napoleon had made throughout Europe. The arrangements which resulted from agreements made at the Peace of Paris and at the Congress of Vienna (September, 1814–June, 1815) called several months later to settle European affairs, were made upon the basis of several principles. In the first place, as far as was practicable, the former possessions of each legitimate sovereign were restored to him. Thus Spain, Portugal, Naples, the Papal States, and Holland were restored to their legitimate rulers; the King of Sardinia received back his territories of Piedmont, Savoy, and Nice; Austria recovered Lombardy, her Polish territories, the Tyrol, and other lands she had formerly possessed on her western frontiers; Prussia received back her territories in northern Germany. *Territorial settlements*

In the second place, it was desired to strengthen the countries surrounding France so that they would be able to act as buffer states against possible future French aggression. Hence Belgium was united to Holland. Prussia was given more land along the Rhine, and the King of Sardinia was given Genoa. In the third place, the territorial

desires of certain states were satisfied by giving compensations to others who were called upon to surrender territory. Austria was to have Venetia, the Illyrian provinces, and more territory on her western frontiers to make up for the loss of Belgium, which Holland was to have in compensation for the loss of Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope to England. Sweden was given Norway in place of Finland, which she surrendered to Russia, and Pomerania, which she gave to Prussia. Prussia was given two-fifths of Saxony, and more land in western and southern Germany to make up for much of her Polish territory, which she surrendered to Russia to form with Russian Poland a Polish state under the government of the Tzar. The multitude of small German states, however, which had been suppressed because of the French conquests were not restored, nor were their former rulers given further compensation than they had already received.

The territorial settlements failed to recognize the principle of nationality and in many cases, such as Norway, Belgium, Saxony, and the Italian states, it was wilfully disregarded. The aspirations of the German nationalists for a strong national union were frustrated by the creation of a loose German confederation dominated by Austria; chances for Italian unification were likewise blocked.

Louis XVIII

While the Allies had been determining the fate of Napoleonic Europe, Louis XVIII had set up his government in France. Moderate-minded, sceptical, naturally indolent, anxious to quiet conflicts and to reign in peace, the new King might seem to be suited to giving France the peaceful rule which that weary nation so ardently desired. On the other hand, Louis possessed little of the force of character or brilliancy to which France had been accustomed during the Napoleonic régime. For a whole generation the Bourbons had been considered by the majority of Frenchmen as allies of the national enemy, as antagonists of all for which the Revolution stood. Their restoration by Allied arms had meant national humiliation. The only chance for a successful reign, as Louis was wise enough to realize, was to discover and put in force a workable "compromise between the principles of the Revolution and the claims of the Old Régime." This was made difficult by the naturally suspicious attitude of the people on the one hand, and the expectations and intolerant attitude of the ultra-royalists on the other.

Restoration of Monarchy

Although he would not accept a new constitution drawn up by the Senate, the King granted on his own authority a charter which established a constitutional monarchy. This shared the government between the monarch and the people's representatives, thus accepting one fundamental accomplishment of the Revolution, but rejecting the revolutionary principle that the source of sovereignty was the people. In the light of recent experiences in which popular sovereignty had resulted in the Terror and military autocracy had produced war and economic distress, this new government, which it was believed would

arouse neither foreign war nor internal dissension, would seem to be best suited to the needs of the hour.[1] By the Charter, quite after the English fashion, there was to be a House of Hereditary Peers designated by the King and a Chamber of Deputies elected by limited suffrage. Because the initiative in legislation, instead of being shared with the legislative bodies, was exclusively reserved to the King, because heavy property qualifications excluded the majority of the nation from the elections, and because the still higher qualifications for membership in the Lower Chamber limited those eligible to be deputies to about five thousand, the government was far from being democratic.

The effort to quiet popular apprehension, however, led to the acceptance of the changes resulting from the Revolution and the Napoleonic régime, such as religious freedom, trial by jury, the sale of land confiscated from the Church and the émigrés, military and civil pensions, the Legion of Honor, and the various civil and legal reforms. The Napoleonic administrative system was kept, and officials who had served during the Revolution and under Napoleon were retained together with new appointees from the ranks of the royalists.

Causes of discontent

Although the government put forth sincere efforts, it failed to make the country contented. More than half the French remained "hesitant, defiant, rather hostile." Faced by a deficit of from $965,000 to $1,158,000, in spite of general expectations that with the restoration of peace the tax burden would at once be lightened, the government was able to make no material reductions. It felt compelled to retrench. Civil, military, and naval expenditures were reduced to a third of their former amount. In accomplishing this it made many mistakes, especially with regard to the army. While large numbers of the veterans of the Napoleonic wars were sent home in rags, the regiments composed of foreign troops were maintained and even increased. As many as twelve thousand officers were retired on half-pay, insufficient for their support; many émigré officers who had fought against their country were reappointed to higher offices than they had formerly held. At the same time the Imperial Guards were removed from the court and were replaced by the old Bourbon Household Guards reconstituted at large expense. These were composed mostly of young nobles and émigrés. This not only was inconsistent with the government's policy of retrenchment, but also reflected upon the reliability of the Imperial and the National Guards. Further slights appeared in the prohibition of the use of the tricolor, the depreciation of the Legion of Honor, the discontinuance of schools for the children of legionaries, and the revival of the Order of St. Louis as a reward of military valor.

Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the officers and men of the Napoleonic armies became active enemies of the Restoration. At the same time the attitude of the returned priests and

[1] Shaler Mathews: *The French Revolution*, 432.

nobles caused anxiety among the peasantry for the security of their lands, although the government had guaranteed their titles. Ordinances forbidding work or trade on Sundays and religious holidays and enforcing respect for religious processions proved very unpopular. Ex-terrorists feared for their lives. Liberals, among whom Lafayette and Mme. de Staël were prominent, believed that reaction would triumph and that liberty was in peril. It was quite generally feared that the King, although he appeared to be sincere in his good intentions would not be firm enough to maintain the Charter. And it was believed that, even if the Charter should prove to be safe under the present King, it would be endangered by the accession of his brother and heir, the Count of Artois, who was known to be both a narrow bigot and a thorough believer in autocracy. At length discontent reached such a height that plots were formed against the government.

Napoleon's return

Aware of the discontent rife throughout France and of the dissensions among the Allies at the congress of Vienna, Napoleon decided to attempt to regain his throne.[1] He managed to reach France with the regiment of Old Guards which he had been allowed to keep at Elba. He was enthusiastically received by the peasantry and the army, and without encountering any resistance returned to Paris, from which Louis XVIII had fled upon news of his approach.

His reception

Although thus far Napoleon's progress had been easy, it soon became apparent that he had made a mistake in returning to France. In spite of the fact that there had been much dissatisfaction with the rule of the restored Bourbon King, it had really allowed Frenchmen more liberty than they had possessed during the Empire, and France had been at peace. The first enthusiasm for the Emperor was turned to depression when it was realized that his return meant certain renewal of the war. Although he attempted to gain the country's support by introducing a government more liberal than that which the Bourbons had provided—which he never meant to continue if he succeeded against the enemy powers—the first elections, returning only eighty Bonapartists out of a chamber of six hundred and twenty-nine deputies, were evidence that he no longer controlled the country.

Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo and second abdication

So far as the European Powers were concerned, news of Napoleon's return was sufficient to quiet all dissension. Declaring him an outlaw, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia each agreed to keep one hundred and fifty thousand men in the field "until Bonaparte should have been rendered absolutely incapable of stirring up further trouble." Napoleon utilized the standing army which had been left to France and the old soldiers who had been captives of war or had served as garrisons in subject cities and had been returned at the conclusion of peace, and in this way he managed to assemble a good-sized army, better disciplined than that he had commanded in the last war and eager to make good

[1] He was further induced to make the attempt by the fact that he had not been paid the $386,000 annual allowance which was due from the revenues of France. There were rumors that he was to be removed to the Azores or other islands.

past defeats. The enemy armies, however, were too great, the allied nations too firmly resolved to put an end once for all to the struggle, for him to have succeeded in maintaining himself, even if he had won the great battle of Waterloo (June 17, 1815) fought in Belgium against the English and Prussian forces. As it was, he suffered a decisive defeat in this battle, and with the remnants of his shattered army was obliged to return to France. Even then he did not wish to give up, but upon the nation's refusal to support him further, he abdicated for the second time.

Exile to St. Helena

Hoping to seek refuge in America, when the Prussian forces approached he hurried to the seacoast; finding all escape cut off by the English fleet, he decided to appeal to British mercy. He sought refuge on an English vessel, the "Bellerophon." The Allied Powers decided to consider him a prisoner, and appointed England to act as jailer. This time it was decided to remove him so far from Europe that he would not be able to escape to cause further disturbance. St. Helena, a small island lying off the southwest coast of Africa, was selected as his dwelling-place. Here, he remained until he died on May 5, 1821.

Second Treaty of Paris (November 20, 1815)

By the Second Treaty of Paris, Louis XVIII was once more restored to the French throne. This time France had to cede territories inhabited by about five hundred thousand people. This still left her more territories than she had had before the Revolution. She had to hand over certain strategic fortresses on her northern and eastern frontier. She had to pay an indemnity of seven hundred million francs. The fortresses of the northeastern departments were to be occupied at French expense by a force of one hundred and fifty thousand Allied troops for from three to five years. The four Allied Powers further agreed to hold meetings occasionally to determine action for the preservation of European peace.

Results of Napoleonic Era

The career of Napoleon Bonaparte had proved to be one of the most remarkable in the world's history—one of the most momentous in its consequences for France and for Europe in general. For fourteen years the attention of the modern world had focused around it. From a simple army officer, making use of the new forces which the Revolution had created, he had risen through sheer administrative and military ability to imperial rule over the foremost European nation of the day, and, led by a limitless ambition, had even dared to entertain the idea of a universal monarchy. This momentarily he had seemed on the point of realizing. The general hostility which he had provoked, coupled with certain fundamental weaknesses in his own personality and in the system which he had erected, caused his downfall.

To France Napoleon had brought the reëstablishment of order and efficient government after the turmoil and uncertainties of the Revolution. He had preserved, systematized and effectively applied many of the revolutionary reforms when there was danger that they

might have been lost or obscured by the existing anarchy. Frenchmen continued to enjoy the legal equality, and equal claims to consideration for rank and position, which had been won for them by the Revolution; and while Napoleon came to a new agreement with the papacy for the reëstablishment of religious stability, toleration was preserved. The peasant, freed from the many dues and exactions of pre-revolutionary times, remained in possession of the land he had obtained, while the Church and the aristocracy never succeeded in reëstablishing the hold upon the land of the nation which they had enjoyed before the fall of the old règime. Relieved of ancient trade barriers and many other restrictions upon business, French industry underwent remarkable development in spite of the obstacles and uncertainties imposed by warfare. Of special importance to economic as well as to political welfare was the restoration of financial stability which the Napoleonic règime had succeeded in bringing about. By the completion of the Civil Code, the establishment of the University and the National Bank, by his concordat with the papacy and his administrative system, Napoleon had laid the institutional foundations of modern France. His reign, however, brought an end for the time being to individual liberty and democracy. These were partially restored upon his overthrow and the return of the Bourbons, but were subject to attack during a large part of the nineteenth century, and were not adequately safeguarded until the establishment in 1870 of the Third French Republic.[1]

Napoleon's European conquests had led in many lands to the destruction of feudalism and the spread of revolutionary principles and institutions. Autocratic systems of government as well as the privileged position of the aristocracy had been delivered a tremendous blow from which, although experiencing a revival during the reactionary years which followed Napoleon's overthrow, they never actually recovered. The seed of discontent had been sown among the peoples of Europe which was to bear fruit, after the many revolutions which filled the first half of the nineteenth century, in the establishment of constitutions and responsible governments and in reforms for the realization of popular liberties.

The Napoleonic wars and the disturbance of European conditions which they created had much to do with the rise of the nationalistic movements which characterized the nineteenth century. They had been partly instrumental in preparing the way for the unification of Germany and in heralding that of Italy. Aristocratic Dutch federalism had been transformed by the magic of Napoleon's power and by French ideas into more modern principles of government. The nationalistic aspirations of Poles, and even to some extent those of the Balkan races had been aroused; while the destruction of the prestige and power of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies had

[1] Even then they were threatened by monarchist opposition to the Republic and such incidents as the Dreyfus affair.

weakened their hold on their South American colonies, and assisted their peoples in the establishment of independent states. On the other hand everywhere throughout Europe old boundaries were weakened and peoples were brought into closer contact with each other politically and culturally.

Whatever good effects may be attributed to the Napoleonic règime it had meant almost constant war on a scale never before equalled, and had involved all Europe in its calamities. It had resulted according to Pariset in the loss of between three and six million lives, not to mention the innumerable wounded, the sickness arising from privation, and the sufferings of civilian populations plundered and harassed by invading armies. France, as well as other nations to a certain extent, had been robbed by warfare of a large proportion of all the keenest intellects; the dreadful drain upon the manhood of the nation is said to have reduced its "physical stamina." Both in stature and physique the average young Frenchman born after 1815 was inferior to his forebears. It has also to be noticed that while England, free from direct contact with the war, continued to profit from her industrial revolution, the economic progress of continental Europe was retarded. Plagued with war it did not experience marked industrial changes until after peace had been concluded.

So associated had Liberalism become with war and disorder that for many years following the conclusion of peace all progressive reforms were frowned upon by established governments, and during the dominance of Metternich everything was sacrificed to the maintenance of peace and the established order. One may well consider whether, if the world had been freed from the violence of the later phases of the Revolution, from the horrors of the Napoleonic Wars, and from the repression and reaction which followed them, it might not, through a more gradual process, building upon the foundations laid by eighteenth-century philosophers and scientists, assisted by the good-will and salutary reforms of benevolent despots, and further inspired by the changes wrought by the first phases of the Revolution, have made greater and more rapid progress. As it was, after much suffering, revolutionary reforms were foisted upon the European world by a military despot.

Politically the outcome of the Napoleonic era had first resulted in the elevation of France to the pinnacle of power among the nations and then in national humiliation. Deprived of the Rhine frontier gained during the early years of the Revolution, stripped of many of her colonies, bereft of her leadership in European affairs, which under the able direction of Metternich had passed to Austria, outclassed as a military power, France was indeed reduced from the proud rôle she had so long enjoyed. The maritime and colonial power of England and its hold upon the commerce of the world was markedly increased; while France lost much of what had been left her at the end of the Seven Years' War.

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This book is set in Garamont, a modern rendering of the type first cut in the sixteenth century by Claude Garamont (1510–1561). He was a pupil of Geofroy Tory and is believed to have based his letters on the Venetian models, although he introduced a number of important differences, and it is to him that we owe the letter which we know as Old Style. He gave to his letters a certain elegance and a feeling of movement which won for their creator an immediate reputation and the patronage of the French King, Francis I.

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